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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. X.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1848.

"*No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth; even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.*"—MILTON.

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Errata in No. XVIII., Art. I. "Corrie and his Cotemporaries."

Page 269, line 9, for "closed their own when that was vacant," read "closed their own when that *pulpit* was vacant."

Page 273, *note*, for "second of his *Indian Recreations*," read "second *volume* of his Indian Recreations."

Page 282 line 25, for "returned to his house," read "returned to his *home*."

Page 284, line 10, for "brightened up many a dreamy hearth," read "brightened up many a *dreary* hearth."

Page 287, line 29, for "imbibed in the early youth," read "imbibed in early youth."

Page 291, line 8 from the bottom, for "the gentleness which oes not resort to," read "the gentleness which does not *resent*."

Page 293, line 26, for "varying shapes," read "varying *shades*."

Page 303, for "the officers at the station had much more piety than the men," read "the officers at the station had *not* much more piety than the men."

At page 311, line 9, for "Mr. Thomason," read "*Mrs.* Thomason."

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

1. *Prinsep's Runjit Singh.*
2. *Thomson's Gazetteer*

THE advantages of the rule of the Company over that of any Native Potentate, be he who he may—Hindu or Mahommedan—an upstart of yesterday, as Runjit Singh of Lahore, or the descendant of a royal line, coeval with the world, as the Rajpúts of Rajpútana—a young, foolish and licentious profligate, or a prudent and experienced ruler—are so constantly quoted by British officials, British historians and the public in general, that it appears an admitted fact, upon which any further superstructure of argument may be built. Some soothing and flattering allusions to the benefits of English rule are generally found at the close of divisional reports submitted for the consideration of Government, or transmission to the Home Authorities; while the general idea is prevalent, that under native rule rapine and anarchy are rampant, that the poor have no remedy from petty exaction, and the rich no security for their ill-gotten treasures.

There are some, however, who have gone on a contrary tack; and whether from pique, or prejudice, have endeavoured to give the Native system a preference over that introduced by the European: they have painted in glowing colours the satisfaction felt by the people in being ruled over by indigenous sovereigns, the greater outlet afforded for indigenous talent, crushed under the other system by the influence of strangers. They maintain that justice, though less ostentatiously brought to notice, is administered more completely, and more effectively by judges capable of entering into the feelings of the disputants and from whom the real merits of the case cannot remain concealed; the charge of rapine against the Native princes as a system they deny, and, if occasional instances do occur, they consider such individual cases of suffering in the one system more than set off by the vexatious and expensive law delays, the tyranny of the Police, and the exhausting drain of the Revenue, in the other. Arguers of this class stand upon no ceremony in their illustrations, and quote

decisions of the Sudder Adalut, or Supreme Court, to palliate as it were, acts of downright wanton extortion on the part of some of the worst Native princes : their argument seems to be, that the seeds of oppression and injury lie at the roots of society, that it matters little whether the fruit developes itself in the oppressive, though formal, working of a Revenue Regulation, or the indiscriminate exchequer-filling of a rapacious Dewan.

Truth lies, as is usually the case, in the middle ; we cannot assent to the doctrine of the early Anglo-Indian legislator, that the introduction of our system is the sure forerunner of inestimable blessings, which cannot exist otherwise on a native soil, nor can we subscribe to the doctrine advanced by the other section. Absolute irresponsible power without checks other than the armed resistance of an outraged people, without limits other than the forbearance of an half-educated, pampered despot, never can form the basis of good Government in any country, or under any circumstances.

There are advantages to be traced by a close observer in both systems; and neither of them can be so extravagantly good or bad, in all instances, as their supporters or maligners would pretend : if Native Governments are so bad, so boundlessly oppressive, how is it that their subjects are content to wear out their existence in such misery, and do not emigrate into the more favoured districts immediately adjoining ? If the Anglo-Indian system is so excellent, how is it that room is daily found for such striking and palpable improvements, as are from time to time promulgated ? The whole system of our Indian legislation has been a course of experiment, and can we wonder that the patient should have sometimes suffered under the hand of the novice ? Each measure, that has been successively enforced, bears the stamp of the age, and the individual. In introducing our earliest measures we have rarely been free agents, and they bear consequently always the indications of hastiness, and are of a tendency both narrow and temporary. We have attempted also to graft upon an Asiatic and most imperfect stock the intricate machinery of an European procedure, when it would have been better to have introduced an entirely new system, adapting the principles of a tried and approved code to the wants of a population three hundred years behind us in civilization. If the complaint can be made against a Native Government of a want of law, it may with greater truth be urged against us, that we are borne down by an excess of law, which few from among ourselves perfectly comprehend, and which to the Natives of India bear so awful and perplexing a form, that they become in practice worse than the most oppressive of their former tyrannies.

In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the system, the Natives of India have to thank the Anglo-Indian Government for two substantial blessings, which no Native Government was ever strong, or liberal enough entirely to bestow:—a freedom from the invasion of foreign foes, and the overrunning of foreign armies, and an undisturbed profession of religious tenets and observances. These, however, are blessings, which are never fully estimated by a generation, which has never experienced the misery of their absence: they can only be appreciated by those who have seen their houses plundered by marching armies, or their temples defiled, and Ministers tortured for the profession of their ancestral faith: these advantages are admitted by all, and the Native system has nothing on its own side to balance such substantial blessings; but on minor points the matter must still remain a drawn question, the opinion of each varying, as the party is influenced by prejudice or favour.

It rarely now falls to the opportunity of Europeans to see fully into the internal workings of a Native Government, and to watch how far the interests of Society are affected thereby.

Wherever the European moves, he carries with him his cloud of prejudices to obstruct his vision: and, wherever the Anglo-Indian takes up his position, the same circle is woven round him, whether he be at Calcutta or Kabul: he introduces the same machinery, and brings into action the same inflexible and uncompromising laws, beyond which he deems it impossible to exist. Before this formidable array all Native customs fade away, and are forgotten, and the change is so complete and final, that it would appear that no Government had previously existed at all, that anterior to the date of the cession or conquest all was one great blank—a chaos of atoms, from which the creative energy of the first Government official had brought into existence the present political world.

Yet such is not the case. Whatever may be the faults of Native Governments, they are elaborate in some of their details, though found wanting in others: they are profuse in their display: though behind us in the progress of civilization, they are by no means tyros in the art of Government, and can talk as largely of the administration of justice, both technically and practically, and the advantages of good and evil Government:—but, having no fixed system, and preserving no records, having no literature at command, the effects are ephemeral, and perish with the power of the Government, which gave them birth, and contrary to the oft-repeated moral in civilized countries, that the good man dies, but his memory lives after him. Such is not generally the case: a good Governor is but vaguely remembered

by the descendants of his contemporaries: his benefits are soon forgotten, but the oppression of the evil Governor, being more deeply stamped on the sensibilities of the sufferers, are more feelingly transmitted to their descendants, and give the tyrant a fairer promise of immortality than the public benefactor.

No better representation of the contrasting differences of the systems can be made, than by laying before the reader the past and present state of one of the new provinces, such as the Jhelundur Doab, that have lately passed from the hands of a Native ruler, to that of the English Government,—into which the system we adopt, improved by the experience of years, has been deliberately introduced to the extinction of every vestige of former government, or misgovernment. We would not, however, quote the former Government of the Doab, as even a fair sample of the Native system, inasmuch as the peculiar circumstances of its history, and the corruption of its rulers, have exercised a more than ordinarily unfavorable influence on its character. We give it, simply as an instance of the Native system, which will ere long become extinct, "caught alive" in our hands, and by bringing out into strong relief the peculiarities of the former system, we may possibly enable others to form an opinion of the antagonistic principles of European and Native Government. It is seldom in the annals of the world, that such great and sudden changes have been made in the form of the Government of any province: changes are generally the result of progressional events, and influenced by the feelings of the people governed. Here, by one stroke of the pen of two parties, populous districts, containing millions of inhabitants, are transferred from a Government of so simple a machinery, as to give the accused no chance of escape except by admitted and open bribery—of so benevolent a temperament, as to punish larceny with the amputation of the nose, or hamstringing the foot of the thief—founded on such discriminating and wise principles, as to make penal the slaying of a cow, and permit, or rather sanction, the crime of infanticide, slavery and inhumation of lepers:—transferred from a system of the most inert, and unimproving kind, to one the most intricate and artificial, the most elaborate in its details, and most benevolent in its intentions, whatever it may be in practice,—upon the improving and adapting of which, good and wise men are daily employing their best faculties and energies, urged on thereto as well by the spirit of the age, as the principles of the Government.

Upwards of a century ago, and at the time of the decadence of the great Mogul Empire, the fertile province of the Bist Jhelundur was a dependance of the Súbah of Lahore, but was

governed by a Deputy resident, within its boundaries, who supreme in all departments paid a certain portion of the Revenue to his superior. The last and most famous of these Deputies was Adina Beg Khan, whose name serves as the last land-mark of the Mahommedan rule anterior to the Sikh deluge. Of Adina Beg's internal administration of his province little is known:—if a more than ordinary tyrant, at least the memory of his tyrannies has perished with his victories. In all probability he differed but little from other Mahommedan Proconsuls in considering provinces, but as preserves for re-filling exhausted Treasuries, and enabling the fortunate administrators, endowed with more talent for exaction than principle, to amass pro-consular fortunes. Whatever may have been the character of Adina Beg Khan in his internal administration, his talents and character in the political arena of the Empire are undoubted:—and it was no easy game for him to play. During the period of his rule, Hindústan was several times invaded by the hardy races of Kabul under the guidance of Nadir Shah and his successor Ahmed Shah, and it was a hard task to keep on good terms with the invader without throwing off his allegiance to the invaded. But another and more difficult element was in existence in the limits of his own province: the turbulent Jut Zemindars of the Manjha, Malwa, and Jhelundur Doab, long difficult to manage, had now become unmanageable, and under the exciting and binding influence of the tenets of Gúrú Govind, which they had adopted, were sapping the foundation of society, and rapidly introducing a new state of things on the ruins of the Mahommedan Monarchy. Though not yet arrived at that state of independence, which they gained in a few years, they were already sufficiently numerous and determined to form themselves into large parties for the purpose of depredation, and to avail themselves of the distracted state of the Government. It will generally be found, that there is but one stage between that of a petty thief, against whom the arm of the law is raised ready to strike, and the feudal Chief or Baron; and this stage is that of the powerful freebooter and marauder, who has sufficient force to set himself up above law, but is not yet recognized as a component part of the state: and to this intermediate stage the Sikhs under Adina Beg had arrived. These stages might ordinarily be passed through in as many generations: the father throws up his occupation, and becomes an outlaw. Success, and increase of the number of his followers, enable the son openly to defy the Government, from the emissaries of which his father had been continually flying: a few short years see the grandson a territorial Chieftain and a Baron of

the empire. To remedy the evil of this state of things, Adina Beg adopted the same temporizing and fatal policy, by which the plains of Italy had many centuries before fallen into the hands of the Lombard—partly yielding to, and partly resisting his rebellious subjects, he at length took two hundred of the most notorious into his service for the preservation of his district, hoping thus to ward off the effects to himself of a calamity which he felt that it was beyond his power to cure. And his policy so far succeeded, that by judicious management, and timely concessions both to the contending powers above him, and the audacious outlaws nominally under his controul, he managed to keep possession of his province, and has left a name respectable for ability and success, as the last of the Imperial Proconsuls.

He died—and with him perished the genius to combine and the strong arm to controul the discordant elements of which his power had been composed. His feeble widows, for he died childless, were unable to hold the reins, which his grasp could barely controul, and the province was lost to his family, and not only to his family, but to the empire. The power of the Mogul was now shattered to its foundation, and the invasions of the Abdalli bore more the character of incursions for plunder, than expeditions with a view of acquiring permanent empire, and thus the field lay open to a new and more active invader. Nor were they long in taking advantage of the opportunity; which the utter extinction of all outward form of Government presented. It was the doom of the highly civilized, but effeminate Mahommedan, to give way to the brawny arm and savage resoluteness of the hardy cultivator of the soil. The same era had arrived to the Mahommedan Monarchy, of which the page of History presents us so many, and so mournful examples: the same tale must be told of institutions overturned, of cities sacked and levelled, of the entire disorganization of Society, and return to the primary elements of brute life, where strength is Law, which marked the irruption of the hardy tribes of the North of Europe into the plains of Italy: a new race of Longobardi had sprung into existence to found dynasties and lord it over the conquered soil.

The Janissaries of Adina Beg saw their opportunity, and began to take possession for themselves of the soil, which they had been engaged to protect. Their numbers were reinforced by their relations from the neighbouring Manjha, and no sooner was it found how profitable a trade was that of a marauder, how soon a single Chief of enterprize could collect round him a party of horsemen, and convert himself into an independent Prince,

and his followers into landed proprietors, than the ploughshare was converted into the sword by every Jut Zemindar: each village sent forth its detachment of hardy youths to carve out for themselves a respectable fortune, and to pay out old scores with their ancient oppressors. Thus it came to pass that in a few years the Delhi Monarchy became a shadowy and empty name, while the solid and substantial advantages of power and wealth passed into the hands of the lowest class in the scale of civilization, the hardy but ignorant cultivator of the soil.

These were fine times for those, who were gifted with the sterling gifts of a resolute spirit and a stalwart frame. No accomplishments of the mind, no cultivated talents, no boasted descent of an illustrious ancestry were required to constitute this new and self-formed Aristocracy. Enterprise and success made the Chieftains. As large a tract of country as the walls of his Fort could overawe, and his dependant horsemen could overrun, were the limits of his dominion: his code of policy embraced the ready gathering in of his harvest: his only allies were those whom mutual advantages bound to him: his only law was his sword.

Such a state of things could neither long continue, nor was it within the bounds of human probability that principalities so easily won would be so easily preserved. In the annals of the time we read of feuds and forays, of Chieftain swallowing up Chieftain, of the hardy Jut but yesterday behind the plough, and to-day the lord of territory and castles, and to-morrow again a houseless outcast. Some few Hindu and Mahommedan Kardars of the old regime had by the aid of strong walls to their towns and forts, and by the resoluteness of a small band of their own faith, managed to resist the desultory incursions of the new invaders. Some few purchased peace by the cession of half their possessions, or the tribute of half the Revenue, and the Rajpút Rajas of the Hills availed themselves of the confusion to take possession of districts in the plains: but there was no certain possession, no son could reckon upon succeeding without a struggle to the inheritance of his father: few even died in the possession of those lands, which they had themselves won. When the strong arm became paralysed, the old man saw himself ousted from the castle, which had been the trophy of his youth, and in which he had lorded it in manhood.

For forty years this state of things lasted, a dreary time for the quiet and peace-seeking inhabitants of the country, an interval without the semblance of law, when strong walls alone protected the wealth of the trader, and the ploughman tilled his fields with arms in his hands: battles were fought for village

boundaries, the blood of man was shed in retaliation of plundered cattle. That such a state of things lasted so long, can only be accounted for by the circumstance of the absence of any individual, who, by uniting political craft to valour, could combine these heterogeneous materials and establish upon their ruin an empire.

The time arrived and *the man*. In one of the smallest of the tribes, into which the Sikhs had divided themselves, with but few personal recommendations, but endowed with a keen and true visional intelligence, a craft passing all sifting, and the magic power of influencing all, with whom he came into contact, Runjit Singh consolidated under himself the shattered fragments of Empire. For the term of his own days he ruled with success, and but for the intervention of another and a stronger power, which he alone of his nation rightly appreciated, and prudently succumbed to, would have spread his rule over the North of Hindustan, and established a new Hindu Monarchy from the Indus to the Ganges.

His power fell with him: his successors had not the ability, or the fortune of their predecessor, but his system was rotten at the core. To outward appearance his kingdom was wide and consolidated, but there were neither the ties of nationality, nor religion, nor interest, to cement, what his personal ability and success alone had brought together. The paraphernalia of power, and the ostentation of ruling, the splendour of his palaces and retinue, and the magnitude and fame of his armies, gave his rule the semblance of strength: the administration, though composed of various faiths, bore the garb of nationality: the Army, though a large proportion were natives of Hindustan, and subjects of a foreign state, bore the name of the Khalsa, and deliberated as a great patriot confederation. But the secret springs of the strength of a nation, and a Government, did not exist: the army melted away, as the snow in the spring; the kingdom of the Sikhs, who in their haughtiness had fancied themselves the salt of the earth, was dismembered, and divided among their enemies; and such miserable portion, as does remain, and mocks the semblance of Sovereignty, is crumbling away, and exists only by the support of hireling bayonets and foreign interference.

At the time of the first treaty entered into by the British power with Runjit Singh in 1806, when Lord Lake with his handful of veterans chased the discomfited Holkar across the Beas, and held with a comparatively small army the frontier, which we now hold with six times the force,—Runjit Singh possessed not an acre of soil in the Doab, and it was on the boundary

of the Manjha, in which he and Futeh Singh were supreme, that the first compact of amity and friendship was concluded. It was within the subsequent forty years betwixt January 1806, when Lord Lake crossed the Sutlej at Ludiana, to February 1846, when Brigadier Wheeler marched from the same place to Jhelundur, that the province was conquered, and managed by Runjít Singh and his successors. For the three years subsequent to Lord Lake's retirement, the cupidity of Runjít Singh, was excited by the richness and defenceless state of the plains of Malwa and Sirhind, and his religious vanity was flattered by the possibility of extending his rule to the Ganges; these hopes were crushed in 1809 by the forward policy of Lord Minto, by the negotiations of Metcalfe, and the military demonstration of Ochterlony. But no sooner had this crafty politician satisfied himself, that there was no fear of further interference on the side of Hindústan, no sooner had he reconciled himself to the armed intervention, which had prescribed the Sutlej as his limits, than he set himself vigorously to work to bring under his immediate controul the provinces, the privilege of confiscating which had been conceded to him. No ties of relationship saved the estates of his maternal uncles and his step mother—no claim of friendship averted the evil from his "turban brother," once his equal and ally: year after year the feast of Dusserah found Runjít preparing for an expedition of plunder and annexation, and the death of each Chieftain of the old school was the signal of attachment of his territories, and the confiscation of his wealth, till one by one all the former possessors were annihilated, or reduced to insignificance. At the close of twenty years the heads of the three most powerful families remaining in the Doab fled precipitately across the Sutlej, preferring independence in the small estates, which they possessed in the Protected Territory to the uncertain enjoyment of their extensive patrimonies under the daily increasing exactions of their unprincipled neighbour.

Thus it fell out, that Runjít Singh became the undisputed lord of the Jhelundur Doab. But it must not be supposed that the whole revenues of this fertile province found their way to his treasury: a large portion of the country was still left in the possession of the less powerful of the old Sikh Chiefs, who had wisely bent to the storm: a proportion was conceded for the subsistence of the descendants of those, who had been summarily ejected,—Runjít Singh being too politic to exasperate: a large proportion was re-distributed in Jaghír to the military followers, who had assisted in the conquest, and who formed the new Aristocracy; and a still larger proportion became the

prize of intriguing priests, or was disposed of in religious grants to the shrines, or generally for the maintenance of the professors of the Sikh persuasion, and the Hindu faith. Like the majority of unprincipled plunderers Runjít Singh was pre-eminently superstitious, and his religious advisers were forward in assuring him, that the readiest and most certain method of atoning for past offences was by enriching the shrines of his religion with some portion of the ill-gotten spoils.

Such small remnant of territory as remained after the extensive appropriation for religious and secular purposes, was committed to the tender mercies of the Imperial farmers. Having entered into engagements for the payment of a certain amount of revenue, the Contractor was vested with supreme fiscal and judicial power, with uncontrouled privileges of imprisonment, and rack-rent,—his orders being without appeal, and his processes most summary. So long as the fixed instalment was paid in, so long as the royal ear was not pestered with too impertinent, and too flagrant complaints, so long as well-timed douceurs kept friendly the possessor of the Royal counsels, so long as no higher bid was made for the farm, so long was the term of the contract. No consideration for the good of the people, no thought of the improvement of the districts, no principles of Justice, Polity, or Humanity, were allowed to interfere, or were supposed to bear on the question.

Armed with such awful and irresponsible power, surrounded by a hungry train of needy relations and dependents, conscious that his time was short, that the bargain had been driven hard, and that its fulfilment would be exacted, himself of low origin, and unprepared by education for his duties,—can it be a matter of surprize that the power should have been violated by the Contractor for his own advantage, that all dictates of conscience, all rights of property, all respect for things sacred, should have been laid aside, and that his sole object should have been the gathering in of wealth, the converting of his ill-gotten treasures into ingots of gold, and the disposing of them so as to elude the grasp of his successor, who, he knew too well, would arrive armed with the power of confiscation and imprisonment? The change of Contractor was always heralded by the arrival of his successor with a sufficient force, generally accompanied by a short siege in one of the district strongholds, and ended in a summary attachment of all available assets of the ex-Governor, a search in the Sanctum of his zenana for gold and silver ornaments, and a maltreatment, supposed or real, of his women. The receiving charge of the new Contractor was signalized by the expulsion of every subordinate inducted by his predecessor, a general re-

sumption of all grants of land made by his orders, and a general crusade against all his relations. The same story then followed, the chapter ended with the same peroration: the confiscator of yesterday underwent the same ordeal of his misdoings: private revenge, malice, and all the evil passions, which had been engendered by the short tyranny, found their vent in the established finalè.

The last, and perhaps worst, of these Provincial Governors was Sheikh Imam-úd-dín, whose name late events have made familiar to the most casual of readers. The history of his family is a fair sample of the chequered life of adventurers in the East. Some fifty years ago all the adult male members of his house were extinguished in a feud at Kirtarpore. One solitary representative of the family had remained at home to perpetuate the line of these second Fabii, and his children in the memory of man sold shoes, and obtained their living by humble employments in the town, in which his godson ruled with the power of a Monarch; and to his great grandson was reserved the honour of contending in arms for the vale of Kashmír with the whole power of British India. Twice was the farm of the Jhelundur provinces made over to the tender mercies of this family. The first time ended in the ensuing year in summary confiscation and expulsion. During however the unsettled times, which succeeded the death of Runjít Singh, the footing, which had been lost, was again recovered, the emptied coffers were again re-filled: for the space of six years the whole country was in the undisturbed possession of these Philistines, whose hosts appeared numberless, and everything valuable, good, or costly, was finding its way into their hands; while, owing to the absence of all efficient controul at Lahore, they were enabled to delay the payment of the Government instalments, and render no accounts of their stewardship. But their lease expired with the treaty, by which these provinces were ceded to the Company, and though for a short time they clung fondly to the idea, that it might possibly be continued to them, they soon sunk down to the level of private citizens, and would have been allowed to enjoy their wealth in peace, had not the fatality, attending upon ill-gotten gains, involved them in collision with the British power in Kashmír, which has ended in a manner much to be lamented by themselves.

Under such a system, as the one described, any attempt at good Government must have been impossible: there was neither the will, the power, nor the material for the establishment of Civil Justice, and the peculiar nature of the tenures of land, and the relation borne by parties to the Supreme Government of

Lahore, would have rendered any attempt of the best intentioned abortive. Large tracts of country interspersed in various directions were held by powerful absentee Sirdars, or influential Religieux, who looked upon the local Governor, as their equal, and permitted no interference within the limits of their Jaghirs, in the boundaries of which they affected a virtual independence: each of these had his army of retainers, his artillery and castles, prepared to take up any quarrels either immediately, or incidentally affecting their master's interests: the tracking of crime was thus rendered impracticable, and all administration of civil justice rendered impossible. General improvement, such as the construction of roads, the protection of merchants, and the other numerous cases of an enlightened Government, never entered the ideas of rulers, who looked upon the soil merely as a mine, whence their hoards were to be amassed, and the people as the instruments of production.

That the country flourished, that the population increased, must be attributed to the sturdy and independent character of the cultivators of the soil, who, waging one continual war with their superiors, have in the long run held their ground, and by dint of their numbers, and the permanency of occupation, come off victorious. The natural fertility of the soil was such, as few districts in Hindústan can exceed, and the position of the country at the time of British occupation presents fair ground for some sort of argument either that in practice the state of things above described is not injurious to the people, or that the prosperity of the producing classes is not effected by Social and Political institutions.

The resemblance, however, of the mutual relations of the ruler the nobility and the people in these provinces to that of Europe in the middle ages under the Feudal system must occur to anybody, who is acquainted with the history of those times, and who has read the pages of Hallam. We have here the superior Lord, or Suzerain, holding direct of the crown on tenure of service in war, and attendance on days of ceremony with an appointed force: under him are the different grades of vassals, the subinfeudation of fiefs, the smaller Jaghirdar holding of his superior Lord upon terms of service, harsher, more binding, but of the same family, as those which bound the holder in chief to the crown. Power has the same effect upon the human mind in all climes, but the leading feudal principles seem to have insensibly developed themselves in the same form in the distant countries of Europe and Asia. The weak must yield to the strong, and as the free tenure in chivalry by continued exactions of the Crown and Superior Barons, degenerated gradu-

ally, but certainly, in England into the most odious and oppressive of tenures, till in the days of Charles I. they could no longer be tolerated, and were abolished by his son at the restoration, so the easy tenure of service, upon which the Jaghírs were held by the Sikh Chiefs, become irksome under Runjít Singh, and has eventually swallowed up nearly the whole Jaghír under the uncompromising system of our rule. The pages of Blackstone in his chapter on tenures in Chivalry, may apply with equal force to the tenure in Jaghír. Aids "are a natural incident of feudal holdings, and none more natural, than that of *a fine of recovery*:" nothing more simple than for the Suzerain to step in during the confusion incidental on the death of his vassal, and wring a handsome price from his widow and orphan: the marriage of the Chief, or his son's, presented another plausible pretext for exaction under the garb of a present:—the absorption of estates of childless Chiefs, the confiscation of those of rebellious Chiefs, the annexation of defenceless ones, and the arbitrary management of the estates of minors to the advantage of the self-constituted guardian were opportunities, which were greedily made available by both Hindu and Norman.

In another particular the Sikh chief resembled his European prototype: the hand of man may be strong, but in proportion as the physical triumphs over the intellectual faculties, so do superstition and bigotry establish their empire. Your professional plunderer is invariably a devout Religionist: with his hands steeped with the blood of the slaughtered victims, he keeps the shrine of his favorite Saint, or Divinity, and feels confident, that if he has not fully atoned for the deed, he has at least made the Deity a sharer in his crime: there are always to be found wolves in the garb of ecclesiastics ready to share in the devotional offerings of plunder, and to mutter benedictions for the benefit of the robber. No scruple seems to have suggested itself as to the impurity of the offering arising from the sin of the donor, no connexion appeared to these holy men to have existed between the spirit of the Devotee and the advantage to be gained by the gift:—it was sufficient that the offering was costly, and it mattered not that the tabernacle was constructed from the plunder of the Egyptian. In this way in Papal Europe sprung into existence many of the Abbeys and Monasteries: on this account Monkish Chronicles handed down in rapturous terms of applause the brave robber knight, who sacked flourishing towns, plundered the high-way, put thousands of innocent people to the sword, and founded a convent of monks to eat venison and drink burgundy, and pray at their leisure for the soul of the founder. Matters were managed much in the same manner

in the Punjab. The irruption of the Sikhs was in a great measure a religious movement, and, when the spoil was divided, there was no lack of hungry spiritual advisers to receive some portion of the bounty of their ignorant disciples. These were the Bedís and the Sodhís, the descendants of the Gurús, and the numerous fanatical professors of the religion, all of whom received rich offerings, which they held free of service, liable to no resumption, to descend to their children's children. Runjít Singh, as he was all of plunderers the most unscrupulous, so of all he was the most devotional, and in his time the professors of his religion tasted deep enough of the fat things of the earth, and the fleshpots of Egypt, to pray for the success of this most successful of plunderers, and the most lavish bestower of favour on idle mendicants.

In the domestic habits and manner of living of the Sikh chief, there is much to remind us of the tales of the feudal Chieftain, who held his state in his castellated mansion, and lorded it bravely over his neighbours and his servants. Visit the Sikh Jaghírdar in his estate, and you will find much, that speaks of affluence and rude comfort: little of civilization or improvement. Through fields promising abundant harvests, you will find your way to the entrenched fort, which is at once the title deed of his estate, the asylum of his family, and the store-house of his plunder. You will be met by the Singh himself on the draw-bridge, a venerable figure, with a beard of which Abraham or any of the twelve Patriarchs might have been proud: by his side are his sons and his sons' sons, and a train of followers, a patriarchal group, from the centre of which the old man will make his offerings of sweets and rupees, and will wonder why they are not accepted. He will show you over his fort, which exhibits on all sides signs of rural abundance, and, albeit it cannot be concealed, that the so-called fort was once a Mosque or Mahommedan tomb, the unabashed Sikh feels no qualm in displaying it: from the highest point of the fort he will show you not only the villages, of which he is still in possession, but with an upbraiding tone he will point out those, which Runjít Singh according to him most unjustly seized,—forgetting that his own father, whose white cenotaph appears in the neighbouring garden, had himself appropriated these villages from the Mahommedan Kardar, and that Runjít Singh's right was at least as good as his. But this the old man cannot or will not comprehend; he remonstrates at the dismantling of his fort, and the recusancy of the zemindars in the payment of their dues, now that he has no longer power to imprison and to torture: and all this with so much good humour, that you

cannot be angry with him, and with the air of a man who had been deeply injured, complaining of the deprivation of an established right, instead of the son of a highway-man who would have not the least scruple to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbour, should opportunity offer or powerful friends protect him.

The Sikh Chief, as Ochterlony remarked in 1810, is dead to the voice of honour, shame, or affection, as long as his own interests are effected, and true it is of him still, though nearly forty years have elapsed: ideas of justice he has none, except that the strongest has a right to appropriate, and that it is the privilege of the weakest to submit—

> For why, because the good old rule,
> Sufficeth there, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep, who can.

Dissensions with his wives, or his brothers, occupy his youth and manhood, and in his old age, he is obliged to divide his property among his own sons, who take vengeance upon him for his conduct to his own father: his hand has been against all, and the hands of all have been against him, and it is only by the number of his family, his hired menials, his ditch, and walls, that he has held his own and been able to collect the fruits of the earth in the season of harvest:—it is only by force of arms and by bloodshed, that he has been enabled to maintain the boundaries of his own villages, and it is no unusual sight to see forts erected within musket shot of each other to mantain a disputed boundary.

Were no others but themselves affected by this unsettled state of things, it would be comparatively a matter of indifference, if these Jaghírs were estates in the English sense of the word, cultivated by their own tenants or servants: so long as their carelessness did not extend beyond their own boundary, the world at large would be unaffected: within the limits of his own jungle the wild beast may be allowed his pleasure, his ravages are confined to himself, and those of his own kind. But in estimating the injurious effect of the state of things, it must be borne in mind, that these Jaghírs comprehended only the share of the produce, which immemorial usage has vested in the hands of Government as the protector of the soil, which had been formerly expended in the maintenance of the Imperial Court of Dehli, the pay of the Civil and Military establishment, and the expenses of the empire, but *was* now misappropriated by these Jut freebooters for the necessaries of their own unprofitable existence. In each village of these Jaghírs exist the undoubted village proprietors, a numerous and

industrious race, who have manfully stood up, but with varying success, for their rights against the Sikh upstart and his hirelings. Year after year was renewed the struggle between these hereditary enemies about the division of the crops,—bloodshed constantly, fierce contentions, imprisonment and maltreatment always accompanying the glad period of the ripening harvest. Here ends the similarity between the European and Asiatic feudal system. in Europe the whole estate was possessed by the feudal Lord, who tilled it by his own servants and villains, and of which he was the proprietor: in India the land is the property of others, it is the share only, which is the prescriptive right of Government for the purpose of enforcing order and rule, that is thus misappropriated.

In considering the subject of Jaghírs and free tenures, under whatever name they are known, and in whatever form they appear, it should always be borne in mind, that they are virtual deductions from that portion of the produce of the soil, known by the name of revenue, and the prescriptive right of the ruling power for the sole purpose of maintaining good order, and the other sacred functions, which according to the organization of Society are vested in the hands of the Ruler. Under no other pretence, and for no other purpose can the right to exact any proportion of the produce of the soil from the admitted proprietor be defended; for no other purpose would it be permitted in a free state, where the revenue-payer has a voice in the disposal of the taxes levied from his estate. Standing in this position, the system of alienation of the sources of public revenue previous to their collection is as unwarrantable, and as hardly justified, as the mal-appropriation, or lavish expenditure of the funds in the public Treasury. Every sixpence that passes to other than public purposes, whether in the shape of land free from assessment or payments after receipt, is an equal injury to the state; and as to the state so to good Government, and the common weal. But the provision of relatives, dependants, and supporters, is a weakness to which all rulers in all climes have been subject. In England, where the alienation of the royal domains was exhibited by Parliament, royal profligacy found ample provision for the maintenance of its mistresses, its courtiers, and parasites in pensions and sinecures, till the days that the pound, shilling, and pence view taken of the matter by the Joseph Hume school of financiers, cleared the Augean stables. In India the revenues of Native Administration have been for ages frittered away in Jaghír assignments, and religious grants to the detriment of justice and good order, and leading generally to the insolvency and destruction of the Dynasty. The continuation of such

grants can be in no way incumbent even upon an hereditary successor; and if so, what shall be said of the grants made by Nazims and Kardars whose ephemeral connection generally ended in their own catastrophe, who were unable to preserve their own? And, if such is the tenure upon actual grants, what right can remain to the deliberate plunderers and appropriators of the sources of public revenue during a season of convulsion? Such however is the Sikh Sirdar; his right is founded on no sunnud, he is the son of a successful free-booter, who ousted and perhaps slew the subordinate of the former Governor, and he has as much claim to the Government share of the produce, as the Highlander may have to the excise duties of a country, of which his grandfather may have in former days robbed the provincial Treasury. The Government of India have taken the same view of the right of the Jaghirdar of the Doab, but its clemency has provided for the gradual, and not immediate extinction of the class, and the lien of the Sikh upon the soil will lapse with the death of the present incumbent. We trust that the same policy may be gradually extended to the protected Sikh states, towards which our relations are more complicated, but to which the grand principle should still extend, that the sovereigns' share of the soil should be appropriated only by those who are capable as well as willing to discharge the duties of the Governor.

We have no sympathy with your ruler unable to discharge the duties of his high station, with your sovereign rejected by his subjects. In the words of one of the most talented of modern writers—"Sceptres were committed, and Governors were instituted for public protection and public happiness, not certainly for the benefit of Rulers, or the security of particular Dynasties. No prejudice has less in its favour, and none has been more fatal to the peace of mankind, than that which regards a nation of subjects as a family's private inheritance. For as this opinion induces reigning princes and their courtiers to look on the people as made only to obey them, so when the tide of events has swept them from their thrones, it begets a strong hope for restoration, a sense of injury and imprescriptible rights, which give the shew of justice to fresh disturbances of public order, and rebellions against established authority."

It behoves all these who are concerned in the Supreme administration of India to consider well these words, and to remember well that the people are the strength of the country,—that it is apart from duty as well as policy to uphold those, whose capability to rule with advantage to their subjects is gone, the spawn of the moment, who would have been swept away long since, but for the fortuitous interference of our power—who

are drones for good, but can be wasps for evil—who are incapable of giving assistance, as the last war has fully shown, but are capable of annoying—and who without one quality to recommend them, are freed from the restraint of all law, and are allowed to fatten on the revenue alienated from the Government, which has the protecting of all. Such are many of the Sirdars, who occupy the countries betwixt the Jumna and the Sutlej.

Our remarks apply to measures and not to men, and what we have above written is not for the empty laudation of individuals; but some account of the measures adopted for bringing the territories of the Doab under the system of the English government, is necessary to conclude the history of the country. By the treaty of March 1846, the whole of the Jhelundur Doab, both hill and plain, and without reservation, was ceded to the Company. A Commissioner and Assistants were appointed to go into the land and settle it—build up the form of justice, where it formerly did not exist—smooth down asperities, and conciliate affections—settle revenue, and punish crime—report upon Jaghír tenures, and assign land for military cantonments,—and all this, in the month of April, in a houseless country. When once the machine is set a-going, it requires but system, judgment, and regularity to carry on the details of civil government, but in a newly ceded district, we have to create where nothing previously existed, to collect together the heterogeneous components, to meet the thousand and one calls upon time and resources. To those who are inclined to under-estimate the laborious duties of officers thus employed, we recommend that their judgment be suspended, till personal experience has enabled them to form an opinion.

Much has been done within the last two years, though much still remains undone. A light assessment of the Revenue of the country is a blessing which has been widely appreciated, and the benefit of which will not perish with the term of the contract. Peace has been restored to the borders of a country, which never knew a season pass without a foray and bloodshed; the boundaries of every village have been permanently demarcated, and all cause for future contention on that head removed. Straight and wide lines of roads lead in every direction from river to river, and the abolition of all restraint on trade, the security of property and person, and the opening wide the means of communication, have given new life to commerce. Towns are being re-built, and as the den of the robber and the lawless is cleared away, the Serai and the residence of peaceful men spring up in the plain. All forts and defensible places, capable of resisting the police, saving such as are required for the use of Government, have been dis-

mantled, and their materials sold into the hands of the agriculturist for the construction of his granaries and wells: verily, and indeed, the sword has been turned into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning-hook. The plundering Búrcha has quietly returned to his patrimonial acres, and the common report has gone forth trumpet-toned into every village, into every corner of the country, that the doors of Justice are open to all,—that, as none are so high, but that they must bend their head to it, so none are so low, but they may crawl to its threshold. Crime against the person or property scarcely exists, and when the Editor of the *Friend of India* in a late issue remarked that the district of Jessore, from the prevalence of the lattyal system was more insecure than that of Jhelundur, he perhaps was not fully aware, that the state of the internal peace of this newly-called country might vie with that of any in India. The thunders of our artillery at Hurríkí Patun still ring too loudly in the ears of the population, and personal fear of their rulers, who have destroyed the Khalsa, is still sufficient to deter from plunder and robbery, while the European system of Criminal Justice has not been sufficiently long established to allow of the introduction of the social art of petty larceny, which flourishes so plentifully under its auspices. Suttee and female infanticide, if not entirely suppressed, are at least known and admitted to be offences against God and man, which will assuredly be punished; and no supposed custom of family or precept of religion will be admitted in defence of an action, which is in itself a breach of the first great principles of our nature. Nor have the minor arts of peace been forgotten. Schools for the instruction of the mind, and public hospitals for the cure of bodily ailments, have been established by the liberality of Government in both of the great towns in the Doab, as nuclei from which in due time we trust that the healing principle of both may spread over the whole country, and be at the command of the poorest inhabitants.

In matters of religion, the policy of Government has been marked with liberality and straight-forwardness: and freedom to all to profess their own faith, to worship their Deity in the way in which it seemeth best to them, has been proclaimed. After a violent suspension of fifty years, the outward ceremonies of the Mahommedan religion are openly professed, and any interdiction upon the slaughter of kine, which might have previously existed, has been removed; at the same time the taxes upon the Hindu shrines have been remitted, and all connection of Government with either faith dissevered; a Protestant mission has been established; and the principles of toleration, which are extended to all, are demanded and enforced from all.

The treatment of the numerous claimants of the bounty of the Supreme Government, the Jaghírdars, and the other religious and secular dependants of the former Rulers has been just, and yet tempered with mercy. That a moiety of the Revenue of the country could be permitted to remain alienated in favour of the Priests and servants of a foreign power, was out of the question; but that the right of each should be examined on its own merits, and that speedily, and without delay, and that a number of individuals should not heedlessly be deprived of the means of existence, was a subject worthy of the consideration of a great Government. And although the lavish profligacy of the corrupt Lahore Durbar for the last four years, rendered large resumptions necessary, and the fond hopes of some idle sycophants and crafty Faquirs have thereby been blasted, yet still the principle upon which the decisions of Government were grounded, will be admitted by all capable of giving an opinion on the subject, to be as liberal as they are unquestionably equitable. Upon the same principle an unpalatable but necessary lesson has been read to the descendants of the original Khalsa, the sons of the robber chiefs, who rolled down the pillars of the Mahommedan Empire, that they must remain as peaceful subjects liable to the same rules as their neighbours, or not remain at all: that the possession of Forts, Cannon and Troops of armed men are the privileges of Government alone and quite incompatible with the position of good lieges. The equally unpalatable lesson has been read to them, and practically inculcated, that the producer of the rich gift of the soil has rights as well as the consumer—that the world was not made for an upstart and ignorant Aristocracy—and that, under a centralizing and paternal Government, strong to put down internal commotion, strong to meet foreign incursions, while all will be maintained in their just rights, none will be allowed to trench upon the rights of others.

Such are the leading provisions, which have been made for the welfare of the people who have been transferred to our rule; meaning by the people the agricultural and commercial population, the sinews of the strength of a nation, and who ought to be the first care of an enlightened Government. In their eyes, in their unbought exclamations let the question of the popularity of the Government of the Foreigner be read, and those that read truly will find that the rule of the Company has been hailed as a blessing, and that in spite of all its failings and shortcomings it is still so esteemed. We care not for, we seek not the approbation of the aristocratical spawn, the sons of the free-booters, who have been sent back to their hereditary duties of the plough by the operation of the new system. As we seek not an opinion on the

purity of the British Parliament from the sinecurist, and borough-monger, so we ask not the good opinion of the provincial Governor, who has been relieved of the charge of provinces, which he was utterly unable to manage to the advantage of the people, or the seditious Priest, who has been compelled to disgorge the revenues of the state, which he had misappropriated. The memory of former exactions is still fresh in the recollection of all; the blessing of peace within the borders, and of protection from personal violence is one that is fully estimated by the generation, which has felt the misery of their absence, though little thought of, if not entirely forgotten by those who never saw their fields harried—who never wept over their plundered homestead. But the rule of the European conveys higher and more positive blessings, and we may feel confident that the impartial administration of justice, and the extension of the means of civilization, bringing plenty and enlightenment in their train, will be appreciated as benefits by the children's children of those, who trembled at the distant echo of our artillery, long after the memory of the time of the Búrchas, and the eighty years of confusion subsequent to the up-breaking of the Mahommedan empire have passed away, or are only handed down by grey beards as the annals of the past. And the names of the Lawrences and their honoured associates in the noble but arduous and mighty work of bringing order and harmony out of the chaos of anarchy, which has resulted from the despotism and misrule of unnumbered ages, will be enshrined in the memories of a grateful posterity, long after the tongue of calumny has been silenced, and the whole sable progeny of cotemporaneous envy and malice shall have been consigned to their own congenial rottenness in the tomb of oblivion.

ART. II.—1. *Literary Leaves, or Prose and Verse, chiefly written in India, by David Lester Richardson. Calcutta, Thacker and Co.*

2. *Literary Chit-Chat, with Miscellaneous Poems, &c., &c., by David Lester Richardson. Calcutta, D'Rozario and Co.*

3. *Notices of the British Poets, Biographical and Critical, from Chaucer to Thomas Moore, by D.L. Richardson, Principal of Hoogly College, &c. &c. Ostell and Lepage,* 1848.

LITERATURE is a word of most comprehensive meaning. It comprises all the regions of recorded thought into which letters as signs, and exponents of ideas, in every way enter. What a vast, what an illimitable range then has literature! It either skims the universal surface of things, or dives into the recondite, 'deeper than did ever plummet sound.' Whatever is imagined, whatever is thought, whatever is said or done, it takes cognizance of. It may be said metaphorically to resemble the ocean itself—'wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.' This, however, is taking the word in its grandest sense, for instead of widening with the stream of events, literature has somehow narrowed its channels, and lessened its volume. Scarcely any thing is now considered as coming under the proper head of literature, save what may have reference to the lighter dialectics, works of fancy and imagination, or critical disquisitions on such. To be a literary man according to modern fashion requires but little knowledge of history, science or politics.

It was a notion of our forefathers, that every calling required an apprenticeship. Rough indeed was the probation required to be an author. The preparation for, and the moral fortitude expected in candidates for initiation into the ancient Egyptian mysteries, so far as we can form an idea of them, were but slight compared to the ordeal which the aspirant to authorship had to pass through in days that were. The working tools then were far fewer, but many of the labourers were giants. The means and appliances were scanty, or difficult to be procured, but they were wielded by staunch, trusting and determined hearts. They not only thought, but taught others to think. They were not afraid of wind or tide, cramp or storm, but struck out vigorously into the stream in the strong buoyance of self-reliance, and a robust power that was not easily baulked. It is not so with their descendants, who wisely distrustful of their own wind and sinews

——————————— venture
Like little wanton boys on bladders,
For many summers in a sea of glory,

and in many instances it may be said, 'far beyond their depth.' How many aids to knowledge have we, that they could not by any possibility, command. They were in that respect like some of our Indian goldsmiths, who by means of a small hammer and anvil, and a little fire, produce specimens of exquisite workmanship that astonish their colleagues in Europe.

The favorite literature now, is that which deals most in sportive sarcasm, or exhibits elaborate efforts to be continually jocose and sparkling. A writer now is considered as nothing, unless he is pointed and trenchant. He must be a compound of sentiment and epigram, of paradox and repartee. The springs of poetry appear to be drying. We have no new poets, or only old thoughts dressed up anew. The poets of the last generation have almost become thread-bare by constant use. Their best things have, it is found, begun to pall upon the taste; for critics sometimes are to literature what hurdy-gurdy grinders of the street are to the Maestros of opera, they jingle the best bits of composition in the public ear, till we almost wish with Dr. Johnson, that they had been impossible.

But somehow there is the sense of a pervading want in a great portion of our current literature. There is an uncertainty as to the quality of the tone. There is, as it were a perceptible deficiency of sustaining latent warmth, a want of sun-tinting in the clouds moving in the firmament of fancy. We miss a central principle in the world of modern poetry. It is a sea without salt, an atmosphere abounding more in vapour than free air. The life spirit of irrepressible faith, is either languid or in a state of abeyance. Poetical justice is a mere superstition, of which we have traditions. Excitement is the great aim of literature. To that every thing else becomes supplementary. Faith of every kind appears in a state of mesmeric deliquium. Faith in honor, faith in pure benevolence, faith in love, and faith in the progressing perfectibility of art, are only known as it were to echo, the daughter of the rocks, who answers 'where are they?'

Everywhere indeed, it is not too much to say that faith is either low, or is not at all. All faith is either sneered at, or openly scouted, save faith in the potentiality of money. That indeed is the popular religion of our times. We do not literally melt gold into the form of a calf, and kneel down to it, but the abstract golden idea is enshrined in the heart—and it fills the pix of the affections. The exception to this idolatry with many, is worldly ambition, 'the lust of the eye, and the pride of life,' and these become the pole star of human destiny. 'Money makes the mare to go,' is the philactery label of our intellectual Pharisees, the go-a-head fast men of our times. Look to the

present. Never mind the beyond. Live while you can—all the rest is not worth the snap of a finger and thumb. This is our approved philosophy—not perhaps in the naked sense, but duly wrapped up, scented, and presented by kid-skin gloved professors of expediency, and, 'knowledge of the world.' Are we indeed stranded upon a boundless shore of epicurean morality, or cast away upon some unheard-of island of the south seas, inhabited entirely by a race of undescribed Pococurantes? Whatever savours of the generous, or impulsive in nature, is smiled at piteously as romantic. Whatever yields to the power of feeling or emotion, is voted absurd, or *rococco*. Simplicity has left the earth with Astrea, and the love of it, is clean gone out of us, as the sun-rise euphony has from the desecrated Memnon. Romantic faith has vanished with faith of a more sacred kind, that looked ever hopeful to the mercy seat of glory. There is no longer a readiness to believe in the supernatural ability of the truly good, and the purely benevolent. The realm of 'faery,' is quite disenchanted by the iron wand of utilitarianism. The faculty of the imagination is treated as if it were altogether a word. It is now either starved away in budding infancy, or plucked out in plastic childhood. "In the education of children"—sayeth one entitled to be listened to—"love is first to be instilled, and out of love, obedience is to be educed. Then impulse and power should be given to the intellect, and the ends of a moral being be exhibited. For this object, this much is effected by works of imagination; that they carry the mind out of self, and shew the possible of the good and the great, in the human character. The height whatever it may be of the imaginative standard, will do no harm; we are commanded to imitate one who is inimitable."*

The question now asked by every little boy, is, "is it true?" A very proper question we acknowledge it to be, in certain circumstances. It was one, however, that the old fashioned children of days, when intellect did not keep up such a 'quick march,' as it now does, never thought of putting. They were docile little creatures that believed every thing to be a truth, which came to them in the guise of adventure and narrative. Their appetites 'grew by what it fed upon'—and where was the harm? Every thing stated to them was true to their innocence, true to poetical justice, as they understood it, and true to the heart. The more philosophical young ladies and gentlemen of the nursery now-a-days must have prosaic matter-of-fact verity. There must be circumstantiality of time, place, parish and indivi-

* Coleridge's Literary Remains.

duality. Opening rocks, and gigantic bean stalks, will not do now. Lilliputians and Brobdignagians are out of fashion. Robinson Crusoe's identity even has become questionable. It is in vain now to tell your little boy, when he becomes curious about his infantile advent into this world of ours, that he was found under a gooseberry bush, or an apple tree. That sort of nursery physiology is obsolete as witchcraft. It won't do to mystify him. He knows better. He is precocious in his day and generation, and must have Baconian proof and perceptive evidence. Your 'Forty Thieves' may go hang. Your 'Wonderful Lamp' may sputter into oblivion. Your 'Mother Goose' may be a goose to the end of the chapter. Your 'little Red Riding Hood' may eat the wolf instead of the wolf devouring her—it is all one to our three feet nothing philosopher. He is amused no more, but chills you with the quiet unimpassioned query, "is it true." Parvulus even takes a sight after the most approved fashion at a ghost story, or a legend of 'diamonds and pearls,' and 'beauty and the beast,' and laughs your own and grandsire's ignorant gullibility out of countenance. Luther's pretty tales on presenting some little market gift to his children, about lovely gardens, delicious fruits, and exquisite toys given in reward of docility and goodness, by beautiful boy or girl angels, would now be no go! Such antediluvian parabolical teaching in metaphor, and heart-softening idealities, is withered to the root by the square and rule, alkali and acid, cause and effect, fact and reality, menticulture that finds favor with the domestic or school educators of our age.

Is there not a perceptible hardness, or absence of cordial tenderness, in social relationship? All emotion is eschewed in intercourse, and the surface of manners is as waveless as the Asphaltite lake of Judea. In the realm of imagination, there is a pervading deadness, in regard to things, persons, and interests, that belong not to the passing day. The heroic is entombed. Instead of inventing new works, or illustrating profound or soaring ideas, it is more congenial to the mocking spirit of our times to travesty all that is old or cherished. Go to the debating club, go to the printing office, go to the theatres—you will find this the rule. A new phase of intellectual activity (it can scarcely be called progress), has opened, and works are professedly established and carried on, for the express purpose of making people laugh at any thing, every thing and all things. This class of works unquestionably is a great improvement upon the 'Satirists' and 'Yendas,' of the last age—and The 'John Bulls,' 'Ages'—and 'Satirists' of a few years back, which were vehicles of vilest insinuation, and most flagrant ribaldry

and calumny. All phenomena and polity seem surrounded by an atmosphere of Pyrrhonism. Every thing is doubted, and the conviction of Marcus Brutus appears to be general, that virtue is but a phantom. There would be a laugh of derision were any one seriously to venture an opinion, regarding the existence of benevolence as a principle of our nature, irrespective of selfishness. Conjoined with this, there is the most besotted worship of chance as omnipotent for many things, more especially the realization of wealth by a per saltum process. There is a continual yearning for the unattainable, not for what is excellent and enduring in itself. Vain glory especially is in the ascendant. It may be said almost to have taken the place of duty, as a motive. Things are done or not done, not according to their essential fitness, but with reference to what a section of the party's intimates; known 'as the world,' may think of it. A love of true fame is elbowed aside, by a passion for ribbonism, and button-hole distinction which passes for patriotism. No limit is set to curiosity in speculation, and a devouring desire to pry into unrevealed mysteries, beyond what is written. "Nothing (sayeth Dr. Channing), is more characteristic of our age than the vast range of enquiry which is opening more and more to the multitude of men. Thought frees the old bounds to which men used to confine themselves. It holds nothing too sacred for investigation. It calls the past to account; and treats hoary opinions as if they were of yesterday's growth. No reverence drives it back. No great name terrifies. The foundations of what seems most settled must be explored. Undoubtedly this is a most perilous tendency. Men forget the limits of their powers. They question the infinite, the unsearchable, with an audacious self-reliance. They mock pious and revering minds, and rush into extravagance of doubt more unphilosophical and foolish than the weakest credulity."

Literature is often a pursuit under difficulties. This remark applies particularly to India, where the climate with its relaxing effects on body and mind, indisposes even the most active to vigorous exertion. There is here a comparative stagnation in regard to the current of events and consequences, wholly unknown in England; and of which the good, but exceedingly self-opinionated folks there, can form no just conception. 'Great place'—is not as in England open to many. No individual efforts or merits, can in India raise a man to an elevation of office and rank that in England are within the possibility of talent, character and capital. The certainty of this impassability of barrier to advancement, is productive of much apathy in regard to Government movements, schemes, or promotion. All in the

employ of Government, that is, in covenanted employ, form a caste distinct from the people. Even in the ranks of the covenanted, there is lamentable indifference. This might be accounted for, were it our province to enter into the question—which it is not. Suffice it, that where seniority and interest drive merit into the shade, this indifference is not unnatural. The state itself, too, has evinced rather an exigent disposition in saddling all sorts of work upon their servants, merely because they efficiently serve in some one department, for the specified work of which they are entitled to draw a specified salary. This doubling and trebling of incongruous and laborious extra duties is wholly unknown in England, and would not be tolerated there. It is a growing evil in India, and ought to be diminished. The labourer is worthy of his hire—and if there be extra duties super-added to the routine, there ought to be some extra remuneration, were it only a word of thanks, and in the event of intellectual labour, of a distinguished kind, or of years' devotion to such duties—say a button-hole recognition, such as appears to be the darling desideratum of the age. Various causes tend to deaden the springs of action, to chill emulation, and to clog energy. Properly speaking, there is no reading *people*. There is a sort of bastard public, but wholly inefficient as stimulating to production in the literary field. There is properly no demand here for the materiel of literature. We prefer the imported to the indigenous article. This is very depressing, and of course has a torpedo effect on auctorial aspirations. Look, for instance, at the newspaper press of India. It has continually to struggle against the dishonest oblivion of the comparatively limited body of subscribers that support it—many of whom deem that their *name* alone, will meet all the manifold expenses incidental to the production of that diurnal sheet, the want of which would be worse than that of the morning meal; but for which they are base enough never to pay. Society here does the best it can for itself—which is nothing. No one consequently ever does any thing for society. We are a picture and statue-voting public—but not a self-regulating one. All is flat and sterile—but not unprofitable to some who can thimble-rig the said 'pensive public,' out of a million of paid-up capital in a twinkling, no one can tell how. It was said of a Turkish executioner that he did his office so sweetly, that the sweep of his sharp scymitar was not felt. The sweetness of the operation was confined, we presume, to the adept himself, and the spectators—those principally concerned, having never found an opportunity of recording their experience. Many of our fellow-citizens have been operated on, in regard to their stakes in joint stock companies, in a some-

what similar manner. At the very time their pockets were cut away, the feat was so sweetly managed that they did not appear to feel it, though they have been heard to make woeful outcries since. Abuses of various sorts we have in plenty, but those who ought to redress them are deaf to the voice of the charmers of the press, charm they ever so wisely. Were those who draw large salaries, as much dependent on public opinion, as their colleagues in England are, perhaps they would be a little more sensitive to its just complaints. Have these at all produced reform in police, and conservancy, and post office matters? If not, what is the reason? There wants a *vis a tergo;* and until there is the *vis a tergo* of native life, energy and regeneration, we shall have no literature in India, worthy of the name. Notwithstanding young-Bengal pretensions—there is really no demand for literature in its various branches—and this is one grand difficulty in the path of the literary man in India. Nevertheless, the pursuit has been beneficial for many. It is a noble refuge, from ennui, and temptation to idleness and vice. A taste for reading and for composition, act and react on each other. A composer is generally a reader, and a great reader is often an elegant composer. In regard to the former, it is undoubtedly an instrument of great contentment and comfort, as has been instructively set forth by one of the greatest and most accomplished philosophers of our time. "Give a man this taste and the means of gratifying it, and you can hardly fail of making him a happy man, unless indeed you put into his hands a most perverse selection of books. You place him in contact with the best society in every period of history—with the wisest, the wittiest—with the tenderest, the bravest, and the purest characters that have advanced humanity. You make him a denizen of all nations, a cotemporary of all ages. The world has been created for him. It is hardly possible but the character should take a higher and better tone from the constant habit of associating in thought with a class of thinkers, to say the least of it, above the average of humanity."*

It is now many years since the author of the "Literary Leaves," placed his volumes before the public, and we have now the "Literary Chit-chat" and "The Lives of the British Poets"—for the first time in a separate form, by the same hand. The "Chit-chat" is so much an off-set of the other works, that it is a pity almost, that they were not incorporated as one; which by a little management they might have been, in the form of another edition of the primary work. The first of these has

* Sir John Herschel's address to the subscribers to the Windsor and Eton public Library.

done for the author what the productions of several of his fellow labourers in the Indian literary field, have failed to effect for them—secured for him an European reputation. Independent of the gratification otherwise to be derived from a work of this kind, we may remark in passing, that as in the present case, the interest is greatly enhanced by a knowledge of the mental and personal history of the author. This leads one, as it were, to track his progress, and to trace up his ideas to their sources in the map of intellectual sojourn. We become his fellow travellers, sympathize with his difficulties, share in his misgivings, and exult in his success. We behold in this work the collected wealth of one adventurer in the realms of criticism, philosophic speculation and poetry. A fine taste and acute observation, pervade the "Literary Leaves," combined with a polished style and a most candid exercise of the critic's office. The author for many years has been before the public, more perhaps than might suit some of his more retiring cotemporaries. Be this as it may, how far he originally contemplated such a consummation is a point that need not be adverted to now. It often happens that what might at first have been the pastime of an hour may become an enduring pursuit. As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined, and the genial stroll of youth's sweet morning, may like the journey of Obidah, the son of Abensina, become a picture of the totality of a life. It is not improbable that in his earlier efforts the utmost immortality D. L. R. looked for, was that to be found in the columns of some Calcutta newspaper. The Mantuan bard has truly said of fame—Vires acquirit eundo—and to this, its inherent quality of progression, may be attributed the full grown ambition of our author, to be known beyond the limits of Indian celebrity—if such a thing can be said to exist, unless it first receive the imprimatur of a London publisher. How far this may be just and proper, we pause not to argue here. It sufficeth that it *is* so, and that perhaps it is quite natural that such should be the case. It is an illustration at any rate of the attraction of aggregation. The mass of intellect, so to speak, being in England, mental magnetism draws in that direction.

This has not been the only step in advance made by our author, for time has been, when prose writing seemed a domain altogether out of his beat; his walk was elsewhere, and his sympathies towards quite a different track. How singular are the chances of life's pilgrimage. Had D. L. R. early in his career, been smiled on by the sun of interest and patronage, in the line of his profession; had he got a good staff appointment in a tolerably healthy locality, it might have been better for the man in regard

to the argumentum ad crumenam, but literature would have lost a distinguished poet and critic. In days of yore, perhaps he thought no more of prose composition, as a pursuit, than Benvenuto Cellini at the outset of his career, did of statuary. He will hereafter, we suspect, be better known by his prose essays, and critical disquisitions than by his poetry. Now-a-days very few read poetry. It is considered a drug in the market! The exquisite gold and silver work of Cellini is more alluded to, than known. For one master-piece of either, that the public can learn any thing of, save by hearsay or tradition; thousands may behold his bronze Persius in the public plaza at Florence. For one that can appreciate, or even so much as look at a sonnet, hundreds will relish an essay. Thoughts, like works of art, contract a value from forms, independent of the intrinsic; and a brass Augustus might thus command a higher price than a golden Constantine.

Our author has a delicate perception of the ideal, though occasionally, it seems to us, chargeable with being fastidious; we may even add hypercritical if not finical. His pages are remarkable for purity of style and clearness of reasoning. Sometimes one is almost inclined to doubt whether he has a catholic appreciation of poetical merit. On the whole, however, though at issue with him on some points, we are free to admit that his qualifications, for a critic, are of a high order, though now and then he appears to form no exception to his own estimate of the discriminative skill we expect in poet-critics. No one has a better claim to belief in regard to the anxieties of literary pursuits than our author. They are accordingly delineated with the graphic fidelity of personal experience. When he states respecting literary men in general, that cheerfulness is always but a doubtful indication of the serenity of the heart, we must enter some grains of exception—unless indeed he be alluding to an enforced cheerfulness—which is no more the thing itself, than rouge is complexion. We have several living writers to disprove the *always*. When we call to recollection the characteristics of such authors as Rabelais, Montaigne, Sterne, Fielding, Gay, Arbuthnot, the Colmans, Charles Lamb and Sir Walter Scott;—we have good reason to demur to our author's 'always.' The vivacity of their style, was the reflection of habitual cheerfulness. We might also, in support of our demur, refer to living writers, as Leigh Hunt, Lord Campbell, Lord Brougham, Washington Irving, Miss Mitford, Miss Edgeworth, Lady Blessington, Miss Martineau, Mr. Dickens, Mr. Thackeray, &c. Lord Byron formed no exception. His sadness was a sham, and a conventional affectation. In Childe Harold he wore it, may be, as a mask. In Don

Juan, he dropped his domino. We suspect the tradition of Swift's being never known to smile, to be an absurdity. It proves nothing. He was intellectually, obstreperously gay at times. He was the impersonation of irony, which seldom laughs save inwardly. Our own Shakespeare was of grave aspect. So was Cervantes. Those who laugh least themselves, are generally the most capable of producing laughter in others. The story of Carlini is well known. 'Go and amuse yourself—and have a hearty laugh—see Carlini' 'Alas! *I* am Carlini.' It was the same with Joe Grimaldi—with a breaking heart, he often set hundreds in a roar, and the whole term of his life was singularly unfortunate and unhappy.

We must also question the position, that "literary pursuits and literary distinctions, are often fatal to domestic pleasures and attachments." It is not the pursuit that is chargeable so much in such cases, as deficiency of temper, or of principle, in the individual. It were better almost that we had no literary men at all than that the converse, as a necessary consequence, were generally true. Literature were a curse instead of a blessing, if its cultivation always merged in domestic alienation and wretchedness. We could refer, were it necessary, to many names distinguished in letters, to shew that such pursuits are compatible with domestic order and felicity. Undoubtedly literary men do suffer at times, from a sensitiveness constitutional to them as a class, and wanting which there might be a palpable deficiency of some intellectual charm. Neither is it to be denied, that an irritability of a professional kind, or even a tinge of envy, is a besetting sin of literary men as well as artists. There are some who can bear no brother near the throne, and who sicken at the praise of others, as if it were so much drawn from the capital of their own fame. Literary pursuits, in short, are a bitter-sweet, that are liable continually to recur to the palate in either savour, according to circumstances, and individual peculiarity. D. L. R. testifies that, "there is something so inexpressibly charming in literary pursuits, and the glory that attends them, that no man who has once fairly enrolled himself in the fraternity of authors, can relinquish his pen without reluctance, and retire into ordinary life." This surely is a fearful confession! Let young aspirants to literary fame ponder it well. For our own part it makes us shudder. Though as yet wholly a stranger to 'the glory' of such pursuits, yet must we admit that there *is* a terrible fascination in them. This remark applies to them as a voluntary movement of elastic mental powers, and not as the '*accipe hoc*' behest of a subsistence seeking necessity. Literary inspiration is a sort of Van Woedenblock devised leg, that is by no

means the best to be put foremost. Being an enchanted limb, it puts itself foremost whether or no, and despite its poor struggling possessor, carries him on at a tremendous pace and railway-like speed, nolens volens,

> Over hill, over dale,
> Thorough bush, thorough briar,
> Over park, over pale,
> Thorough flood, thorough fire,

till at last the pestiferous limb wears out the man and renders him a ghastly spectacle to all beholders. Or to vary the simile, a decided literary taste may be compared to the sacred goor mentioned in "Ramaseeana,"* which, when once tasted, will convert the most lamb-like man into a ruthless thug. One cannot fancy without a shiver of terror D. L. R. tasting of such an infernal sop, and—but a truce to such an unsavoury supposition.

As one advantage of painting over poetry, our author appeals to the fact that, "the productions of the artist are regarded with a deeper feeling of personal interest than those of the author." The reason of this is, that we see the workmanship of the one exactly as it came from his hand, but not so of the other. Would it not be very interesting to see the manuscript of an author of established reputation? The interest of course would deepen with the antiquity of the writing. The reason given by our author for deciding in favor of the painter is, "because there is no agent like the printer, between the artist and his admirer." Have we not the engraver and the lithographer? How few, comparatively, see original paintings of the old artists. Engravings of such, are what books are to literary men; and authors and painters are thus on a par. How precious would one book even, of the Iliad be, in the original, as it came from the amanuensis. Fancy a fragment of the broken table of stone cast down by the indignant prophet at the foot of Sinai, did it but contain one word! Who would not prize an autograph of Socrates were it only his voucher to an Athenian green grocer; or a note to Xenophon from Plato, written on his knee from the gardens of Academus. To come further down, a manuscript ode from Horace, or a shred of parchment of Virgil, containing the rough jotting down of 'Ille ego qui,' &c., would be worth fifty times their weight in gold. It is too true, as our author complains, that "the friends and associates of a man of genius are

* This work of Colonel Sleeman's is, by far, the most original and interesting of the present century. It gives an account of an amiable society of peripatetic philosophers who boast of scrupulously abstaining from shedding blood. They have an off-hand way of recruiting the financial department, and have studied the mysteries of tying a neckcloth more deeply than Beau Brummel ever did. They carry out the principles of utilitarianism to an extent little dreamed of by European professors. Colonel Sleeman's work is one of fearful interest, and unfolds the sublime of the horrible.

generally among the last to discover his intellectual greatness. It is much the same with contemporaries, some of whom are eminently conceited in their depreciation of or surprisingly stupid in their blindness to real merit. Dr. Heylin, in reckoning up the famous dramatists of England, omitted Shakespeare. Who has not heard of Whitelock, who mentions the author of 'Paradise Lost,' as 'a certain blind man, Latin Secretary of the Parliament?' The author of the Tartuffe changed his illustrious name of Pocquelier, for the humble one of Molliere, that he might not disgrace his father the upholsterer.* In regard to an eminent divine and philosopher, Samuel Pepys, in his amusing diary, has this entry. "May 12th, 1661—At the Savoy—heard Dr. Fuller preach upon David's words—'I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time, until my change arrive;' but methought it was a poor dry sermon." We have a pretty good notion that the dry poverty was not in the preacher. His judgment regarding another work of genius, is of a piece. "This book (Hudibras) now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies." In the prefatory account of the life of the Revd. John Ward, vicar of Stratford upon Avon, who had lived in habits of intimacy with and in attendance, as a medical practitioner, on Shakespeare's immediate descendants; Dr. Severn who, in such a congenial spirit, has so ably executed his task, of editing and illustrating a work that casts a few rays on Shakespeare's latter days; has these remarks. "The effect of time and proximity on human judg-
'ment, with regard to contemporaries, is aptly illustrated by the
'scantiness of Mr. Ward's records of that divinely gifted being,
'whose name has immortalized the obscure village where he
'dwelt, and whose simple tomb had so recently invested the
'humble roof of its rude church with a halo of splendour and
'fame, unknown to the proudest Mausoleum, that earthly wealth,
'or human pride, ever piled over the ashes of mortal grandeur.
'With unavailing regret, we perceive how numerous, varied, and
'precious our memorials might have been in these volumes, but
'for the strange and almost universal sentiment which prevents
'men from appreciating the talents of those with whom they hold
'familiar intercourse. 'His father and mother are with us, and
'his brethren we know,' is the language of envious mediocrity,
'ever prone to treat the genius, it can neither understand nor
'value, with insulting disregard."†

* Chateaubriand's Sketches of English Literature.

† "Diary of the Revd. John Ward, A. M., Vicar of Stratford upon Avon, extending from 1648 to 1679, from the original MSS., arranged by Charles Severn, M. D., &c. &c."

This tendency to slight our familiars and contemporaries, lies deeply at the root of human nature, and is the source of much injustice, and secret heartburning. Authors continually suffer from it. Accordingly, the literary man too often meets with the greatest discouragement, from his intimate friends. They damp by an incredulous smile, or a disparaging curl of the lip. Sensitive to an almost incredible degree, authors are excruciated by petty flouts. It is marvellous how much the fine powers of the mind, and the delicate wheels of association, are perturbed and injured by the keen sense of neglect, in a quarter where generous kindliness was most looked for. It requires some distance from elevation of talent, to give us just ideas of its grand proportions. A person perched on a mountain's top, or standing at its base, cannot form a proper notion of its appearance in itself, or as a feature of the surrounding landscape. Though it be but a mournful reflection, as D. L. R. pathetically observes, "that the poet's laurel is often steeped in tears, and acquires its richest bloom upon his grave," yet, is not man made perfect through suffering? If so, it would scarcely be reasonable to expect that the excellence of the intellect, and the imagination, should be exempt from the furnace test, that is to bring forth the faith that is in a man—and which, whatever its kind or amount may be, enables him to walk stedfastly according to his light, and his mission.

> Death is a low mist which cannot blot
> The brightness it may veil.——*

Does all that a man puts his hand to here, indeed perish? In this state of probation, our faculties are exercised to fit them and us, for a great change. We have to learn the important lesson so difficult to acquire, to bear and to forbear. We are called upon to be obedient according to our place and calling; to be docile and tractable, and not proudly obstinate. Even the drill sergeant of a regiment can tell you, that no man is fit to command, who has not learned to obey. We are in a state of discipline and preparation, and the faculties we enjoy, have obviously a higher purpose, than to fret out their hour here, and then be heard no more. May not what is done here by the inspired ones of the world, with the chastened hope and earnest will of conducing to good ends, be remembered beyond the veil? May not the talent elsewhere have celestial usance? We entirely concur with our author that "concern for our future reputation seems as instinctive as our hopes of a future existence." It is surely a conservative principle of our nature—for

* Shelley (Adonais).

next to the bed undefiled, is the grave undefiled. In regard to renewal of friendship hereafter; it hinges, we presume, considerably on the question of identity. Since we are assured that we shall rise again, there can be no question of conscious identity, and as little of relative. There can be no self-identity without memory, and we shall not only know ourselves, but be known to others. If our works here were not merely hay and stubble, they may to some little extent, stand the ordeal of the great change, not for a saving influence, but for memorial. The Apostle of the Gentiles quoted Menander in his sermon. If he were quotable on earth by an apostle, may he not be so elsewhere by angels, for aught that appears to the contrary? At any rate works of mind, are as such, of immortal product—and some of them weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, may be of things that perish not, seeing that we are informed by the sacred oracles, in regard to the righteous—'that they rest from their labours and their works do follow them.' Who shall limit the meaning, retrospective and essential of these words?

We cannot express concurrence in our author's admission that "literary men are not fitted for society." A little above, we were told, that they were not well suited to be family men. If disqualified for both, what better are they than the eremites, who, in the early centuries of the Christian era, betook themselves to the caverns and tombs of the Thebais, to pursue their gloomy avocations in solitude? Some literary men may labour under disqualification, just as some men may be deaf, or blind, or paralytic; but surely this is far from being the general rule, and goodness forbid that it ever should be. The foible alluded to, is too often the result of affectation, waywardness, or undisciplined temper. Some literary men deem it the thing to fold the arms, and stand aloof in a stately attitude, unless they can say something striking, or telling. This sort of studied reserve is very different from the shyness of genius, or the retiring disposition of the poetical dreamer,

> Edwin, of melody aye, held in thrall
> From the rude gambol, far remote, reclin'd.*

Neither can we assent to the notion that "the more literary men confine themselves to the company of their own class, the better for themselves and the world?" Would not this, in the end, really prove disadvantageous to both parties? It would certainly narrow opportunities of salutary observation and comparison. It is beneficial for all men to rub shoulders with society. It tends to make them more tolerant and courteous. A

* The Minstrel.

monkish segregation from society, cannot be good for any class whatever. Perhaps even the clergy, by keeping aloof from mixed meetings of their fellow-men, may have considerably weakened their own influence. Society is many sided, and if the clergy wholly eschew some of those aspects, there their influence will not be felt. If it be true that the great author of Christianity came to save sinners, and that his life on earth was also for an ensample—then may it be asked, is it the most likely way in order to fall in with sinners, to walk exclusively with saints? Ought not the sinner to be sought for, wherever he is likely to be found? It was the reproach made against the founder of Christianity, that he associated too much with publicans and sinners. Do the clergy tread in the footsteps of the sublime exemplar? Do they seek out the publican and the sinner, where he is to be found? Are they not, on the contrary, restrained by a dread, of being supposed to countenance proceedings, which their very presence might altogether modify? Is not this timidity wholly unworthy of them? Is it not a tradition that the beloved disciple, in his old age, followed the desperate ruffian, and castaway—shouting that he had a message for him from the Lord Jesus—and that the hardened robber became a weeping penitent, at the loving call of him who preeminently has been termed Theologus? Fancy the effect of the appearance of a grave minister at a convivial meeting? If measured conviviality be a sin, then all as well as the clergy should absent themselves. Where would there be any means, so sure of repressing an approach to impropriety, at a public dinner for example, as their presence? If evil have a tendency to grow through their determined absence always, are they free from blame? These questions we submit in all honesty, and with great deference, under appeal to the tenor of the whole life on earth, of the Lord of the vineyard. But to return to our more immediate subject, our author's plan of separating literary men from general society, would only aggravate their defects and faults, especially in regard to ignorance of the world, and of mankind, of which so many of them have been (and not unjustly), accused. Whatever has a tendency to break up society into cliques and castes; is, as we conceive, as inconsistent with the true interests of the many, as it is likely to stint the intellectual and moral progress of the parties themselves. This we have always considered to be a grave objection to the college of Haylebury, for the education of the civil servants of the East India Company. How much better would it not be, were these young men educated at the National Universities; instead of a Hayleybury hobble-de-hoy big school, in a provincial corner, a

college only in name ? At the Universities, they would mix with young men, representing in some degree the nationality of the empire. Would not this tend to improve their manners, and to enlarge their understanding ? At Hayleybury they see only each other, and thus are apt to form an overweening estimate of themselves and of their class. They hear only one-sided, or caste opinions. Their minds become in some measure (or are apt to do so), stereotyped to class prejudices. At Oxford and Cambridge, they would come into social and scholastic collision, with men destined to a very different field from their own, and with whom it would tend to enlarge their views, to interchange thoughts. Two years longer spent in England, at one of the great Universities, would give a more masculine, and demonstrative tone, to their powers and acquirements. Need we say then that we protest altogether against the proposed grouping away of literary men from general society, satisfied as we are, that it would cherish mannerism, foster dogmatism and nurture egotism. It would lead to the formation of coteries, or centres of literary toadyism, round which men of talent, if not of genius, would be expected to revolve as satellites.

In the honest warmth of his commendation of the married state, our author bears rather hardly upon the political economists. These are times, when it is peculiarly requisite, that sound, sober and practical views, should be entertained by all classes on whatever affects the condition of the labourer and the means of subsistence. Of late the wildest notions have been broached both at home and abroad, in relation to the claims of labour, and the equalization of wealth. In France especially, the reasoning of the tribunes of the mob on this subject, absolutely amount to a reductio-ad-absurdum. The theories of Louis Blanc, and the ultras of the English Chartists, if practically carried out, would inevitably throw society into a state of inconceivable anarchy and ruin. The political economists, a far-seeing class, could not but be aware of the tendency of population to multiply beyond the means of subsistence, without some check. When we use the term subsistence here, we include all the means and appliances, that decency and respectability require for the labouring classes; and a solicitude for which, is preservative of character, and a stimulus to industry. The political economists, as far as we are aware, do not "rebuke the cottager for venturing to link himself for life to the object of his honest affections." Cobbett was wont to flail them in his day ; and Sadler used to lecture them after a more measured fashion. Our author evidently looks at them askance, but it is not just to say that they have been enacting the part of the dog-in-the-manger

towards the poor cottager. On the contrary they have shewn themselves honest watch-dogs, on the alert to keep away the wolf of embarrassment and destitution from the labouring classes. What they blame in the cottager, or any other man, is, to permit uncontrolled, the impulsiveness of an hour, to form a perhaps grievous entanglement for years. They tell the labourer to beware leaping before he has carefully examined the ground, and not to run the steeple chase of passion, without a previous survey of the whereabouts, the five-barred gates, the rasping enclosures, and the frightful ditches. They blame the cottager, and surely reasonably enough, for entering most carelessly and thoughtlessly upon a condition of life that entails new responsibilities, and greatly augments the pressure upon narrow means, already scarcely capable of maintaining the individual in decent sufficiency. Marriage is undoubtedly commendable, but can scarcely be admitted as being so for those, who have in no way made any preparations for the inevitable demands of that state; which ought to be entered upon with serious deliberation. Eternal weal or woe may be linked with that most important transaction. In true affection, however, there is a depth of faith which hopeth all things, and which believeth all things. There is a generous trust, and devout reliance, no less on divine providence, than on that love which is the most cordial drop in the cup of being. Strong in this faith and reliance, a poor but honest and sturdy couple will battle heroically with difficulties, and 'bide their time.' Having secured a *locus standi*, the engagement is clinched. Such a spirit is quite in harmony with a sagacious forecaste, and a vigilant consideration of secondary causes. With such persons, there is ever a lively recollection of the apologue, wherein Hercules, when the waggoner's cart gets obstructed in a rut, suggests to the poor fellow to put his shoulder to the wheel.

Perhaps there is no country where premature, or ill-considered marriage, is so much the rule as India, in respect to the native races. In no country is this so productive of manifold inconvenience, not to say evil, and demoralization, as Hindustan. In regard to Hindus and Mahommedans, the evil is like an immense moral ulcer, palpable and revolting. Their early betrothments form a fruitful source of national deterioration. A mere boy is united to a little girl, upon no principle of mutual sympathy, or involuntary attraction thereto, but as a mechanical act of acquiescence to the will of others. It is a matter of perfect apathy. It is a yea nay concurrence in the arrangements of their parents or guardians. The great end of life becomes thus its starting point, or crude beginning. Instead of the auspicious

introduction to a help-meet, owing its origin to some instinctive perception of attraction, some undefined recognition of aptitude, some felicitous adaptation of form, sentiment, and intellectual bent; the whole thing is a mere bargain, heartless and soulless as a copper piece. Marriage therefore in the place of being an exciting, and noble point of exaltation in perspective, like,—

'The height where fame's proud temple shines afar'—

a bower of happiness peeping through the mountain foliage, and a goal of exceeding great reward;—becomes a mere cloying antepast, a way house of the desert, a lounge in a malarious jungle, a draught of gunja intoxicating for a brief period, and by repetition, stunting unfolding powers, sapping opening energies, and withering all the high aspirations of manhood and nascent honour. Look at the results! What would be expected of the growth and condition of children dieted entirely with honey, sweet pudding, and shurbut of syrup of roses? Until the natives themselves recognize the absolute necessity of modifying this vile system of coupling their children independent of attachment, and binding them into the conventional leash malgre their sympathies; until in short, they agree to raise woman from her degraded state, until they vote her to be something more than an animal and a drudge, and raise her to her proper place, in the social scheme;—all attempts at general improvement will be comparatively ineffective. How much this question depends upon the moral education of the natives, as distinguished from mere schooling, must be obvious to all. The native manhood, to some extent, appears willing enough to avail itself of European institution, and guiding, in regard to intellectual advancement; but the native womanhood is ranged determinately against all change, and turns with aversion from the rays of knowledge, that begin to penetrate the seclusion of the zenanah. This is the retribution of man's wrong. The womanhood of India is its Ireland, and its awfully obstructive moral difficulty. It is much more difficult to enfranchise than to enslave, and men all over the world prefer the easiest or most convenient task of the moment, though it include a Pandora box of difficulty and misery for the hereafter. The Man of India has made woman a serf for centuries, and when he offers her freedom, she spurns it. When he would raise her, she prefers the sordid second nature of custom, to which he in his selfishness reduced her. The proffered liberty therefore is repelled as something unbecoming, immodest, and utterly repugnant to custom;—custom rooted in lust, and hedged in by a system of jealous outrage, that is a reproach to manhood, and a disgrace to civilisation. This is the grand

obstacle to overcome, and until this huge stumbling block, this ugly hill of difficulty, is got over, or levelled to the dust; the cause of native education in its high and comprehensive sense, will advance but very haltingly indeed.

The Natives of Bengal who have availed themselves most of the opportunities for English education, and moral indoctrination, have with very limited exception, literally done next to nothing in this matter. We acknowledge the exceptions, including as they do worthy and honorable individuals;—but as a class they have shewn themselves men of words, not of deeds, of profession rather than of performance. The language of reform is frequently in their mouths, which we presume has reference to dietetics, since we hear more of the eating and drinking (after the most approved English fashion) of Young Bengal, than of their own moral progress; or their determined efforts to promote the moral progress of their more ignorant and poorer countrymen. With scarcely a profound oriental scholar among them, and certainly no Grecian or Hebraist, these are the men who set up as learned judges of the evidence of creeds! These are the erudite sages who balance the probabilities of divine revelation, and prove the truth of one book by forbidding their youth to look even into another. What is it that really forms the ground of the aversion that educated *(quasi)* Natives have to the Christian religion, as a system of morality, grounded on faith in certain historical events? Can it arise from ratiocination and comparison of the morality, purity, and spiritual responsibility of both systems? Do these young sages, wise in their generation, look to results—and judge each tree by its fruit?

The poorer classes of the Indo-Britons, fall also into mistake in regard to the grave question we have been considering above. Most of them marry a great deal too soon, and become prematurely burthened with families, before they have earned the means of feeding so many mouths. The consequence of this, and the scantily remunerative kind of labour to which they chiefly devote their industry, is, a social state on the very verge of pauperism.* Though with Bishop Atterbury it may be conceded, that those who marry, give hostages to the public; yet ought it also not to be forgotten, that too many of these hostages become heavily chargeable to the public. Ought Malthus,

* The ideas of some of this class in relation to marriage, are somewhat extraordinary. A case in point occurs to us, where a young female pauper supported wholly by charity, tendered a petition, praying all the charitably disposed people of Calcutta, to contribute for the purpose of enabling her to marry a poor deformed pauper also living by alms.

then, and his followers, to be blamed, as cold hearted, or un-Christian; because they endeavour honestly to inculcate upon all, the necessity of striving to make some provision for a state, the very commencement of which is a doubling of wants, responsibility, and expenditure? Woman was meant not only to be a help-meet, but to be the self-restraining, and industrious man's exceeding great reward. 'None but the brave deserve the fair'—has a reference besides the military one. The courage which enables a man to stand fire, is not a rare one. Moral courage is of a more exalted kind. This is the courage most required to enable a man to act well his part in the lot appointed to him. It is this based on religious principle, that fortifies him bravely to breast the difficulties and dangers, that lie between the line of poverty and competence, enterprise and success. The military forlorn hope is generally an affair, (a desperate one it may and generally must be) of a few minutes or an hour, but includes the exciting element of reckless companionship, and prospective glory and its distinctions. That of the labouring man is a forlorn hope of years, and may end in worse than death, blasted domestic comfort, abject misery and despair.

On the subject of "condensation in writing," our author is sound and practical. Though "quality and not quantity, is the true test of excellence," still revising and repruning may be overdone. It may be carried to too great an extent, till the process affects the staple of the work; just as the muskets on board a merchantman are so often polished with the file, that the barrel, at length, becomes thin as paper. To write with great facility, is after all a poor boast. That which is easily produced is seldom much valued. To paint a sign board is one thing, and an altar-piece another. The rapidity of production enhances not value, but the contrary. A copper half-penny may be more readily manufactured than a gold sovereign. Where there is an urgent necessity, for producing a work in haste, as in the instance of Rasselas, we cannot but admire the intellectual power, that under great difficulty, if not distress, so promptly manifested its efficiency. The safest course, however, where no such necessity exists, is to allow the hand ample time to commit to paper the well considered thought. The dramas of Lopez de Vega were written with great rapidity, and by scores for Shakespeare's one. How do they now stand comparatively, in the estimation of the world? Those of the former are scarcely known beyond the precincts of Spain, while the illustrious Englishman's have been translated into the various languages of Europe.

In regard to current literature, we have already remarked that

a mocking spirit is abroad, tending to turn all excellence into burlesque, rather than to hazard original composition. There would seem to be but little relish for poetry of any kind, or for the plain and simple in prose. The imaginative faculty in children being ingeniously stunted, as much as possible, by forcing the ductile mental aspirations into the channels of trite realities, which come soon enough of themselves, without any forcing; generous sympathies are nipped in the bud, and the head takes in tender years the lead, which the heart ought to have. If you pluck away the sprouts that are to form the green suckers of heart faith, you must not be surprised at the result. The probability is that your youngling will grow up sharp, hard and selfish. He will be all head, and his theme continually will be, "go a-head." The main chance will always be the centre of his hopes, and number One, the object of his intensest affection, while the great moral axiom of "make-money, honestly if you can, but make money," will be his chief maxim. He will, in all probability, prove quite as sceptical in more serious things as he has under the new utilitarian system of education; of the verities of Mother Goose, and Aladdin with his wonderful lamp. There is perhaps less to complain of now, than there was some years ago, in regard to works of pure fiction, in which the decencies, to say nothing of the moralities, were sacrificed upon the altar of a vitiated taste. 'Jack Shepherd' and 'The Mysteries of Paris,' smell strongly of the (stage) lamp. This defect clings even to the works of men who are an honor to literature. Dickens is not altogether free from it. Several of his characters and scenes have an eye to theatrical effect, or at least, to our apprehension, seem to have. With all their faults however, and they are but few and far between, the productions of the author of 'Nicholas Nickleby,' are a glorious antidote to those of the Newgate-Calendar school of romance. They exhibit genius of a very high order, in unison with a kindliness of heart that never ebbs, a soundness of the moral sense, and a rare vigour of delineating character. They are remarkable no less, for their felicitous flexibility towards the pathetic, the ludicrous, or the tragic in human nature. The sweetness of this author is very noticeable. We never find him sneering with a gusto at the faults and weaknesses of humanity. Great minds indeed never sneer. Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Dante and Milton, never offend in this wise. The habit of sneering, unless checked, soon hardens the heart. The works of Mrs. Gore, and Mr. D'Israelli (author of Vivian Grey), abound in direct or latent sarcasm. We could wish that the sweetness of Dickens, his large charity for the infirmities of man, his loving and generous consideration

for even the fragmentary good in the ruins of character, and the cheerful philosophy that breathes throughout, were more general *in the literature of the day. A charity boy with him, or a poor friendless usher,* enhances interest, and our best feelings are drawn in sympathy for suffering innocence and virtue. Then how pure his taste. There is no false glitter about the play of his fancy, which exhales the aroma of poetry, as it were unconsciously. He paints vice and villany in their proper colours, and while with masterly power he shews their hatefulness, and their sure tendency to misery and disgrace; he does not steel us against the criminal. He never revolts the reader with lazar-like exhibitions of his fellow-creatures, or withering sarcasms upon their errors, which he knows will tend more to harden than reform. He never shocks us with false sentiment, or gives to warm coloured sketches of depravity an interest often denied to worth. His works, too, abound in simple but beautiful touches of irresistible pathos, and lovely touches of nature; like some of those sequestered cowslip nooks, and bowery glades, one strolls into, in some English country place, where green lanes lead to some old hall in ruins.

The author of "Vanity Fair" is now acknowledged to be one of our first-rate writers. He has a careless strength that evinces a consciousness of power. His facility with the pencil, as well as with the pen, gives him enviable advantages, as the one so happily illustrates the other. He is a shrewd observer, and his instincts are frank, manly and generous. His limning of character is artistic, but sharp if not severe. If we might hint his besetting sin, it is an ever-recurring tendency to be satirical, and to view all things and persons, too much through the spectacles of a Londoner. His analysis of character comes a little too much under the head of dissection. There is much strong colour, and forcible drawing in his portraits, but they lack a little varnish. The tones want mellowing down. We miss the genial gentle humour of Dickens. His continual irony reminds one of a person labouring under chronic heartburn, and requiring something to correct his constitutional acidity.

The work entitled "Lives of the British Poets"—originally consisted of notices biographical and critical (some of them *very* short indeed,) attached to a large octavo volume of Selections from the British Poets, compiled and collated for the use of the Government Educational Institutions of Bengal. In his "Chit Chat," no less than in his "Literary Leaves." D. L. R. has expressed opinions considerably at variance with what we have understood to be those of other good judges, as

well as our own humble impressions, in regard to authors and their works. These we shall discuss with all that freedom and frankness, which, we are sure, will be most consonant to our author's principles, as an enlightened and honest critic. He appears to hold the "Theodric" of Campbell, and Roger's "Italy," as very cheap, and, in fact, unworthy of the authors. That these differ very considerably from former works of those celebrated writers, no one will deny; but that "Italy" "is verbose and feeble," is a point upon which we are constrained to join issue. Of *Theodric*, we say nothing, because it is many years (that is shortly after its publication), since we read it, and we have but an imperfect recollection of it. It is also a domestic tale, and it is therefore scarcely fair to measure it by a heroic standard. It is not unfrequently the penalty paid for previously achieved excellence, that it casts all future efforts into the shade. Mrs. Malaprop thought it better, in affairs of the heart, to begin with a little aversion, and perhaps it were as well with authors to commence with a little mediocrity. 'Paradise Regained' is a beautiful poem, though the nature of the subject did not admit of the magnificent machinery, the splendid accessories, and sublime turns of its predecessor. 'Paradise Lost' was a fitting field for the exhibition of grand contrasts, and the developement of the combative and resistive principles, in antithesis with the amaranthine amenities of innocence in Paradise. 'Italy,' to be sure is not the 'Pleasures of Memory,' though fraught with such, in conception and sentiment. It is, nevertheless, a narrative and descriptive poem. It comprises a series of poetical limned scenes and groups, with judicious breaks and interludes. To dismiss such a beautiful book, one so suggestive, one so abounding in the fanciful, the elegant and the graphic, as "verbose and feeble," does strike us as very unjust. The fact appears to be, that narrative and descriptive poetry, are not in peculiar favor with our critic, of which several instances might be given from his lucubrations. His own efforts at the descriptive, have been, for the most part, at an advanced stage of his career. He preferred at first, rather to dwell on fitful impressions, and the evolution of varying sentiment, than to sketch the grand externals of nature, or the conflict of passions in action. But to return to Rogers, a more exquisite poetical journal than his "Italy," has scarcely ever been presented to the world. Will any one deny poetical beauty of a high order, yet of noble simplicity to the following picture?

> Day glimmered, and I went, a gentle breeze
> Ruffling the LEMAN Lake. Wave after wave,

If such they might be called, dashed as in sport,
Not anger, with the pebbles on the beach
Making wild music, and far westward caught
The sun-beam—where, alone and as entranced
Counting the hours, the fisher in his skiff
Lay with his circular and dotted line
On the bright waters. When the heart is light
With hope all pleases, nothing comes amiss ;
And soon a passage boat swept gaily by,
Laden with peasant girls, and fruits and flowers,
For VEVAY'S market place ; a motley group
Seen through a silvery haze.

How truthful is this little landscape, and how simple, yet poetical the objects glanced at—a lake at sun-rise, a solitary fisherman's shallop, and a ferry boat from which we hear the cocks crowing, and get a glimpse at merry faces laughing through the haze. Perhaps our critic would fastidiously reject the cocks and hens, as beneath the dignity of poetry. How gracefully is the scene of "the Lake of the four cantons,' associated with spirit-stirring recollections.

There in the sunshine 'mid their native snows
Children let loose from school contend to use
The cross-bow of their fathers ; and o'er-run
The valley field where all in every age
Assembling sat like one great family,
Forming alliances, enacting laws ;
Each cliff and headland and green promontory
Graven to their eyes with records of the past
That prompt to hero-worship, and excite
Even in the least, the lowliest as he toils
A reverence no where else, or felt or feigned ;
Their chronicler great Nature ; and the volume
Vast as her works—above, below, around !
The fisher on thy beach THERMOPYLAE,
Asks of the lettered stranger why he came
First from his lips to hear the glorious truth !
And who that whets his scythe at RUNNYMEDE,
Tho' but for them a slave, recalls to mind
The barons in array with their great charter ?
Among the everlasting Alps above,
There to burn on as in a sanctuary
Bright and unsullied lives th' etherial flame,
And mid the scenes unchanged unchangeable
Why should it ever die ?

"The great St Bernard," is an admirably drawn winter landscape, full of touching interest, and is so far from being verbose that less than five pages contain the whole. Can there again be a more charming Arcadian tale than that of Jorasse ? Is this verbose ?

——————— Anon an avalanche
Rolled its long thunder, and a sudden crash,
Told that far down a continent of ice
Had burst in twain ———.

How awful the fall of Jorasse's mule, and consequently of the rider !

> Alone at day-break on the Mittenberg
> He slipped, he fell ; and through a fearful cleft
> Sliding from ledge to ledge, from deep to deeper,
> Went to the underworld ————.

How poetical the description of that under-ice scene, into which the youth has been thus fearfullly cast.

> Innumerable branches of a cave
> Winding beneath the solid crust of ice ;
> With here and there a rent that shewed the stars !

His despair is briefly but impressively painted ; but its very intensity renders him in a manner fearless. He hears the noise as of some mighty flood wending its way to light—he dashes down the dismal channel and——

> all day
> If day could be where utter darkness was
> Travelled incessantly, the craggy roof
> Just overhead, yet with a giant's strength
> Lashing him on. At last in a pool
> The water slept ; a pool sullen, profound,
> Where if a billow chanced to heave and swell
> It broke not ; and the roof descending lay
> Flat on the surface, Statue-like he stood
> His journey ended ; when a ray divine
> Shot thro' his soul. Breathing a prayer to Her
> Whose ears are never shut, the Blessed Virgin,
> He plunged, he swam—and in an instant rose,
> The barrier passed, in sunshine ! Thro' a vale
> Such as in ARCADY, where many a thatch
> Gleamed thro' the trees, half seen and half embraced,
> Glittering the river ran ; and on the bank
> The young were dancing ('t was a festival day)
> All in their best attire. There first he saw
> His Madelaine. In the crowd she stood to hear,
> Whom all drew round enquiring, and her face
> Seen behind all, and varying as he spoke,
> With hope and fear, and generous sympathy,
> Subdued him. From that very hour he loved.

If this be not poetically picturesque, we know not what is—a man falling down a chasm beneath a floor of 'thick ribbed ice,' his despair—the apparent impossibility—'superasque evadere ad auras'—the noise of a subterranean river striking on his ear. At length he reaches a truly stygian pool, he plunges in and comes out as it were at the antipodes, and on a sunny bank 'beholds his Madelaine ?' Were ever lovers more originally thrown together ? Then how touching the end of the story. Rogers is admirable in delicate, yet impressive and startling

transitions, where a stroke of the pen does all, leaving the rest to fancy. Take an instance in regard to poor Jorasse.

within a little month
He lay among these awful solitudes,
('Twas on a glacier—half way up to heaven)
Taking his final rest ————.

Though we could willingly linger on the way, we pass on to 'St. Mark's Place,' Venice, to the thrilling recollections of which the poet does ample justice.

Here among other pageants, and how oft
It met the eye, borne through the gazing crowds
As if returning to console the least
Instruct the greatest, did the Doge go round;
Now in a chair of state; now on his bier.
They were his first appearance and his last.
The sea that emblem of uncertainty
Changed not so fast for many and many an age,
As this small spot. To-day 'twas full of masks;
And lo! the madness of the Carnival
The monk, the nun, the holy legate masked!
To-morrow came the scaffold and the wheel;
And he died there by torch-light, bound and gagged,
Whose name and crime they knew not. Underneath
Where the Archangel, as alighted there,
Blesses the city from the top-most tower,
His arm extended—there, in monstrous league,
Two phantom shapes were sitting, side by side,
Or up and as in sport chasing each other
Horror and Mirth. Both vanished in one hour!
But ocean only, when again he claims
His ancient rule shall wash away their footsteps.

The following allusion to the lair of snakes is highly poetical:

adventurous I launched
Into the deep, ere long discovering
Isles such as cluster in the southern seas,
All verdure. Every where from bush to brake,
The musky odour of the serpents came;
Their slimy path across the woodman's path
Bright in the moonshine ————.

'The Brides of Venice'—is a short but spirited romance, and within the compass of eight pages, we have the affecting tragedy of "the Foscari." How finely, and yet simply the terrible scene opens.

Let us lift up the curtain, and observe
What passes in that chamber. Now a sigh,
And now a groan is heard. Then all is still,
Twenty are sitting as in judgment there;
And who have served their country, and grown grey
In governments and distant embassies,
Men eminent alike in war and peace,
Such as in effigy shall long adorn

The walls of VENICE—to shew what she was !
Their garb is black, and black the arras is,
And sad the general aspect. Yet their looks
Are calm, and cheerful ; nothing there like grief,
Nothing or harsh or cruel. Still that noise,
That low and dismal moaning.
Half withdrawn.
A little to the left sits one in crimson,
A venerable man fourscore and five,
Cold drops of sweat stand on his furrowed brow
His hands are clenched ; his eyes half shut and glazed,
His shrunk and withered limbs rigid as marble.
'Tis FOSCARI, the Doge. And there is one
A young man, lying at his feet, stretched out
In torture. 'Tis his only son. 'Tis GIACOMO,
His only joy (and has he lived for this ?)
Accused of murder ————.

This, (and we challenge all criticism to prove the contrary), is a very noble and dramatic sketch. How fine the contrast between the calm and even cheerful bearing of all—but that venerable man, with his hands clenched—and the cold sweat on his brow—and that poor youth stretched out at his feet in torture ! The pure simplicity of Rogers exalts his power in the terrible—but that we have already trenched so much upon our limits, the awful legend of " Don Garzia," might be adduced to illustrate it. This is a legend of the house of Medici, more soul harrowing than that of Junius Brutus' stern justice upon his sons.

But to return to " The Literary Leaves"—*Going home* opens up a subject, which to too many must be a mournful one. Turn out as it may, it is a juncture of agitation and misgiving, the two great engines of human wear and tear. These have done their work, unseen to the general—for man after all is like any other machine that fulfils a routine movement before the public eye—but of whose internal condition no one takes note, till by personal inconvenience of some sort the attention of the lieges be called to it. The wear and tear of a long sojourn in an ungenial clime have disordered the vital machinery. The individual must return the way he came, and inspire once more the bracing breezes of his native land, or he must lie down and die. " As they approach the shores," (sayeth our author,) " hallowed by so many early associations, and of which they have thought and dreamt for so many years, with what tumultuous eagerness they crowd into the first boat that reaches the vessel's side." Men are differently affected by the same circumstances. Some are still young, and these yearn to greet beloved relatives and friends. There are others who feel no tumultuous eagerness. These have realized life's changes too sternly to expect flowers in autumn. They think too much of the dead, whom they erst had

fondly hoped to see once more in the flesh, to have the throb of the pulse quickened by expectations of meeting a new generation, who are strangers to them. "No language could paint the feelings with which those Indian parents who have sent children home at an early age, hurry from the sea port town at which they land to embrace again their living treasures." How often does such a dream visit the sorrowing exile! How often is he destined never to behold it realized! How many weep because the long protracted hope of such a fulfilment maketh the heart sick, until it at length withers and dies. How many again sigh in secret to see their long cherished hopes end in blighting disappointment, on finding the affection and confidence which of right should have been theirs, by an unavoidable fatality transferred to others; perhaps by some scheming relation, or unfeeling hireling, exulting in having for some selfish purpose of their own, effected a complete alienation. Flippant remarks also have been made in our own hearing by prim self-satisfied prosperous English matrons, 'who live at home at ease,' upon "the heartlessness of Indian parents," heaven save the mark "for sending away their poor children at such a tender age." Unless we had heard this with our own ears, we could not have believed that such gross and insulting ignorance prevailed upon this subject among some of the good people in England. The matter is treated as if it were entirely a thing of mere inconvenience. The evil surely is great enough, and sufficiently distressing without the injury of a wrong motive being added to it. The fact is, however, that on many other points people in England are equally misinformed. They care so little about India, or Indian interests of any kind, even when they affect their own relations; that they will not take the trouble of correcting their manifold erroneous impressions. The evil, alas! of parting with children in infancy, is one that admits of little mitigation. Their physical and moral well-being make the removal a cruel necessity. Of itself, it significantly indicates that the hold which Europeans have of India, is only of an expedient and temporary character. A work has apparently been appointed to be done, for the performance of which the English have been selected as instruments, to be dispensed with, in the fulness of time, when that destined work shall have been accomplished.

Very few have attained to middle age without having occasion to complain of a want of memory. It has always been doubted whether a wonderful memory be not rather a sign of an inferior intellect than otherwise. It is very seldom that great memory is allied to surpassing genius. It may also be

cogently doubted on the other side, whether any great powers of intellect are consistent with a feeble memory. The comparing and judging faculty, and the whole circle of the reasoning powers indeed, can act but very imperfectly, if the memory be very lax. There is much sense in these remarks. "Men of genius forget things which the vulgar remember, and remember those which leave no impression on ordinary minds. The poet who, in ten minutes, will forget where he has placed his hat and walking stick, will remember in what book he met with a beautiful sentiment or expression ten years ago. He has a better memory than those who laugh at his forgetfulness; but it is employed on subjects with which they are not familiar. People remember only those things in which they take an interest. The trader remembers the state of the market, the poet, the state of literature." This theory, however, will not account for the memory's obstinate retention of a heterogeneous mass of things, not congenial to the taste of the possessor. How is it that the memory at times plays fantastic tricks—and when the immediate subject in hand may be solemn, suggests some ludicrous recollection; or a distressing one while engaged in a cheerful discussion? The memory will seize and retain matter not of interest to the individual. There was a gentleman, well known in Bengal not very long ago, who could remember accurately any composition he once ran his eye over—were it even a sheet of advertisements. All the debates which Woodfall was able to carry away in his memory from the House of Commons, can scarcely be supposed to have been of equal interest to him. That Milton's memory in its magnificent power, was proportionate to his learning, is sufficiently evident from almost every page of the 'Paradise Lost.'

In remembering, as in inventing, or composing, there is a sense of brain-exertion, and headache often interrupts the labours of the Student. "The phenomena of the mind"—observes Muller,* "whatever be the nature of its essence, are without doubt closely and necessarily connected with the organization of the brain. Unless the complicated fibrous structure of the brain be in an unimpaired state, mind is not manifested in the body." "I feel," says an ingenious anonymous author,† "not that my brain thinks, but that something within me thinks, with the agency and assistance of my brain. It even seems as if the latter, from its contact and intercourse with

* "Physiology," part III. † "Metaphysic Rambles."

mind, became imbued with a something of mentality itself, and presented a sort of middle term between mind and body, tinged and tinging like the contiguous and tinging colours of a rainbow." After some remarks on materiality and immateriality, the same ingenious writer proceeds, "Memory too has even appeared to me amongst the most corporeal of my mental faculties, one in the exercise of which, body had no inconsiderable share. I have felt as if I were making a bodily or brain search, for a forgotten name or past event; I have felt a sort of corporeal consciousness, that there, in some fleshly nook or corner, the stray name or occurrence was,—that a diligent rummage would be successful, and so it has sometimes turned out to be. All this time sovereign mind seemed to be indolently seated in whatever part of me is its throne room, directing me to search body for the idea that was mislaid." It is a just remark of the author of "Literary Leaves," that the memory is semetimes confounded with the imaginative faculty. "People are apt to say that they *fancy* they see a particular object, as that they remember it." One may fancy having seen Pericles, or Julius Cæsar. He may remember having seen Blucher—and this recollection of his personality may make him fancy that he sees him at Dum-Dum, as he once did in London. 'Methinks I see my father,' exclaims the prince of Denmark. "Where?" enquires his friend. "In my mind's eye, Horatio.' We remember, or put together what we have seen. We fancy what we neither see nor hear, though the remembrance of personality gives the fancy greater reality. Supposing Hamlet had said—'I remember my father,' how flat and undramatic the expression would sound. The passage would also have been more prosaic had the proposition *with* been used instead of *in*, 'in my mind's eye.' It is in passages like this, no less than in those that attract more prominent notice, that we see the exquisite artistic skill of Shakespeare.

The paper on "Imitative harmony," is excellent, and the instances well chosen. It is justly observed that Homer has been celebrated as the poet, who, of all others exhibited the happiest adaptation of sense to sound. As our author has written in a great measure for the improvement of native youths, perhaps it had been desirable to have given a few instances from the original, were it only in the hope that some of our Calcutta Alumni may ere long extend their studies, so as to embrace the best Greek and Roman writers, in their own immortal language. Hector, in the twelvth book of the Iliad, is represented as hurling a stone, or perhaps it were juster to say a young rock—against most massive gates, secured with iron bars and hung on

brazen hinges. The crashing work may be heard in these nervous lines.

———πεσε δε λιθος εισω.
Βριθοσυνη, μεγα δ' αμφι πυλαι μυκον ουδ' ἄρ οχηες.
'Εσχεθετη, σανιδες δε διετμαγεν ἄλλυδις ἄλλη
Λαος υπαι ριπης.

Which is thus rendered by Pope.

Then thundering through the planks with forceful sway
Drives the sharp rock ; the solid beams give way,
The folds are shattered ; from the crackling door
Leap the resounding bars, the flying hinges roar.

In the fifteenth book we have a desperate conflict. How succinctly vivid and impressive the description.

Αργειοι δ' υπεμειναν αολλέες· ωρτο δ αυτη
Οξει αμφοτερωθεν· απο νευρηφι δ οιστοι,
Θρωσκον· πολλα δε δουρα θρασειαων απο χειρων,
"Αλλα μεν εν χροι πηγνυτ 'αρηιθοων αιζηων.
Πολλα δε και μεσσηγυ, παρος χροα καλον επαυρειν,
'Εν γαιῃ ἵσταντο, λιλαιομενα χροος ασαι.

The Greeks expect the shock, the clamours rise
From different parts and mingle with the skies.
Dire was the hiss of darts, by heroes flung,
And arrows leaping from the bow-string sung ;
These drink the life of generous warriors slain ;
Those guiltless fall, and thirst for blood in vain.

A hero sweeping along is likened to a fire—such as may be occasionally seen in our wild woods and jungles, in the hot season.

Ως δ αναμαιμαει βαθε' αγκεα θεσπιδαες πυρ
Ουρεος αζαλεοιο, βαθεια δε καιεται υλη,
Παντη τε κλονεων ανεμος φλογα ειλυφαζει.
Ως ογε, &c. &c.*

Rendered, thus, as usual, more diffusely, by Pope.

As when a flame the winding valley fills
And runs on crackling shrubs between the hills ;
Then o'er the stubble up the mountain flies,
Fires the high winds, and blazes to the skies,
This way and that, the spreading torrent roars ;
So sweeps, the hero ————.

As a most impressive specimen of imitative harmony, in regard to what is purely ideal, we would fain cite a verse of Tasso, and yet we do so with great deference, recollecting that Mr. Hallam has given the preference to a similar passage from Ariosto. What the ear and the eye recognize in the following

* Iliad, XX. 490-94.

verse descriptive of the regions of sorrow is terrible; and yet how beautifully, superbly expressed!

Chiama gli habitator de l'ombre eterne
Il rauco suon de la tartarea tromba.
Treman le spaciose atre caverne
Et l'aer cieco a quel rumor rimbomba.
Ne stridiendo cosi de la superne
Regione del Cielo il folgor piomba:
Ne si scossa giamai trema la terra,
Quando i vapori in sen gravida serra.*

Our author is not averse to speculation on coincidences of thought, and sometimes hesitates not to hint direct imitation. We are satisfied that there are such curious coincidences, or the hitting on the same thought in literature; wholly irrespective of imitation or plagiarism. He conceives, for instance, that Lord Byron is indebted to Montgomery for this simile.

For I am as a weed
Flung from the rock on ocean's foam to sail.

The image surely is a very natural one, that might occur to any person who beholds the sea or the ocean, with feelings akin to poetry. The thing itself is familiar to those who have gone down into deep waters. It is an image quite german to one accustomed to a stormy sea shore even, or to those who have made excursions over the 'frank blue sea.' In illustration of this, we subjoin an extract from a friend's unpublished poem written before the Canto of Childe Harold quoted, had been given to the world; by one who had not read Montgomery's poem, cited in the passage.

Nor longer there is seen the errant bard,
Nor longer heard his voice at even-tide;
In orient regions wearily he strays
An alien from his kindred, like that bough
Which floating sadly o'er the ocean foam
Columbus found; and welcom'd as the pledge
Of happier climes and nations far remote.
That branch perhaps was sever'd by the storm,
From its lithe parent bole upon the bank
Of the vast Mississippi—and at eve
The nightingale, may-be, among its leaves
Warbled his melody to echoing wilds.

The nightingale here may pass; but we suspect the composer of the above lines would find them as scarce on the Mississippi as the 'morning song of the bird of Paradise,'† on the plains

* La Gerusalemme Librata, Canto IV. 3, v.
† Johnson.

of Indostan. Byron's weed was torn from a rock, whereas Montgomery's—but it is right we give the passage—

> He only, like the ocean-weed uptorn
> And loose along the world of waters borne,
> Was cast, companionless, from wave to wave.

There is this difference, we were about to observe, Byron's weed was torn from a rock abutting upon the sea; whereas that of Montgomery grew in the sea, and appears to have been cast up by its intestine commotion from the bottom.

Concurring with our critic that Pitt's lines,*

> 'If some huge weight his huge arms strive to shove,'

is detestable, yet must it be admitted to be Homeric, at least in literalness. In regard to our critic's estimate of a version of Pope—and Mr. Crowe (the author of Lewisdon Hill), of a passage in the XI. book of the Odyssey, he gives the palm to the former. From this opinion we are constrained to express our dissent, with the exception of the last line of Pope's, which is very fine. Let us compare both versions with the original.

> Και μην Σισυφον εισειδον, κρατερ' αλγε' εχοντα
> Λααν βασταζοντα πελωριον αμφοτερησιν.
> Ητοι ὁ μεν, σκηριπτομενος χερσιν τε ποσιν τε,
> Λααν ἀνω ὤθεσκε ποτι λοφον· αλλ 'οτε μελλοι
> "Ακρον υπερβαλεειν, τοτ 'αποστρεψασκε κραταιις
> Αυτις, ἔπειτα πεδονδε κυλινδετο λαας αναιδης.

Pope has rendered these lines thus:—

> With many a weary step and many a groan,
> Up the high hill he heaves a huge round stone;
> The huge round stone, resulting with a bound
> Thunders impetuous down and smokes along the ground.†

All we know here, is, that the stone is heaved up the high hill. That of Hampstead perhaps was in the Poet's eye—a very different guess sort of thing from what Homer and Ulysses saw in the regions of sorrow. Then the Twickham Poet *rounds* the stone, which it strikes us does not add to its formidability. Homer describes it as an immense stone—a thing of bulk and weight term which required something more than a heave. It comes back

* 'Vidas art of poetry.'

† Were imitated from Dryden.

> Which urg'd, and labour'd, and forc'd up with pain,
> Recoils, and rowls impetuous down, and smokes along the plain.
>
> *Lucretius, B. III.*

"resulting with a bound," too, as still merely the same huge round stone. Crowe, it strikes us, is much closer to Homer.

> Then Sisyphus I saw, with ceaseless pain
> Labouring beneath a ponderous stone in vain,
> With hands and feet stirring, with all his might
> He pushed the unweildy mass up a steep height,
> But ere he could achieve his toilsome course,
> Just as he reached the top, a sudden force
> Turned the curst stone, and slipping from his hold
> Down again, down the steep rebounding, down it rolled.

Pope's concluding line, fairly gives the Homeric thunder of the stanza; but the down, down, down of Crowe, has also great merit, and though 'with hands and feet striving, with all his might,' have a kind of coal-heaver coarseness about it, yet is it very true to the text. Pope gives no quality to the stone, but hugeness and roundness. We lose the λαας αναιδης of Mœonides. Crowe's 'curst stone,' is a little too familiar, reminding us of the peevish exclamation of a gouty elderly gentleman striking his toe against a brick. Perhaps fiend-stone, or fiendish-block, or stone-malign, would better express it? There is a grandeur and power in the Greek, that no translation can give an adequate idea of. Trite as the line has become by admiring reference, yet can we not resist the temptation of contrasting the tame version of Pope with the magnificent original.

Βῆ δ' ακεων παρα θινα πολυφλοισβοιο θαλασσης

How meagre the rendering of

> Silent he wandered by the sounding main.

The appearance of the avenging god, the Argyrotoxus might be adduced as a noble instance of imitative harmony.

Εκλαγξαν δ ἄρ οιστοι επ ὤμων χωομενοιο,

> Fierce as he moved, his silver shafts resound.

Cowper's rendering of two following lines are remarkable for the endeavour to embody the imitative harmony of the Greek.

μετα δ' ἰον ἔηκε
Δεινη δε κλαγγη γενετ αργυρεοιο βιοιο

> Clang'd the cord
> Dread sounding, bounding o'er the silver bow.

The reader may choose between this and Pope's.

> He twang'd his deadly bow
> And hissing fly the feather'd fates below.

Though in Cowley's paraphrase of the well known lines of

Horace, the continuity of a stream be well represented—yet in imitation of our fastidious Critic have we something to say to it. It is not so comprehensive as the original. 'He who defers his work,' may be a philosopher according to Cowley, who makes this hesitating philosopher, 'on a river's brink expecting *stay*.' There is a life-like simplicity in the Roman's 'Rusticus expectat, &c.,' and a grand contrast in the peasant's stolid expectation, and the impassive river that heeds him not, but rolls on majestically to the ocean. How inferior the line to the original.

> Which runs, and as it runs, for ever will run on.
> at ille
> Labitur et labetur in *omne volubilis aevum.*

Surely there is something tautologically weak in the double running of the line, or the assurance that a man, or a river, which runs; runs *as* it runs, and ever *will* run *on* not backwards, for that in a river would be prodigious!

"Lord Byron's opinion of Pope," is a very elegant and discriminative piece of criticism. There was something bordering on fanaticism in Lord Byron's opposition to what he called the robbery of ruins from Athens, to instruct the English in sculpture. Surely what is called robbery was an act of real conservatism, for had not these noble fragments been so removed, there is the greatest probability that they would have been burnt for lime, or consigned to some other barbarous fate by the Turks. "But why did I oppose it?" The noble Poet asks, "the ruins are as poetical in Piccadilly, as they were in the Parthenon, but the Parthenon and its rocks are less so without them. Such is the poetry of art." Our critic objects to this opinion as manifestly erroneous, shewing that the same line of argument, "would prove a boat high and dry in a dock-yard, or in a carpenter's ware-house, as poetical an object as the same boat when filled with human beings; tossing on a stormy sea, or sleeping on a glassy lake." He also happily disposes of another fallacy of the noble poet, viz., that the poet who executes best is the highest, whatever his department; with this clincher. "A pig by Moreland, might be as well done as an angel by Raphael, but this would not make the former artist entitled to the same rank among painters as the latter." Byron's rule, in fact, would place a ship's figure-head carpenter, upon a par with Canova. Several happy illustrations of Pope's descriptive talent are given in the "Leaves," a talent, however, which has been underrated by Mr. Bowles and others. No passage is better known than the following, yet is its beauty perhaps so very familiar that we scarcely notice its simple grandeur.

So pleased at first the towering Alps we try
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky.

and so on to the end. How true to nature in all its parts is that exquisite passage. In no quarter of the world perhaps does sciolism take shorter views from 'bounded level of the mind'—than in this so called city of palaces; palaces that are such strange monuments of barbarous architectural taste, and indifference to real comfort!

'Fire in each eye, and paper in each hand,' our Calcutta juvenile aspirants, do indeed—'rave, recite, and madden round the land.' Of varied race and complexion, they deem themselves perfect masters of English composition. Some of them *never* see the towering Alps of learning at all—and several do but grope their way through jungly dingles of mediocrity. Embarked on a little catamaran of school knowledge, like boys disporting in a punt, they deem that they have made the voyage round the world of literature, when they have only made the circuit of a tank. They are satisfied that immense stores of acquired knowledge have been stowed away in the hold of their intellectual Argosy, when they have exhausted sundry shelves of their own, or their neighbour, dignified with the title of 'library.' Perched on this heap, they conceive themselves on the Mount-Blanc of erudition—look down condescendingly from this Lilliputian Parnassus, to which self conceit has raised them; and afterwards descend into obscure graves, satisfied that there is nothing more for them to learn, on this side the Styx. We suspect that the indiscriminating manner in which school examination panegyric, and more substantial prizes, have been showered down in this place, has greatly fostered this vanity. The butter-boat is plied with uncommon activity, and liberality, on such occasions. Let any one who can spare the time, just go and see a school examination, especially of native boys, and he cannot fail, or we are greatly mistaken, to be much struck, at the number of prizes delivered. If this should fail to excite his admiration, it will perhaps be somewhat jogged, at the general character of the current physiognomy. The Bengalis can scarcely be called a handsome race. Their social peculiarities and premature marriages—do not appear to have improved them in appearance, or as regards grace of manners. Nothing can exceed the *nonchalance* with which the young emeriti of Bengala, receive their prizes. In advancing to, or retiring from, the presence of the Governor-General, *one* genuine graceful Oriental salaam per cent, is scarcely to be seen. The bobs, and duckings, of the juvenile heads, would do no discredit, in the way of awkwardness, to the wolds of Yorkshire or the downs of Sussex.

In the paper "on Egotism," to our apprehension, there is not sufficient discrimination exhibited between the superficial foible of slight and garrulous minds; and the due consciousness of their own powers, and value, on the part of those of a high order. Milton is no egotist—and it is not fair to consider him, in the category of egotism, even though the essayist does prefix it with the adjective—'glorious.' Properly speaking egotism never can be glorious. The anticipation formed by high genius, of the fame to be achieved by itself, is a true realization, or foretaste to the mind, of what must be. It is indeed celebrity casting its shadow before. What for instance has proved truer than Horace's boast, of having raised for himself a monument more durable than brass? Coleridge's opinion, in regard to Milton's egotism, is absurdly sweeping. According to this theory, Milton sat for his own Adam and Eve, Satan and Raphael. The egotism of such a man, says Coleridge—"was a revelation of spirit." This is exactly what we have stated in other words, with this difference, that we cannot allow that to be egotism which he calls such. Ventriloquism were a more fitting name for what Coleridge calls egotism. The charge amounts to this, that all the characters think and act Milton-wise—'Paradise Lost' is thus made out to be a kind of antetype 'Childe Harold.' Surely this notion of the author of 'Remorse', was a sort of opium-bred hallucination. The *exegi monumentum* conviction of genius is not egotism. Bacon according to our notions was no egotist. When John Hunter said—"after my death you will not easily meet with another John Hunter," he was no egotist. He only enunciated a sober truth—for the world has not since, seen another John Hunter. Addison was no egotist—at least personally. As *Spectator* he might be any thing he liked, so long as the Spectator did not ring the changes on Joseph Addison. It is well understood, however, that the Spectator as described; bore no personal resemblance in face, figure, or habits to the author. It is a fashion to say that Byron sat for all his own poetical heroes. It was in vain that he always denied this—the world and the author of the "Literary Leaves"—know better. He was, we take it, as like his own Corsair, Lara, Giaour and Beppo, as Dânte was like Rossini. The song of the nightingale, if it be egotism, is a very beautiful thing. Our critic considers these lines as egotistical—at least so we understand him,

> ——— I twine
> My hopes of being remembered in my line
> With my land's language——

No great hope after all, for a man like Byron. Let us examine the passage, however, in its totality—and there is not a grain of

egotism in it. He is referring to his native land—and the reference, considering the circumstances of his fate—was as touching as it proved prophetic.*

> Yet was I born where men are proud to be
> Not without cause; and should I leave behind
> The inviolate island of the sage and free
> And seek me out a home by a remoter sea?
>
> Perhaps I loved it well, and should I lay
> My ashes in a soil that is not mine,
> My spirit shall resume it—if we may
> Unbodied choose a sanctuary. I twine
> My hopes of being remembered in my line
> With my land's language: if too fond and fa
> These aspirations in their scope incline,—
> If my fame should be, as my fortunes are
> Of hasty growth, and blight, and dull oblivion bar—
>
> My name from art the temple where the dead
> Are honor'd by the notions—let it be
> And light the laurels on a loftier head,
> And be the Spartans epitaph on me
> Sparta hath many a worthier son than he!†

Judging from his strictures upon them, in the works whose titles head this article, several of his contemporaries do not appear to stand very high in our Critic's estimation. Less gallantly than might have been expected, he scarcely doffs his cap to Joanna Baillie. She is however, as it happens, in excellent company. Tried by our Critic's test, she has scarcely written a Drama worthy of the name—and Sheridan Knowles fares no better than his fair colleague. "Thealma and Clearchas" a pastoral history in verse, of the time of Spenser (by John Chalkhill, Esq.,) furnishes a text for some excellent remarks. We do not much demur to our Critic's contemptuous dismissal of the serious drama in the reign of Queen Anne. Yet somehow, Cato keeps the stage, and has done so upwards of a century; which would indicate that there is something in it that floats it above contempt. Our Critic has done a service to literature, especially here, by his elaborate notice of a poem, that had fallen into neglect, if not absolute oblivion. Among

* There is a passage too in Shelley's lines 'written in dejection near Naples' that proved prophetic,

> ———and hear the sea
> Breathe o'er my dying brain it's last monotony.

† Childe Harold, Canto IV.

his selections is an admirable hunting piece, from which we can only afford space for the opening lines.

—— A fell boar
Rush'd from the wood, enrag'd by a deep wound
Some huntsmen gave him ; up he ploughs the ground,
And whetting of his tusks, about 'gan roam,
Champing his venom's moisture into foam.

The quantity of English words has greatly changed, and for poetry at least, not advantageously. Nation, was once upon a time, na-ti-on. Many instances might be added, to the orthoepic difference noticed by our Critic. Burke, it is believed, brought back Revenue to its more ancient pronunciation.

He wears a Lord's Revénue on his back.

Marlow's Edward II.

Obdurate formerly was obdúrate, as

Art thou obdúrate, flinty, hard as steel.

Shakesp. Venus and Adams.

Authorised was authórised.

His rudeness so with his authóriz'd youth
Did levy falseness in a pride of truth.

Shakesp. Lover's Complaint.

Exile was Exíle.

May be she joy'd to jest at my exíle.

Id., Passionate Pilgrim.

But is that wicked Gamester returned ?

Aye priest, and lives to be reveng'd in thee,
That were the only cause of his exíle.

Edward II.

Perished formed a trisyllable.

Let the snaky wreath of Tisiphon
Engirt the temple of his hateful head,
So shall not England's name be pér-ísh-éd.

Id.

Recórd for record, still lingers in law documents, &c. Pitied was pi-ti-éd

Thus has old Edward not relieved by any
And so must die though pi-ti-ed by many.

Id.

Detestable was dētestable. Constance thus apostrophises death.

> Arise forth from the couch of lasting night
> Thou hate and terror to prosperity
> And I will kiss thy dētestable bones.
>
> *King John.*

> Thou dētestable man, thou womb of death,
> Gorged with the sweetest morsel of the earth.
>
> *Romeo and Juliet.*

Instructions was a quadrisyllable.

> You shall not need to give in-struc-ti-ons
> 'Tis not the first time I have killed a man.
>
> *Edward II.*

Aspect, as must be familiar to our readers, was always aspēct.

> The image of a wicked heinous fault
> Lives in his eye ; that close aspēct of his.
>
> *King John.*

> But taking note of thy abhorred aspēct.
>
> *Richard II.*

The pronunciation that held of yore, in regard to the word contrary, may still be heard in the Northern Counties of England. We see the excited tailor telling his news to the smith.

> Standing on slippers, (which his nimble feet)
> Had falsely thrust upon contrāry feet.
>
> *Richard II.*

In regard to these lines of Pope.

> What will a child learn sooner than a song,
> What better teach a foreigner the tongue.

Our Critic remarks, that no Englishman, who has an ear or judgment, could listen with gravity or patience to the sound of such words, if they were enunciated in exact correspondence to the rhyme. Perhaps not, but it therefore does not follow, that the pronunciation of the word tongue, was formerly at all times the same as now. We suspect that notwithstanding the oddness of the sound to us, what seems now solecismal was formerly the mode, if any reliance is to be placed on rhyme, which is not always however a safe guide on such a question. Here we have it for instance:

> Celestial as thou art, O ! do not love that wrong
> To sing the heaven's praise with such a tongue.
>
> *Shakesp. Passionate Pilgrim.*

In his 'Lover's Complaint,' we have another:

> So on the top of his subduing tongue
> All kinds of arguments, questions deep
> All replication prompt, and reason strong
> For his advantage still did wake and weep.

In the return to Parnassus, it is said of Spenser, but perhaps the pronunciation might be according to the modern style.

> Nay heaven hong upon his melting tong
> While sweetly his Faiery Queen he song.

In the paper "On Conversation," it is very justly observed, that, "the French are generally more skilful in colloquial intercourse than the English; but their excellence lies rather in chit-chat than conversation." Chit-chat, in fact, is, that small colloquial currency, most required and less produced. The French, and indeed the majority of foreigners, make some use of the faculty of fancy, in conversation. The English never. The French, talk to amuse—the English to contest, or to resist. The Frenchman adorns his conversation—the Englishman scorns ornament in his conversation, as he does in his furniture. The Englishman too often talks, as if he supposed himself on oath. The Frenchman talks, as if there were nothing else on earth to do, and it behoved him to do it agreeably. Go to a French, and an English shop, and you will see the national turn in the articles sold. No matter what it may be, a box of comfits, or a bottle of essence; there is an innate elegance in the mode of the Frenchman's wrapping it up. The Englishman knowing the article to be good of its kind, cares for nothing else. The Englishman will not deign to speak at all, unless it be on a weighty subject. The Frenchman cares not what comes on the tapis, he is ready for any thing, or all things, in his own way.

It is the same throughout. The Englishman must have his pot of stout—the Frenchman sips his Eau Sucré, as if it were imperial Tokay. That easy interchange of remark, on common, familiar, or even trivial things, or chit-chat; scarcely comes up to Dr. Johnson's idea of talk. "We had some good talk, Sir, &c.," which, according to him, meant that something was discussed. The term conversation, our Critic beautifully remarks, "is often applied to that *glittering nonsense which passes from the mind like rain drops from the wings of birds.*" There never was a more poetical, or juster simile. But genuine poetry is ever truth. Surely our author has scarcely considered sufficiently, when he asserts, that, "flattery even when gross is generally acceptable." Then it must be so to a very coarse appetite indeed; as train oil is relished as a condiment, by natives of the arctic

regions. Dram drinkers never relish a glass of wine. The relish of gross flattery can be but mental tippling. In regard to scandal, another form of mental tippling, we cannot join in our author's regret at seeing "how much this vile propensity is encouraged amongst our fair countrywomen in India," for the simple reason, that we have had no personal experience of the fact. On the contrary, we are inclined to believe that more tittle tattle is to be found in any part of the great London Babylon; aye, or even in an English watering town, in a week, than in Calcutta during a twelvemonth. It is true that there is a lamentable amount of loose unedifying talk to be heard among us, but not of scandal, or, at least, of calumny. If every family man would, but at his own table, discountenance all approach to detraction; conversation, at least, would become harmless, and ere long instructive. To be sure, one lady's bonnet, or another's gown, or the shape of a gentleman's coat or hat, or the way he ties his neckcloth; or the hot wines and cold dinners with which some choose to afflict their friends; may, for want of a better, form a topic of chit-chat. Does all this constitute scandal? We leave our readers to answer the question. Such talk we conceive is unimproving, and wastes time that might be better devoted, therefore cannot be right. Society meet to unbend, and not to hear lectures. Perhaps it is the consciousness that nothing worth saying *can* be said in certain circles, or would not be listened to; is the reason that the wise are so often silent in mixed company. Is it truly wise to keep wholly silent? By chiming in somewhat, might not the sage who keeps silent, because he does not like the tone in which the subject is discussed, or dislikes the subject altogether, bring his rattling companions to a more serious frame of mind. As Mr. Wilberforce would say, could not our sage try 'launchers?' When the conversation takes an idle, unprofitable, good-for-nothing turn, why not bait the colloquial hook with something catching, were it only a remark like the opening of the "Sentimental Journey." "They order these things better in France, said I." Supposing, for instance, that some one present *individualizes* in his remarks, so as to lead the talk up to the verge of detraction, could not his neighbour adroitly flash some other idea upon him, as men at bull fights flutter a banner in the bull's face, and so turn him. Some are like soldiers, who, if they exhaust the contents of the cartridge box, are without ammunition. They sit down like Lord Gough at Ferozshah, to wait the coming up of the ammunition waggons, or to perish if need be. Accordingly those who have only the *box* full with which they came into company, fire a brilliant feu de joie, while it lasts,

Others, real artillery men, are well provided, their waggons are at hand, and every shot tells. Shaking our head at the charge of scandal against Indian ladies; neither can we concur in our Critic's censure, on the gentlemen, for their proneness to indulge in what? In obscenity! Surely our excellent moralist must occasionally have been very unfortunate in his company!

The summary given in the "Literary Leaves" of the life of Sir Egerton Brydges, is excellent. Indeed, one sentence is an epitome of the whole life. "He had unfortunately the temperament of genius without its power, and for the want of that self-knowledge, without which we cannot turn the talents and acquirements we may possess to any real advantage; he has passed a life of misery and discontent." We would earnestly entreat all poetasters, to ponder well, the sound counsel given in the same paper, and to stick to prose. Let all frog-like aspirants, seeking to imitate the lordly bulls of the beautiful meadows beyond the foot of Mount Parnassus, cease to puff themselves up in the vain hope of becoming more magnificent creatures. Let them croak contentedly. Frogs they are, and frogs they must remain to the end of the chapter. In other words we say to all the ambitious to shine in literature, let them stick to prose, and not be torturing themselves and their friends by wreaking their barren energies on facile verse.

In his remarks "On Friendship," there is a passage or two we demur to, as for instance, a man of eminent intellectual and moral worth, cannot long mingle harmoniously with the crowd without a sacrifice of character." What constitutes a crowd, and why may not a strong minded and hearted man mingle with it—that is, pass through it, in pursuit of his daily avocations? A person living in an extensive circle of London society, we suppose, may be considered in a crowd. Let us take for example Wilberforce, how did his character come out of such an ordeal? Is not a crowd, or society itself, the great laver of character? To be in or with a crowd, is often a necessity of being. To be in a crowd and to be of it, are different things, and depend upon circumstances, or will. One reason why we do not hear, so much of friendship now as may be set down in ancient story, is the effect of the christian institution of marriage. We say christian, because union with one wife until death separates the pair, is one of the glories of christianity, and of christianity alone. How frequent is the observation, that a man loses his friend when he marries. This may be regretted, for surely it is (if they be worthy men), the duty of a good wife to adopt her husband's friends, and make them her's also. There are men mean enough to drop old friends when they marry, and it may

ever be taken as an inauspicious sign, when the newly married wife looks askance at her husband's old friends. In danger and difficulty she might find these a shield and a rampart. If she estranges her husband from them, she does him an irreparable injury, independent of creating enemies for herself. We could have wished that our Critic had given a more decided tone to the remarks, the tendency of which is to shew that Christianity has been thought to nullify friendship. This would be curious, if the assertion admitted of being supported, by the evidence of the christian system, or its examplars. It is perhaps hazarded with an apprehension of the term friendship, different from what is generally understood. Christianity refers all affections to a standard, and limits extremes. Out of the twelve apostles, there was one who was especially our Lord's friend. All felt towards him sentiments of strong attachment and reverence, but there was one whom emphatically he 'loved.' The argument of Shaftesbury (that private friendship is a virtue purely voluntary in a christian) as referred to by our author, is not borne out by the general tenor of Bishop Taylor's works, though it may seemingly be so, as far as a particular extract is concerned.

Why again should we suppose with our author that "death may annihilate the materials of friendship"? The testimony of revelation, so far as it goes, indicates quite the contrary. There is no evidence, indeed, that death annihilates any thing. It cannot annihilate mind—and consciousness is a mental condition. This may be suspended, but not destroyed. Memory is one of the elements of consciousness. Perfect consciousness must include comparison. The probability is, that felicity in the intermediate, as the ultimate state, may be enhanced by remembrance and comparison. We have said that Revelation would warrant our drawing a very different conclusion, than that which would accede to the position, that death may annihilate the materials of friendship—unless, indeed, we misapprehend the scope and full meaning of the term *materials?* Even in a state of perdition, (though under the parabolic form of teaching,) the human affections are shewn to survive—adding to the sense of torment, or remorse. Divus in the midst of torture, is represented as solicitous for the eternal welfare of his nearest and dearest living relations.

In the Essay entitled "Poetry and Utilitarianism," our author has stood up nobly and successfully for his favourite art. We use the term comprehensively, as of a pursuit carried to perfection, as far as such is compatible with any human effort. "Poetry considered as an art," (observes our author) "consists in the imitation of moral and external nature in musical language.

This imitation is not to be literal, but imaginative; not local or individual, but general or universal." We apprehend, that as a definition, this will comprehend but a very limited portion of the universe of poetry. Where is the imitation of moral and external nature in the Inferno of Dante, or the visit of Ulysses to the shades, and the preceding sacrifice? What is there in nature or morality like the Malebolge, or the Phlegethon, or the Chaos and Pandemonium of the ancients and of our own Milton? Might we not rather say that poetry is an entity of the mind to be recognized rather than defined. It is similitude in dissimilitude. It is comparison in things incomparable, just as a cloud of the firmament may become a familiar face, or a familiar scene. A puff of wind, and it is gone—but it remains in the mind, though swept away from the visible poetry. In contradistinction to all we see, hear and acquire; it is the soul and essence of things seen, heard or acquired. It is also the mirror in which we can reflect to others truthfully, things, and beings, neither seen, nor heard, with mortal organs, and yet recognizable as if they had been old acquaintances, when felicitously set forth by the imaginative faculty, guided by taste and judgment. Poetry thus takes cognizance of beings and things, not in mundane, or human nature, but rather beside it, and above it—as in reference to the spiritual and ideal world. It may be, that strictly, the utilitarian shall object to all this as fiction—and yet how much that really is, but seems! "Are the landscapes of Claude," enquires our author, "to be condemned as coloured falsehoods, because they are full of cattle and human figures, and trees and flowers that never actually existed but in the painter's mind?" If we answer in the affirmative—then must all art be false—save Chinese art. An English artist contents himself. with giving the general contour of a tree. The Chinese artist will first count every leaf on the tree, and give not one more or less, and yet with all this striving at mechanical or merely imitative verity, he misses truth of general appearance, and his elaborately correct tree, proves an unsightly monstrosity, for the leaves, though they may prove true as to number, do not harmonize as to colour, position, light and shade. Now, in regard to the landscape of Claude, though he might not behold in the very landscape, the very trees and figures of men, or angels, or flowers, yet were the standards in his mind as truly seen, or truly imagined on some other occasion. These are all true, though not literally true. What can be said, or rather how shall any one condescend to reply seriously, to such ribaldry of the overrated idol of our age, Jeremy Bentham, as that "the game of push-pin is of equal value with the art of poetry." When we recollect that our holiest

writings abound with the sublimest poetry, we feel indignant at such blasphemy as this, under the affectation of philosophy. Miserable is the philosophy that strives to drag down high, and sacred things, to the level of the vilest, or, at least, of the lowest. Let us look at it, however, in a more sober vein, and it is merely the avowal on the part of the self-complacent sophist, that he was no poet, and that like a clown he lightly rated what he did not understand. *Chacun a son gout*, if he relished push-pin better than the *Iliad*, or the *Inferno* or *Paradise Lost*, or the *Midsummer night's Dream*, all that need be said is, that his taste was very peculiar, and that we trust it is not likely to extend. There are people in the world however, so constituted, that they want some of the internal, as well as the external senses, and recent English history testifies that royalty made itself remarkable by expressing a cordial hatred for "poetry and painting." Mr. Carlyle puts the matter fairly to the Utilitarians.* "Nay, does not poetry, acting on the imagination of men excite them to daring purposes; sometimes as in the case of Tyrtæus, to fight better; in which case may it not rank as a useful stimulant to man, along with opium and Scotch whisky, the manufacture of which is allowed by law? In heaven's name then let poetry be preserved." This, though ironically put, is very significant. But, "there is a natural opposition between poetry and truth," sayeth the great push-pin philosopher. How, where? May not or rather does not universal poetry contradict the assertion? The ground-work of a poem, or fable, may be imaginary or fictitious, and the fiction convey a moral truth. It would be a surly philosophy truly, that would object to the use of fiction for such a purpose A captious objection to every composition that was not literally true, would soon barbarize not only literature but society itself. Who, for instance, would dream of putting a verity sworn to on oath, and a conventional form upon a parity. When one gentleman writes to another that he is his most obedient humble servant, would any body in his senses, dream of rating him for falsehood, because he is neither his correspondent's kitmutghar, saís, or bearer? This would be literally to carry out the absurdity of straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel. Take away all trace of figure, or metaphor, that is the poetry of speech, and how poor would all utterance become. No one recognizes falsity in such expressions as fleecing a man, thrashing another, or back-biting a third. The first of these processes applies literally to a sheep, the second to corn, and the third to the manner in which a vicious horse is apt to assault another.

* Review on Goethe's Works.

How often do we hear in common conversation, the phrase-withering sarcasm, towering passion, flight of fancy, boiling passion, burst of eloquence, fishing for compliments, fishing in troubled waters, eating his heart, looking daggers, and so forth. What so common as 'walls have ears,' or, 'a little bird was heard saying, so and so?'—How much waste of speech all this figurative mode of conveying thought saves. How truly eloquent it may be made

> His eye is bright as is the eagle's
> *Lightning forth*, controlling majesty.
>
> *Richard II.*

> Fish not with this melancholy heart for
> This fool's gudgeon.
>
> *Merchant of Venice.*

> These things *sting* his *mind* so venomously.
>
> *Lear.*

We know literally that the mind cannot be stung—seeing that stinging actually, and properly considered, is entirely an animal phenomenon, with which spiritual essence can have nothing to do, save to reason on it, or to suffer sympathetically from it, as being linked to body. Though the Iliad be not strictly true, yet how much natural truth of description and illustration, and moral power, is contained in that venerable and wonderful epic. Who is injured or deceived by the theo-machia portions of the story? If we demur to Achilles having a goddess for his mother, or his having been rendered invulnerable, all save the heel, by his infant dipping in the Styx—is his surly rage under injury; the terror of his mien in conflict, or his impassioned grief for the loss of his dearest friend, the less true to nature? To object to such sweet garnishing of fancy—would be to stint, and not to advance the progress of truth in its Catholic large sense. The ideas of the poet, affect us first by their vivacity, and secondly by their depth. The first of these catches our attention, communicates pleasure, and affects the passions. The second impresses our reasoning powers, and both cling to the memory. Holy writ is full of sublime poetry in illustration of our position. Of the Ostrich, we are told, 'that she scorneth the horse and the rider'* Now the bird here does not yield to the sentiment of scorn as commonly understood; but by a metaphor we are said to scorn what we excel. The ostrich knows that its own fleetness is greatly superior to that of the horse, and is therefore said to scorn it. A railway locomotive might, by a parity of metaphor, be said to

* Job XXXIV.

scorn a coach and six. In regard to the horse, in the same grand poetical description, there comes a question full of sublime cogency. 'Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?' How contemptible would be the push-pin criticism, that should take a mere cold common-place view of such a passage as this—a passage that thrills through us like the blast of a supernatural trumpet. How poor would be deemed the insensate cavil that would carp at the refulgence of such true poetry. How wretched the tone of the philosophy that would derogate from it, on practical or tailoring principles, by reminding the reader, that thunder under no circumstances can be cut up into clothing for a horse! 'He swalloweth the ground with fierceness.' To be consistent, the Benthamite should proceed to demonstrate that it is impossible even for the best blood-horse to swallow a mouthful of earth, much less an extent of ground. 'He sayeth among the trumpets, ha! ha! and he smelleth the battle afar of.' Here surely, there must to the Benthamite Critic, be an admirable case in point, of the natural opposition between poetry and truth. A horse say, ha! ha! Absurd! what horse ever said so? Why, prove the real puerility to which such an argument is reducible, or why further expose its real shallowness and deadness? The horse may not indeed literally say, ha! ha! but his triumphant anticipating neigh, is to the poet, expressive of the same feeling as if he did. Poetry invests all nature with the sentiment of the beholder, as "let the sea roar."* Here the sea is personified, as if it were some wild animal. How perpetually necessary it is to advert to things spiritual, as if they were things corporeal. Thus in the CV. Psalm, v. 18, but preferring the version of the seventy, σιδηρον διηλθεν η ψυχη αυτου *the iron entered his soul.* We know that neither iron nor any other material substance can enter the soul, but what then, how forcible is the truth of the phrase to the heart of man, which anciently, represented the seat of the soul and the affections. 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron.'† We feel the force of this, though well aware that the Creator, a spiritual being, carries no material rod in his hand, nor needs. 'The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee, they were afraid.'‡ 'Let the floods clap their hands; let the hills be joyful together.'§ We know very well, as a dry Benthamite verity, that floods have neither hands nor feet; and that the hills have no passion; and yet there is a domain of the mind where an electric telegraph is kept with all departments of the universe; and those sympathies and movements that are scarcely capable of utterance by tongue

* Ps. XCVIII. † Ps. II. ‡ Ps. XXVII. § Ps. XCVIII.

or pen, are recognized intutively by the spirit of man. But perhaps the push-pin Philosopher may have had a yearning to see philosophy married to verse, Dr. Darwin tried the experiment, and who reads his works? Where are they? May we not answer with the Jockies when the horse bolts at a race, "no where." 'Philosophical poetry,' observes Sir James Macintosh,* 'is very different from versified philosophy. The former is the highest exertion of genius, the latter cannot be ranked above the slightest amusements of ingenuity.' The utilitarian seems ever apt to forget the great truth, that the beautiful itself as such, is essentially useful. There may be differences in regard to shades of opinion, but there is a general concurrence as to the concrete beautiful. We acknowledge at once, without attempting to reason upon it, the beauty of the sun and the moon, and the firmament with its resplendent cloud hangings of gold, purple and silver; as well as the varied and varying beauty of hill and valley, blooming copse, and the green garniture of fields. We acknowledge at once that all these are beautiful, and they afford us an indescribable degree of delight; and that delight is a recognition also of their innate utility. But beautiful things may be destructive. We do not the less admire the sea in a calm, because we know what ravages it has, and may again commit, in its terrible wrath. A snake has no utility, and yet is confessedly a beautiful object. How know you that it has no utility? The instinctive dread, or repugnance it causes in the beholder, may be an utility, though he may not be able to define its proportions. It undoubtedly is a beautiful object. It has beauty of form, beauty of colour, and beauty of kind—and that it is essentially a beautiful object, though also a terrible one, is shewn by its classic celebrity, as an ornament, or as an emblem. Things may thus become beautiful emblematically, or pictorially, that are not exactly so in their place. A serpent hissing at your foot, and a serpent forming an emblem of eternity in sculpture, or round the caduceus of Hermes, are very different things indeed. A bull's head on the river's bank, or on a desert field left by jackalls, is rather a repulsive object than otherwise; but relieved in marble on the frieze of a temple's entablature, it becomes classic and beautiful. Before quitting the subject, it may not be unapposite to quote another Philosopher, whose opinion of poetry differs somewhat from the philosophic preferrer of Push-pin. Bacon having shewn the inferiority of the world to the soul—the use of feigned history being to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man, 'by reason whereof there is

* Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy.

agreeable to the spirit of man a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things. * * * * therefore poesy encloseth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations; so as it appeareth that poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation; and therefore it was even thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind into the nature of things.'

Our Critic referring to some writers, who observe that nobody finds fault with the Naturalist, who includes man and monkeys in the same order of being, combats the position as mere sophistry, and yet in the next sentence makes the admission that the naturalist is right, though he first considered him sophisticating, at least we conceive these words to amount to such admission; —" a monkey is perhaps in the same scale of being as a man, though man is at the top of the scale." What sort of scale would that be, which would place man and the monkey on the same platform? The fact is that physically as well as morally, there is an impassable gulf between man and the monkey. There are some Philosophers who seem to take a perverse delight in lowering human nature beneath its just and proper level. To be sure, there are men who degrade themselves from their place in the scale, by an approximation to animal life, even of a lower type than the monkey; but such degradation is rather the exception, and man has the will and the power of raising himself from it,—which the monkey and the hog do not possess. When our Critic remarks that Hayley spent half a century in an *unrequited* courtship of the muse, we might well ask what the expected requital is, seeing that the author of the 'Triumphs of Temper' was a very popular and belauded author in his day.

Whatever else the Italian opera may be, it is assuredly what the *Times* would call a great fact. When people, year after year for a century even, deliberately expend large sums of money on any pursuit or institution, they must be thoroughly in earnest. The Italian Opera is an English Institution. Its influence has extended, and is extending; but whether it ought to be diminished, is a question that is not likely to be soon entertained by the aristocracy. There surely must be something very fascinating in music. This independent of private experience, the classical reader of the Grecian drama will at once admit. The chorus of the Greek drama, were it restored, would, no doubt, be considered quite as absurd as the Italian opera was in the reign of Queen Anne, and the two first Georges, by

the popular writers of the day. There are national modes of viewing subjects. The romantic English drama to Voltaire's taste, was an intolerable barbarism. The English as little, we suspect, admire the French classic school. Few could now sit out a tragedy of Racine. The transition from the old pastoral to opera was not unnatural. Bucolics themselves admitted of being sung, and no doubt were sung, and accompanied on the doric flute. Be that as it may, opera has in it some principle of popular vitality. Much of this may depend upon fashion, but a good deal is attributed to some conventional excellence in the thing itself, excellence, we mean, in regard to a walk of art. Various reasons have been attributed, for the change that has taken place in the taste of the public, in histrionic amusements. Much of this is fairly chargeable upon stage management. There has also been a considerable class opposed to all stage representation, on conscientious principles. Others again, though not concurring in the same deep-rooted objections to the acted drama, deemed that it stood greatly in need of reform, in various ways. Nevertheless, nothing was done to abate glaring drawbacks on decorum. Though the saloons of the great theatres had become notorious subjects of moral animadversion, managers looked only to the money part of the question, and did nothing to abate the evil. There is a re-action in all evil, and this surely was an evil that merited the gravest consideration, and yet obtained it not. At length, family-men began to object to go at all, to places where modest females had to encounter a humiliating revulsion of feeling, and a shock of delicacy, in passing to or from their carriages. There was also the golden goose-killing vice of *starring*, growing up like a fungus, impoverishing every stage treasury, and vitiating public taste; by rendering it intolerant of all, save particular or individual, or clique merit. Observes our Critic, "if Italian operas are more popular at this day in London than the plays of Shakespeare; it is not on account of their dramatic merits, but their exquisite music, the accompanying glittering dresses and gorgeous decorations, and the wanton *ballet* with which the entertainments are concluded." In respect to glittering dresses and gorgeous decorations, some of the plays of Shakespeare are quite as attractive as any opera. If our Critic will not allow dramatic excellence to opera, he will not surely attempt to deny artistic dramatic excellence to the performers. It may be said almost with scarcely an exception that Lablache, Grisi, Fornassari, Persiani, and others, are as first-rate actors and actresses in their line, surpassed by none. Where, for instance, is there a finer tragic performer than Dupre, for though not strictly of the Italian

opera, he belongs, nevertheless, to opera? In regard to the *ballet*, it is with opera rather than of it. It is to opera what farce is to tragedy. In opera as well as in tragedy, there must be a certain amount of compromise of the imagination. It is not more absurd to see an impassioned lover trill out deadly defiance to his rival, or die musically, than it is to have a ghost appear visible to one, but invisible to all the guests at a grand supper, and yet quite visible to the audience. That the ancients might err in point of taste as well as the moderns, is very likely, though it is not stated whether the taste that might be offended against, was contemporary or such as is now professed. That modern taste might be offended by many things introduced upon the Athenian stage we feel perfectly assured of; but there is no reason to suppose, that there were many flagrant outrages, upon the taste of the Greeks themselves. Is it not then a little rash of our Critic, to commit himself to the opinion, that the introduction of the Gods on the stage by the ancients, "was puerile and absurd." Very puerile and absurd perhaps to him and us, but not so to men, 'to the manner born.' Let him bethink him of the 'Mysteries' of our own dark ages. As respects the Greeks, we can answer for it, that their belief in supernaturalities, was too deep-rooted, too sincere, to render it either puerile or absurd, to introduce them upon the stage. On the contrary, such introduction was perfectly in harmony with the sympathies of the age, and in entire heartfelt consonance to the current piety of the people. To form a juster conception on this head, we ought to be perfectly satisfied as to the convictions of our own ancestors regarding the weird sisters in Macbeth. An audience of Shakespeare's day, and of our own, we have reason to suppose, would view the incantation scene in Macbeth, with very different feelings. What is now rendered ludicrous in representation by a want of true perception of the ideal, or stage mismanagement; formerly was impressive and awful. The introduction, for instance, of the Eumenides on the Grecian stage, was fraught with terror; and in the Amphytrions of Plautus, the appearance of Jupiter on the scene, with the thunder and darkness that mark his advent, is very grandly conceived.

A paradoxical, and indeed ridiculous skit of Coleridge's, appears to have formed the peg for our author's somewhat rambling paper on "Othello and Iago." Othello, according to the wild notion of Coleridge, forsooth was not jealous. We shall, no doubt, some day be told that Julius Cæsar was not ambitious, nor Tiberius cruel, and that Messalina was chaste as unsunned snow. Coleridge's proposition is not more extravagant than Horace Walpole's, respecting that much injured and generous

hearted sovereign, Richard III., who, according to his views, was more sinned against than sinning. Othello was not jealous. Oh no! He was too noble for this. How absurd, as if the firmest nature could be proof (especially an unsuspecting generous man), against diabolical circumvention and art. Circumstances have hanged many an innocent man, and circumstances might make even a fond and trusting husband doubt the fidelity of a true wife. We have in Othello, a man of an open and kindly nature, driven to the verge of madness by an artfully concocted plot; enough to drive nine out of ten men quite distracted. Proofs most cunningly devised, crush, in spite of himself, the rebellious instinct of a trusting and loyal heart. He is morally turned inside out, and constrained from an ugly conjunction of facts, to believe his wife a wanton; he vows in the presence of his foul betrayer, to sacrifice her life upon the altar of outraged honor. He lashes himself up to the fulfilment of that vow, murders her, and forsooth then arises a question, was he jealous! This is really such outrageous nonsense, as almost renders it idle to enter into any thing like serious argument respecting it. The fact is, that there are some intellects that love to play with a seeming subtlety, as a cat does with a mouse.

Surely our Critic might have spared himself the trouble of shewing that it was not Shakespeare's intent to render Othello either repulsive or contemptible. In the name of common sense, is Shakespeare so obscure a writer, that we need D. L. R.'s assurance on this point at starting? We may be well content to take Othello's character, from the mouth of his fiendish enemy, who declares,

> The Moor is of a free and open nature
> That thinks men honest, that but seem to be so.

Such men are easily led from the unsuspecting honesty of their nature, as *Iago* states in his cynical way. In a passing note over the forgotten railer, Rymer's preposterous remarks on Shakespeare; our Critic makes a reference to Negros, which we deem not very relevant to the *Moor* Othello. The term Moor, is certainly not one of disrespect. Othello, is '*the* Moor of Venice.' A man of high birth and station, of loveable and kindly dispositions, and a brave military leader. He was descended of a race proverbially handsome and chivalric. Such epithets as "thick-lips," "sooty-bosom," are mere exaggerative *gallee* arising from the requisite collision of passion and scene. In regard to Shakespeare's female characters, our Critic's remarks so far as they go, are very just. It is in fact, the best compliment which can be paid to a woman in general, that she is not of prominent

character. A lilly has not so much character as a bramble, nor a rose, so much as a prickly pear can shew. Pope's line then—

Most women have no character at all,

so far from being a libel, seems to us to be the very reverse. The 'wicked wasp of Twickenham,' spoke more especially in regard to a court, and fashionable circle. The passions of woman being less vehement, or kept under stricter discipline—the female character is accordingly less rugged, or more characterless than that of man, just as a dove has less character than a kite, or a canary than a crow. The dogma of Pope therefore admitting it with our Critic to be smart, is not shallow, but profound and true to nature. D. L. R. indeed ought to be grateful to his brother poet, for giving him an opportunity of standing up chivalrously on behalf of the sex, albeit he is somewhat chargeable with making the giant in order to kill him! But to return to Othello, our Critic has some remarks in advertence to those who may have deemed *Iago's* character somewhat unnatural, "as there is not a sufficient motive for his atrocious conduct." If there be some who think so, they have studied Italian history to little purpose, and considered the beautiful drama before us, very superficially. Where is there in the whole circle of human motives, one so bitterly fruitful in results, as jealousy, that old and never ending belli teterrima causa? Love, or love distorted (and jealousy is nothing more), has been and will long continue to be, the fruitful source of the direst human misery. The reference to the character of Hamlet, introduced by our Critic, is any thing but pertinent to the subject in hand. It looks as if lugged in to eke out a paper, and is after all, but a meagre abstract of Goethe's profound analysis of the character. There certainly was no call for our Critic's acquitting Hamlet the Dane of *cowardice* at the fag-end of an article on Othello; or of his adducing in proof of his being no craven, the coolness of his bearing in the engagement with Laertes. The man who had faced a supernatural being, and followed him, baring his weapon to bar the interference of his quailing friends, until he might have speech of him in a lonely place apart from all witness, could be no coward. It is not cowards who reason upon suicide, and eschew it upon christian grounds, neither is it cowards who aim the rapier at false kings,—but this is a digression. Need we observe that we are considerably at issue with our Critic in regard to the motives of *Iago*. Our Critic balances, as his way not unfrequently is, "I am far from maintaining that the character of *Iago* is actually or altogether unnatural; but I think that even Shakespeare himself had some misgivings on this score (!)

and had anticipated the very objection which Mr. Hazlitt combats." Fancy, O Reader, Shakespeare throwing off a tragedy at a heat, and then anticipating some fatal objection that might hereafter be made against it, but which he in the original conception of the character, had wholly overlooked. This is something like Phidias making a statue, and forgetting that he had not put a head to it, and then to meet some contingent objection falling to and doing the needful! But continues the Critic, "It was on *this* account perhaps" (there is always much virtue in a perhaps) "that he has made *Iago* express a suspicion, that both the Moor and *Cassio* had dishonored him as a husband. The thing seems improbable in itself, *(why ?)* and is so *awkwardly* introduced, and has so *little effect* (?) that it looks very like an after thought or interpolation. It is forgotten as soon as mentioned." In regard to Cassio, this may be readily admitted, but as respects Othello—the aspect of the question is very different. To put this in a clearer point of view, let us consider a little the character of Iago, and that of his wife. The first needs little illustration. At the end of the play, as it came from Shakespeare, an enumeration of the persons of the drama occurs thus—"Othello the *Moore*—Cassio an Honorable Lieutenant—Iago *a villaine*—Roderigo a gulled gentleman, &c." The reader, of course, has early in the scene, an acquaintance with the moral bent of the characters—which they themselves have not. The reader knows *Iago* to be a thorough paced rascal, albeit a gay, a witty, a frank boon companion. He is deemed a truly honest fellow by the dramatis personæ in general, especially the brave chief, who, he is sure, 'will as tenderly be led by the nose as asses are.' The unprincipled and dangerous character of Iago gradually unfolds itself. Nemo repente fuit turpissimus. It is sometime before he himself will admit even in soliloquy, that his hellish plot is engendered. He is a cool calculating selfish man—and such men generally are suspicious. He rates himself high. He feels it an injury to be superseded by Cassio. In the very first scene, Roderigo refers to a foregone conclusion. "Thou told'st me thou didst hold him in thy hate." To say nothing of other causes of repugnance, *Iago's* interest, as we should say now a days, was not equal to his competitor's. He had evidently been to the big-wigs, with a view to promotion—but in vain.

> ——— These great ones of the city
> In personal suit to make me his lieutenant,
> Oft capp'd to him ; and by the faith of man,
> I know my price ———.

Such men always do. Their organ of self-esteem is usually

large, to compensate for the absence of benevolence and conscientiousness. What was the character of this hard-hearted, unprincipled, suspicious man's wife? Emilia is a lively, somewhat flippant woman, who, with a different man for her husband, might have responded to a truer and more harmonious moral chord than we find set down. She *must* have known that her husband was a prying, cynical and slippery man, and not likely to be a continent one. There is a stinging point in all he says—but it is said not for what it is, but for what it may seem. It is the most artful equivoque. Consider the soliloquy, or rather the aside Mephistophelis-like reflections (was *Iago* the germ of Goethe's fiend?) 'He' (*Cassio*) 'takes her by the palm. Aye, 'well said, whisper—aye smile upon her—do, I will gyve thee in 'thine own courtship— —very good; well kissed! an excellent 'courtesy— —yet again your fingers to your lips?'—This is the very effervescence of gall in an unprincipled, sharp designing, most shrewd, and even suspicious man. Emilia must have had some tolerable notion of this man's real character. She could not thoroughly love him—because he was so very opposite to her own vehemence of affection, and impulsive earnestness, though not disinclined to be a flirt should opportunity serve. Of her leanings and tendencies, we cannot have a better exponent than her own confession. In the last conversation between her and Desdemona, when her sweet mistress is overborne, by an ominous impression of coming doom, darkening around her. Emilia raises the veil somewhat.

Desd. ———— O these men, these men!
Dost thou in conscience think—tell me Emilia
That there be women do abuse their husbands
In such gross kind?
Emilia. There be some such, no question.
Desd. Wouldst thou do such a deed for all the world?
Emilia. Why—would not you?
Desd. No, by this heavenly light!

It is unnecessary to pursue the dialogue further. Suffice it that Emilia gives us the notion of a matron not embarrassed by any particular scruples. Piquant, sparkling, and gay withal—she seems qualified when so humoured, to give a less suspicious husband than Iago cause of uneasiness. If not a coquette; by her own shewing, she might have become so, if resentment, or other cause served. In regard to *Iago*, how stands the argument of his jealousy being an after thought? It is that kind of feeling that no man blabs about. In nature itself, its existence is recognised, by inference, rather than on declaration. In a very early scene of the drama, *Iago* lets out that he *hates* Othello. Why? His promotion of *Cassio* to the higher rank,

might be productive of resentment, but could scarcely be the cause of 'a lodged hate.' Suspicion of his being dishonored by the Moor, on the other hand, at once, gives a clue to the whole mystery—especially when we recollect some of the social anomalies of Italy, and the vindictiveness, not idly attributed, to the Italian character; the result partly of peculiar forms of government, and partly of constitution. This cool headed, bad hearted, pococurante military adventurer, appraised himself, as a matter of course, much higher than he did Michael Cassio, 'the Arithmetician,' because

> He had never set a squadron in the field
> Nor the division of a battle knows
> More than a Spinster ————.

This is quite the guard-room tone—the mess-room cant of disparagement, of one who has been superseded, by an officer whom he deems very inferior in merit to himself. This is quite in the grumbling subaltern vein.

> mere prattle without practice
> Is all his soldiership—but he, Sir, had the election
> And I ————.

So far of the drama, is human nature, and military human nature, bristling up against Head-Quarters favouritism. It is trolled out with apparent frankness—for *Iago* has the reputation of an honest fellow, aye, and a jovial companion to boot, when it suits him. Roderigo avouches that *he,* were he in the other's place, would not follow the Moor after being so slighted. Iago's reply is quite characteristic, for the reader understands it in a different sense from Roderigo, the gull.

> ———— O, Sir, content you
> I follow him to save my turn upon him,
> We cannot all be masters, nor all masters
> Cannot be truly followed ————.

'I know my price,' was *Iago's* first intimation—the next is 'I bide my time.' He developes himself a little more, almost immediately after, expressing his contempt for such a poor devil as

> Wears out his time, much like his master's ass
> For nought but provender, and when he is old—cashiered
> Whip me such arrant knaves ————.

This, though dropped jestingly, gives us a glimpse of his real policy, and here we have more of it.

> Others there are
> Who trimm'd in forms and visages of duty,
> Keep yet their hearts, attending on themselves;

And throwing but shows of service on their lords,
Do well thrive by them, and when they have lin'd their coats,
Do themselves homage : these fellows have some soul ;
And such a one do I profess myself.

Further insight as regards the interior nature of the man is afforded by himself, still in the same half jesting tone.

I follow but myself—
Heaven is my judge, not I for love or duty,
But seeming so, for my peculiar end ;
For when my outward action doth demonstrate
The native art and figure of my heart
In compliment extern, 'tis not long after
But I shall wear my heart upon my sleeve
For daws to peck at : I am not what I am.

This is one of those involuntary raisings of the veil, which even the most astute villain cannot help at times. We have here a complete key to *Iago's* character, furnished by himself, to a man he deemed little better than a fool. Next comes the reckless indecency of his midnight announcement to old Brabantio, which considering his place, his rank, and his relationship to Desdemona ; evinces a habitual callousness ; and a very low moral tone. He seems sensible of the indecorousness himself, and after a fashion apologizes for it,

Do not believe
That from the sense of all civility
I thus would play and trifle with your reverence :
Your daughter ————.

After the old senator leaves the window, *Iago* slyly observes to Roderigo—

———— farewell, for I must leave you :
It seems not meet, nor wholesome to my place
To be produced (as if I stay I shall)
Against the Moor ————.

Here is a thorough paced rogue, feeling his way in demoralizing the mind of his facile listener to his purpose. In the second scene, his mask being thus far dropped to the reader, though not to his unsuspecting master—he begins with a show of honest sympathy, by declaring that he had difficulty in restraining himself, from yerking the Magnifico under the ribs, because he—

prated
And spoke such scurvy and provoking terms
Against your honor ————.

Here he is exercising his vocation—of doing mischief in every direction. *Othello* answers with great dignity—nor must we

overlook a part of it—as it shows that even by descent he is no plebeian, no common-place military adventurer.

> I fetch my life and being
> From men of royal siege

When *Iago* suggests that he should go before the Magnifico, the 'raised father and his friends,' he answers as becoming his conscious dignity, no less than conscious innocence of real offence.

> ——— Not I, I must be found
> My parts, my title, and my perfect soul,
> Shall manifest me rightly ———.

Such confidence has Othello in his *friend* Iago, that he entrusts the care of Desdemona to him, on her passage to Cyprus. Before parting, old Brabantio utters a few bitter words—which no doubt were unhappily remembered afterwards—in which he bids the Moor beware of her, as she might deceive him as well as her father. Othello replies

> My life upon her faith—Honest Iago
> My Desdemona must I leave to thee,
> I pray thee let thy wife attend on her
> And bring them after in the best advantage.

This wish of the noble Moor, in such a suspicious mind as *Iago's*, naturally prone to jealousy, no doubt was attributed to a foul motive. Why, *my* wife to attend upon his? The whole villainy of *Iago's* passages with Roderigo is so palpable, that nothing need be said. We know his rule, even though he had given it no utterance. 'Thus do I ever make my fool my purse.' Here, at the close of the first act, and for the first time, we have Iago alone. We already begin to see, of what a close nature he is—of what a selfish and cruel—for is not all cruelty a phase of selfishness? He has already assured us, that his outward action was not likely to denote 'the native act and figure of his heart.' We may already infer, therefore, that when most gay, he was most hatefully resolved; when most jovial, most fiendishly plotting evil. This was not a man, to hint to others, of his secretly festering jealousy, albeit he might have betrayed it to his wife. It would have been awkward to have introduced the matter sooner. How could it have been broached? Where would D. L. R. have lugged it in? Shakespeare generally knew what he was about. *Iago*, in soliloquy, lets us know, what otherwise we might only have inferred—that he suspects the Moor in regard to his own wife Emilia. He is not sure of it, but he has a stinging suspicion which ripens in such a mind. When he advises his victim to beware of jealousy, in an after scene—he is speaking from the fullness of his own festering heart, full of foul thoughts

and hiding them under a gay exterior that seemed to laugh at every thing. At the end of the first scene of the second act, we have *Iago* again in soliloquy, and he repeats his suspicion of the Moor and his wife.

> ——— ——— the thought thereof
> Doth like a poisonous mineral,* gnaw my inwards
> And nothing can or shall content my soul,
> Till I am even with him ———.

At this time Iago's plot is scarcely clear enough to himself. If he cannot corrupt Desdemona himself, he is determined to

> put the Moor
> At least into a jealousy so strong
> That judgment cannot cure.

In the third act too,—*Iago's* jealousy is at the root of a flippant *double entendre*, he utters on Emilia's coming to announce to him that she has Desdemona's handkerchief for him. Iago evidently speaks from stinging experience, when he addresses *Othello* in the fourth act.

> Good, sir, be a man
> Think every bearded fellow, that's but yok'd,
> May draw with you ——— ———
> O, 'tis the spite of hell, the fiend's arch-mock
> To lip a wanton in a secure couch,
> And to suppose her chaste ———.

Though this is said, the further to excite Othello's jealousy, yet is it exactly Iago's own feeling. In the same act, Emilia shews her cognizance of her husband's jealousy—when speaking with hearty and just indignation against 'the cogging cozening slave,' whoever he might be, who had poisoned Othello's ear; she rejoins, on Iago's telling her 'to speak within door,' that is not to clamour so as to be heard without;—

> O, fye upon him! some such squire he was
> That turn'd your wit the sunny side without
> And made you to suspect me with the Moor.

But enough—we have produced sufficient, to demonstrate, that *Iago's* jealousy of *Othello* was the origo mali throughout. The supercession in Cassio's promotion, sharpened and goaded on his vindictive spirit. His jealousy is evident, in several places as we have shewn, and was no second, but primary thought of the author. It is by masterly touches, few but strong, that Shakespeare sometimes shews the depth of a passion. We have it in *Othello's* exclamation of 'fool—fool—fool'—when he finds how he has been juggled by an incarnate demon. We have it in *Iago's*

* Arsenic no doubt, the working of which is most agonizing, as well as deadly.

attempt to stab his wife—and the odious phrase he applies to her—which no gentleman could use, save in the belief of her falsity to his bed. In a word, jealousy is the argument of this superb tragedy. We have it in three forms—and all turning on trifles—we have first the jealousy of a suspicious, mean-spirited, time-serving, worldly-wise villain. He never hazards his own safety if he can avoid it. He would have stabbed Emilia to death, long before the fifth act, if he could have done so without bringing suspicion on himself. His cue is to make it appear, that all whom it was his design, or intent, to remove, cut off each other—and he had very nearly succeeded. Then we have the great jealousy of a generous nature, not easily provoked—not easily jealous, but being wrought, perplexed in the extreme. It is on her in whom he had garnered up his soul, that his storm of retributive passion falls. He is determined to sacrifice her—although it wrings his heart, that there should be a bitter necessity for it. We have also the lighter jealousy of Bianca, in the third and fourth acts, excited by the same fatal handkerchief, that has already worked so much mischief.

In his paper on four comic characters—viz. Falstaff, Don Quixote, Sir Roger de Coverly and Uncle Toby—the author expresses surprise—"that no Critic has yet thought of bringing into contact and comparison, these master-pieces of genius." We are all familiar with literary parallels—but parallels or comparisons, between characters having nothing in common, can be of little other use in criticism, than to shew the Critic's ingenuity. A Poet sees similitude in dissimilitude, it is upon some such poetico-critical principle, we presume, that these four characters are baked up into one literary pie. Their incongruity is so great, that we cannot imagine a more odd re-union than the meeting of the four could form. There are characters that are called comic, because they figure in comedy. To us it appears, that the only genuine comic character of the four, is Falstaff. He is always sure to make us laugh. It is not so with Sir Roger de Coverly and Uncle Toby. Don Quixote again is a compound of the solemn if not sad, with the moral beautiful—and when in contact with Sancho, especially of the comic, properly so called. Uncle Toby and Sir Roger, are in no wise laughter moving—but whimsical. They are more properly speaking comedy characters than comic. "It is quite possible"—observes our Critic—"that Shakespeare himself had held his sides, over the ludicrous misfortunes of the Knight of the rueful countenance." This may be possible, but as it strikes us, is not very probable. If Shakespeare himself, save in London, was an obscure author

in those days, it is not likely that Cervantes' master-piece should have been well known in London. There was little communication between Spain and England during Elizabeth's time, whatever might have been the case in the previous reign. At the juncture when the first and second parts of Henry IV. were published, there was was no *entente cordial* between the Spanish and English courts. If Elizabeth's reign was so rich in translations, from the continental languages—how comes it that it should have been left to Jervis and Smollett, to translate Don Quixote—since we know of no other English translation ? In our Critic's opinion—there are as many striking points of opposition between Sir John Falstaff and Don Quixote, "as *if* they had proceeded from the same brain, and were expressly intended to illustrate each other, upon the principle of contrast." Surely the same remark is applicable to hundreds of characters which differ as far as fat and lean, merry and sad. Henry the V. and Henry the VIII. Charles I. and Charles II. might be pitted in the same way, just as legitimately, as the fat, and the rueful Knight. Our Critic gravely assures us, in regard to Hudibras, that, "if regarded as an imitation of Don Quixote, it is undoubtedly a failure and full of incongruities." Why so—if taken upon his own principle of contrast ? What, however, constitutes an imitation ? and where is the line to be drawn between imitation and plagiarism ? Is literary imitation, when not servile—wrong ? We could have wished, that our Critic had discussed those principia a little more—since otherwise, almost every literary production in the world may be considered an imitation, and Homer himself, if we knew all, might thus come to be numbered among the herd of Imitators. Many, so called imitators, we rather think, come under Fluellens kind of coincidence about the river in Macedon, and the river in Monmouth. If the circumstance, of a Knight and his Squire, be considered as constituting imitation, one might trace up imitation to Goliath, of Gath, and his armour bearer. It would be quite as just to say that Don Quixote is an imitation of Ajax, as that Hudibras is an imitation of Don Quixote. There are imitations respecting which there can be no mistake ;—that are, and are intended, to be patent to every well read person. Mrs. Inchbald, for instance, demonstrated satisfactorily enough (to all, save perhaps George Colman the younger), that two of the characters in the 'Poor Gentleman'—were but Fetches of Uncle Toby, and Corporal Trim. But—"all imitations of the romance of Cervantes are very unsuccessful"—says our Critic. "Smollett's Sir Lancelot Greaves is his poorest production." Tastes will ever differ—but we have from youth upwards, preferred this poorest production to

'Ferdinand Count Fathom.' It is professedly, and honestly an imitation—but not a slavish one—for Sir Lancelot is a handsome and accomplished English gentleman, in the prime of life—and his lady-love bears no resemblance to Dulcinea Del Tobozo, as her portraiture stands to ages *daggereotyped* by Sancho Panza. It may be the *poorest* of Smollett's productions—but we never recollect having read it without being moved to hearty laughter, and we have ever been of opinion, that what moves to that emotion, or to tears, cannot be a poor production. Our Critic's remarks on the character of Falstaff, we scarcely think conceived in his usual, liberal, and comprehensive spirit. It was not right to say deliberately, in regard to this character, that it is one resting on a basis of—"approaching the extreme point of felicity in proportion as he sinks his nature to that of a beast." This would be the beau ideal of a solitary drunkard, a bestial sot—instead of the jovial and witty Falstaff—who, be it recollected, always enjoys himself socially. He is no solitary toper—and he is never represented drunk. There would indeed be no pleasure in reading about such a character, or seeing it represented—whereas there is a perpetual spring about Shakespeare's Falstaff. He is a general favorite with young and old. To say that—"his intellectual powers evaporate in witticism"—is to hold rare wit very cheap—as a sort of soda water thing that evaporates in potation. Independent of the absurdity, of instituting any comparison, between two such north and south characters, as Don Quixote and Falstaff, can any thing be more unreasonable than to depreciate the one in respect to the other? One might as well condemn the 'Jolly Beggars'—of Burns—because it differs so extremely from Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner.' After all—is the department of wit and humour, whim, and oddity, very congenial to our Critic? Not so much so, we should suppose, judging from several passages throughout the work under consideration—as the region of serious poetry and mental peculiarity—in its relation to the purely dialectical, and fanciful. In passing, our Critic has a very laconic depreciatory hit at Smollett, and his broad humour—as if his humour were never otherwise than broad. He is dashed off as a painter of manners, not of universal nature. This is a curious remark rather, considering that our Critic has just been dealing with four portraits, which we presume, are scarcely to be considered, as representing universal human nature. The remark, as to being a mere painter of exterior man, had already been made by a brother Critic,* respecting Chaucer in those words. "As in Shakespeare, his characters

* Coleridge's 'Literary Remains.'

represent classes, but in a different manner. Shakespeare's characters are the representation of the interior nature of humanity in which some element has become so predominant as to destroy the health of the mind; whereas Chaucer's are rather representation of classes of manners." Now we demur to the position of Smollett being a mere manner painter. His characters are not like the phantasmagoria sketches of Le Sage—in which a few pages do the business—and we part with the individual for ever. In Smollett's works, they accompany us through a series of adventures. Look, for instance, at *Roderick Random*. To be sure, it is disfigured greatly, by the gross indelicacy of a coarse age, coarse in morals, as well as in manners. Roderick Random himself is a character—and not merely a sketch of exteriors as in the case of Tom Bowling, the Fox-hunter, and Narcissus' aunt. In Roderick, Strap, and Morgan, we have real characters with interior pith and meaning. *Humphrey Clinker* too, of itself, would be a triumphant proof, that Smollett's hand had some of the interior, as well as the exterior cunning. *Matthew Bramble* is drawn with artistical skill, and who that once has become acquainted with Winnifred Jenkins, but retains a delightful recollection of her? Then in regard to a superb scoundrel, from his innermost depth—where is there a completer portrait, than that of *Count Fathom*. Look at Lismahago too—the representative of a class of dogmatic Scotch disputants, with 'in-knee'd soul'—as Robert Burns would say.

In the paper on "miniature outlines"—we have a sketch of Sir Walter Scott—but as the "Chit-Chat," also takes him up—it may be as well now to refer more particularly to that work. It is one great defect of its plan that the A—s and B—s, the H—s, and the L—s make no impression of individuality upon the mind. Alexander and Septimus, or even Tom and Jerry, would have answered better, as far as the reader is concerned. As it is—the letters are like holes in the wall through which our author's ventriloquism comes. By way of heightening the illusion, were it not as well, if we had two human figures instead of two commas—two letters we mean? There should have been outward garnish to give an idea, just as gilded pipes are put on the front of an organ, for the look of the thing. One would naturally wish also—instead of the divided opinions of letters, that convey no idea, had we the plain unvarnished imprimatur of those that are entertained by D. L. R. We could wish them outspoken and no mistake, on the speculations entered into; since under their present form, there is so much see-sawing, and balancing, that we scarcely know what conclusion to come to, or what opinion the author himself really entertains. The "Chit-Chat

combines odds and ends," that should have been incorporated in another edition of the "Leaves." The author himself is sensible of a want of dramatic keeping, in his a, b, c, plan. He confesses that he had quite forgotten (as the reader is apt to do also,) what A. or B. had said upon the same subject, some time before. It seems that these conversational exercises, were not written with a view to republication in a volume, which circumstance should be remembered as an excuse for defects, which the author seems more sensible of, than, there is any call for, since it is one full of talent; fraught with varied interest; and capable of setting thought a-stirring. It is by no means improbable that our author's mode of handling his subject, by dealing panegyric and censure, by turns, from the same pen, may prove advantageous to "Hindu Students anxious to acquire a critical knowledge of recent English writers"—but it strikes us, that it would have been much more so, had the praise, or censure, been given smply and affirmatively. The term recent, too, is liable to cause some misconception at first—especially when we find such names as these figuring in its pages—Shakespeare—Charles I.—Bacon—Newton—Dryden—Pascal—Thomson—Hume—Gibbon—Pope—Addison—Johnson and Churchill. It is surely quite right to hear both sides of a question—to listen to the advocates—but is the reader to be the sole judge? Will not the author himself enact the part? Perhaps it is from modesty that D. L. R. declines it—and leaves his fragments of the alphabets to fight it out, without coming to a decision. In regard to Hindu students, will not this mode of treating a subject, confirm a tendency, to which they are already somewhat prone—that of oscillating between two opinions, until as in more sacred and important matters, they at length cannot tell what faith they are of? "If I might"—says our author, in his preface, "thus contribute, however indirectly, to raise the tone of conversation in the houses of the rising generation of Hindus," I should exult in a consummation so devoutly to be wished. We might also plead, in explanation of remarks of our own, that may fairly be deemed superfluous by the English reader—that they have a special reference to the Hindu students, who take an interest in such questions, as those embraced in the works under consideration. We fear, however, that our author need not flatter himself with any such consummation as he aspires after. A home conversation, is one, in which father and mother, sister and brother, husband and wife, and guest-friend, may join round the domestic board. Alas! there is no domestic board. Such a conversation in the present state of Hindu society, is only an Utopian desideratum. The thing itself need not be looked for in a social state,

where the head of the family sits aloof as a master, and the wife is little better than a servant. There must first be female education before such a consummation can be anticipated as even remotely feasible. These must first arise, and become a principle of domestic centralization, a proper deference for woman, a reverence for womanhood, and a due appreciation of woman's mission altogether; before she will open her lips to interchange sentiments with man as her equal. Whatever may be said of 'Young-Bengal'—in regard to intellectuals, their morale must improve before they can expect the blessings of mind, and heart expanding, and refining female conversation, or interchange of sentiment. As yet, we regret to be constrained to observe, that we cannot stand forward to bear testimony to their patriotism, their manners, or their philanthropy. Having cast off the trammels of their own religion, and apparently therewith, much of their social obligations, we would ask what have they substituted for these? By what mark are we to know them, by what symbol are we to recognize them, by what sympathy to class them? They call themselves Hindus;—if *they* are Hindus—may we be permitted to enquire what conditions constitute Hinduism? If Young-Bengal seek to be weighed in the balance of Hinduism—the balance in short of the Hindu sanctuary, will they not be found awfully wanting? In what balance then, we would further ask, do they wish to be weighed? Deism, and hot tiffins with "*awr shraub*" do not constitute, either philanthropy, patriotism, or religion. In regard even to literature—what has Young-Bengal done, or what is it doing? When we are informed, what proportion the bookseller's bills, of Young-Bengal, bear to the rest of Young-Bengal's expenditure, we may perhaps, have some data to enable us to come to some reasonable conclusion. At present we feel rather at a loss—and have some reason to suspect that certain Restaurants we could name, benefit much more by their patronage, than either Thacker and Co., or Ostell and Lepage. In the walks of literature, and philosophy, so far at least as we have had the opportunity of observing—they are apt to be every thing by turns, and nothing long. They do not greatly fancy making sacrifices of any kind. They are forward to inflate wind bags—but not to fill a coffer for liberty in peril, or humanity in distress. While we write this, Mr. Wilberforce Bird's picture, for which the natives of Calcutta prayed that he would sit—is going a begging! A more disgraceful exhibition we have never heard of. Never let any man in high place, again consent to sit for his picture, at the requisition of the *Native* inhabitants of Calcutta. Enough we have a pleasant recollection, of the *paying*, but let not the names of the *non-paying* subscribers

to this picture be forgotten. They are not forgotten as far as we are concerned—and perhaps some day, the oblivious non-payers may find, that in regard to a picture even, as to all other questions of social polity—honesty is the best policy. Oh ! that Young-Bengal would remember a somewhat gloomy poet's advice—'on reason build resolve, that column of true majesty in man.'* What fruit—we would fain ask—has been produced by all the fine things said (but not done !) about the lamentable condition of Hindu widows ? When shall we hear of a Young-Bengal hero, marrying a Young-Bengal widow ? When, in the words of the Prince of Denmark, will they—'leave off their damnable faces and begin ?' Has one of them the moral courage to make a beginning ? Who will bell the cat of social prejudice ? NOT ONE ! Not one will make a step even in advance. Mutty Lall Seal's prize—is likely to share the same fate, as that for the discovery of the longitude, or of perpetual motion. Will any one endeavour to abate the moral evil of infant betrothment ? We leave the question of widow-marrying altogether where we found it—in the *Slough of Despond !* Will any one have the virtue to stand up and say, I will not make it imperative upon my little Ramchunder, or Latchmee, to marry—till it becomes a spontaneous movement of their own minds. I will not be a party to a system, that is the fruitful hot bed of corruption, the nursery of private deterioration, and social degeneracy. Have Young-Bengal the moral courage, to form a society of their own, to disclaim in essentials, as they have speculatively, the tyranny of custom ; and to discountenance in every point, the laxity, or immorality, of the society in which they move, and of which they are units, rather than members—cyphers conjoined to no integer ? Will they with a puritanical sternness, declare war against the vices, the profligacies, of the old Hindu society ? Will they without compromise, discountenance all immorality, and all departure from the truth ? Have they the fortitude to endeavour to form a society of their own, on the basis of a determination, to send to Coventry, all members found offending under the indicated heads ? We confess that we are now treading upon dangerous ground—that we are urging to arm with weapons, that may be turned against European consistency. 'Physician cure thyself'—may be fairly enough retorted upon us. We admit at once with sorrow—that too many of our countrymen, have for some months back, it may be years, done such things, as tend to make us all blush for the European character, as far at least as Calcutta is concerned. What is most awful to

* Young's 'Night Thoughts.'

the reflecting, in respect to the flagrant commercial profligacy of Calcutta, is, the impunity with which crimes are now a days committed—that formerly, hurried hundreds, of far less culpable offenders to an ignominious death. But waving this—will Young-Bengal be once in earnest and *do* something? Will Young-Bengal, for instance, send to Coventry—or refuse to hold social recognition of, or communion with, any Kúlin Brahmin of their acquaintance, who avails himself of his beastly privilege, of multiplying—wives, we will not call them, but courtezans rather, to himself? This is a simple test—let us see how they will dispose of it. We once more entreat of Young-Bengal to give some more satisfactory, and likely to endure proof, of moral advancement, and the benefits they have derived from English education; than the discussion, secundum artem, of mutton chops and beer, beefsteaks and porter.

For the better understanding of the scope of his work, our author furnishes the following key—"I have endeavoured to shew what can be urged for and against an author's claims, and in justice to myself, I may observe, that my own opinion is usually on the most favorable side, or with the most moderate speaker, though I must sometimes admit the force of objections that are advanced by the opposite party." Notwithstanding the aid to be derived from this hint, we are free to confess, to having more than once, felt at a loss; as to which opinion, our author in propria persona, might be considered as the utterer of. It may be said of Poet-Critics, in addition to the free remarks of the Poet-Critic whose lucubrations we are considering, that Poets are not always the best judges of poets, just as it is said, that women are not always the best judges of female beauty. Respecting those sages on the bench of the high court of criticism—the leading Reviews—our Critic justly observes "that no author 'could expect the least honesty or candour from a Reviewer 'whose politics were different from his own. People calling 'themselves gentlemen, and perhaps so deemed by their associ-'ates, no sooner seated themselves in the Critic's chair, then they 'laid aside all the courtesies of civilized life, forgot every princi-'ple of honor and humanity, and conducted themselves like 'drunken disputants, or hired assassins." Unfortunately there is too much truth in this remark—and it should be borne in mind by all who sit in the Critic's chair, in order that they may avoid the unseemly offences, of men, who may be regarded as the Jefferieses and Scroggses of the Critic's bench. We remember a review on poor Shelley in the *Quarterly*, that made us shudder at its diabolical truculence; and another on some work of Lady Morgan's, which, recollecting that its libellous bitterness, was

aimed at a lady, was both unmannerly and cowardly. Who the Critics were we know not, nor desire to know; but as the *Quarterly* has always prided itself upon its loyalty, and christianity; in regard to the latter quality, we can only say, that in those now far gone days, its illustrations of its principles were most extraordinary in the instances referred to—and such as for the honor of literature, we trust never to behold the like of again. All the papers in *Chit-Chat* have very taking titles, and what is more—there are signs of good entertainment for man and —— woman. Our readers may judge for themselves,. "Macaulay and the Poets"—"Croly—Hunt—Byron—Carlyle—Jeffrey, &c."—"Landor—Hazlitt—Byron—Southey, &c."—and so it goes on to some thirty articles of prose bill of fare, and no account of "miscellaneous poems"—and other attractions—the whole forming a very respectable octavo volume of some five hundred closely printed pages. However anxious to do justice to such a work, yet with our limits, can we only afford a very desultory notice of it. When we are told that—"Mr. Macaulay soon tires the most admiring hearer"—we scarcely know whether it is D. L. R. or his shadowy objector that speaks. We cannot plead to having ever felt fatigued, ourselves, in listening to Mr. Macaulay, though we must confess that he is a great monopolizer. No man has a right to keep all the conversation to himself, more than he has to lay an embargo on the cool sherry and iced champagne. To keep the latter fixed before himself—helping himself all the time, would not be a greater solecism in good manners, than monopolizing the conversation. Mr. Macaulay, however, is not a man of much pretension to polished or graceful manners. A man of learning, a man of genius, and great talents, he undoubtedly is—but neither in appearance, or address—does he constitute the beau ideal of a highly bred man. D. L. R. most likely could not get in one word edgeways. He could not swim through the torrent of the hon'ble gentleman's intense volubility. We suspect that our author had the simplicity to suppose, that Mr. Macaulay would have contributed some little sweeping of his study, to his own literary columns. If he thought this—he knew not Mr. Macaulay. Perhaps he knows him better now. Carlyle would have done it at once—but Macaulay would have deemed it infinitely infra dig. He was a whig and an Edinburgh Reviewer—and to think, that one mighty member of the Council of the Bengal Government, combining those two characters, would have condescended to write one line for a Calcutta Annual, or Literary Gazette, was a romantic absurdity. "At all events"—says D. L. R.'s shadow—"you must grant that he is arrogant and self-conceited."—The reply is an affirmative of the

remark.—"You are thinking of the man, and not of the author." Does that better the matter? We could extenuate the arrogance and self-conceit of the author—but not of the man. What is there in the family descent, education, or appearance of Mr. Macaulay, to make him arrogant or self-conceited? We fear that the Calcutta people as it respects themselves, are partly responsible, for this personal arrogance or shyness—which ever it be, that clung to the man while among us, and ever will cling to him. It is this peculiarity of manner that was one pervading reason, of his being rejected from Edinburgh, a circumstance nevertheless which we deem any thing but a creditable one, to the Modern Athens. When Mr. Macaulay arrived here—Calcutta as its wont is—rushed to bow the knee to the new Baal. This sort of idolatry is enough of itself to turn the head of any man, save one of *simple* manners and noble dignity of character. Macaulay is not a man of simple manners—and we leave it to others to say, what traces of hospitality, benefit, kindness, or large disinterestedness he has left behind him. The Scotch next crowded to his levee, and *booed*—and begged of him to preside at their St. Andrew's feast. He came accordingly and made one grand, artificial, sounding-brass and tinkling-cymbal, kind of speech. How the ears of those Caledonians must have tingled, when thrice in the course of that memorable evening, (thrice the brinded cat hath mewed) Mr. Macaulay assured them that he was *no* Scotchman! He could not go through Coventry with them—that was flat. They got a lesson—and let all those who formed the deputation to ask him—sing *Gaudiamus* for that evening's beautiful result! St. Andrew's chair thus became desecrated by a mongrel occupation—and it has never prospered since. But to return to our Critic, he assures us that—"his (Macaulay's) speeches remind us of the eloquence of Burke." In what respect—may we ask? Never was there a style of thought, or expression, that differs so much the one from the other. The style of Burke was involved, majestic, rolling, and rounded with ample and grand periods, harmonious as music of the olden time; and his philosophy was deep, suggestive, luminous and conservative. Macaulay's style on the other hand is abrupt, sparkling and epigrammatic. It is like powdered rosin, or glass, sprinkled over an illuminated surface—a sort of ball room splendour, with heraldic chalk figures, and groups admirably done on the floor;—historic transparencies, antique chandeliers and candelabras glittering on every side. The whole is not only artistic, but smells of oil and varnish. There are some high sounding passages in some of Mr. Macaulay's speeches, but evidently produced after laborious composition and chamber recita-

tion—and the brilliance, and the grandeur, are more in the words than in the thoughts. His mind compared to Burke's, is Loch Lomond to the Atlantic—but as if he had advanced too much, D. L. R. himself, interposes his granum salis. "I do not mean to say that they (Macaulay's speeches) exhibit the same depth of philosophy or force of genius." In short, after all, Mr. Macaulay, even by D. L. R.'s own shewing, is but a Brummagem Burke. By the way, the following is too graphic a specimen of our Critic's limning talent to be omitted:—

"A.—I did not think you had so high an opinion of Macaulay as an author. To me he appears flippant, dogmatical, laboured—though he is not without a showy cleverness. His style is never easy and natural. He has not the art to hide his art. It is not so difficult to construct the short, snappish, independent French sentences of which he is so fond, and which are agreeable enough to vulgar readers, because they move lightly, and are unencumbered with a weight of thought. To use an illustration of Coleridge's, they have only the same connexion with each other that marbles have in a bag."

In the same conversation Mr. Macaulay is represented as giving his opinion regarding Sir Walter Scott—"that he was a great writer—that his poetry was Homeric." Let us see how this consists with our author's own conclusions. "There is a want of thought as well as of imagination in Scott's poetry, and this is the reason that it is so seldom quoted."* But is he indeed so seldom quoted, or less so than contemporaries by contemporaries? We have very cogent doubts on the point, and though we have neither time, nor inclination, to go a hunting after such quotations, sure we are, unless our memory serves us scurvily, that we have in the course of some miscellaneous reading, met with several such quotations. "With respect even to the personages of Scott's Romances in metre, there is not one that has made any lasting impression upon the public mind"—and so goes on an unjustly disparaging Critic. He might with the like fairness call "La Gerusalemme Liberata"—a Romance in metre. Though not exactly in metre—what is the Iliad—or what the Æneid, but a Romance? The 'Last Minstrel,' and the 'Lady of the Lake,' and 'Marmion,' it seems, have not "made any lasting impression on the public mind." This in the way of hardihood of assertion, is pretty cool! "Sir Walter Scott's mind was not essentially poetical, and we see this not only in his writings but in his life." Surely his life was quite as poetical, as the general run of Poet's lives usually has been. It is we should think quite on a par in that respect as the life of

* Literary Leaves, vol. ii. p. 237.

Drydon, Pope, or Thomson—but no one looks for poetry in the routine of common life. In regard to Joanna Baillie's affinity to Shakespearean genius, Coleridge's sarcasm respecting Klopstock being 'a very German Milton'—might have been spared—since Joanna Baillie is much more like Shakespeare, in diversity and power, of illustrating the working of the passions, than Klopstock is to Milton in representing—'things—unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.' Mr. Atherstone, the author of 'Nineveh'—gets a reprimand from our Critic, for venturing to designate "his countryman the Scottish Shakespeare." Is it meant here, that it was *because* he was his countryman, that Mr. Atherstone paid that compliment? If so, the insinuation is ungenerous and uncalled for. Our Critic then adds*—"The Scotch are too fond of these inconsiderate and injudicious comparisons. They call Joanna Baillie, the female Shakespeare." Here the use of a phrase, by an individual or two, in honest conviction, or enthusiasm; is charged as a sin easily besetting a whole nation. If the Scotch are too fond of these inconsiderate and injudicious comparisons, it was the least we might have expected from a dispassionate and impartial Critic, to point out the where and when; in order to give us some general notion of the correctness of the allegation. This is not even attempted—and need we say—that nations, no more than individuals, are to be blown upon, by a confident assertion—be it from whom it may. We are not aware that D. L. R. has had occasion from his own personal experience, to asperse either Scottish authors, or the Scottish nation. It is true that Sir Walter Scott in the introduction to the third Canto of Marmion, paid what we believe to have been an honest compliment to Joanna Baillie—that right-hearted, grand-minded, and clear-headed woman—a character which is truly hers belong she to what country she may.

> Or if to touch each chord be thine
> Restore the ancient tragic line,
> And emulate the notes that rung
> From the wild harp which silent hung,
> By silver Avon's holy shrine
> Till twice a hundred years rolled o'er,
> When she the bold enchantress came
> With fearless hand and heart of flame;
> From the pale willow snatched the treasure
> And swept it with a kindred measure,
> Till Avon's swains, while rung the grove
> With Montfort's hate, with Basil's love
> Awakening at the inspired strain
> Deem'd their own Shakespeare come again.

* Literary Leaves, vol. ii. p. 241.

Will D. L. R. refer us to any dramatic writer, who has come nearer, or so near, the Swan of Avon, as Joanna Baillie? Will D. L. R. further pardon us for another question—has he ever gone carefully over the dramas of Joanna Baillie? Presuming that he has—he will the more readily we doubt not—concur with us, that they evince profound knowledge of human nature—and an intellectual range and power, quite as wonderful in the field of imagination, as Mrs. Somerville's genius is in that of scientific investigation. Be that as it may, in respect to another remark of our author's, no one (that we recollect) ever called Scott "the greatest of Scottish poets." Our Critic reasons as if his countrymen in a body had so hailed him.

This being the case—there was no more necessity—we must add fairness—in pitting him against Burns, than there was a call for comparing Falstaff with Don Quixote. Neither do we recognise any justness of parallelism between him and Wordsworth, Shelley or Coleridge, than we should between Southey and Crabbe, or the author of the "Corn-law Rhymes"—and D. L. R. But even supposing the case to stand exactly as our Critic has stated it, there would be no great harm done by the complimentary turn of a great poet, (for such Scott *we* believe to have been) in addressing the most gifted woman of her age; —or of Atherton calling Sir Walter the Scottish Shakespeare. There are passages in the works of both that would do no discredit to Shakespeare. The "Bride of Lammermuir"—in conception, depth of passion, and tragic earnestness, is not surpassed by any composition of the Elizabethan age—and is fraught with the louring, thrilling, *fateful* power of the Grecian drama. There are not comelier or more heroic delineations of woman, than are to be found in Scott's works. The Pirate is a perfect poem, though in the form of prose—and where has Shakespeare himself exceeded in nobler and more lovely impersonations of woman, than Minna and Brenda, Rebecca the Jewess and Jeannie Deans? From what has been advanced of our Critic's opinions; Scott was in fact no poet at all. Has he forgotten that there is poetry of action as well as of "psychological portraiture," or abstract thought, or things that may be considered amorphous? Has he forgotten Mr. Macaulay's true criticism that his style was Homeric.—In proof of this—will he look back to the description of the battle of Floddenfield in *Marmion*, and confess that it is equal to any thing in Homer—always bearing in mind that Homer availed himself of heroic machinery, that was wholly beyond the reach of the modern minstrel! "There never"—whether the opinion we are going to quote be our Critic's

in propria persona—or his shadowy objecting echo—we cannot tell, but letter A thus discourses to letter H.*

"There never was a *Verse Spinner* so overrated at one time 'and so justly neglected at another. Who reads his namby 'pamby? There is scarcely a single couplet in all his poems 'that embodies what may be called a *thought*, or even a new 'image—who ever quotes him."

Now is this just criticism? Is it the sort of criticism we should desire to see the Native Students take lessons in? It is not an opinion hastily formed. There is an interval of many years, between the date of the two or three works, whose titles head this article—and yet we find no alteration in our Critic's disparaging tone, in weighing the merits of one of the most wonderful writers ever known; even in the latest published. Again we find the "who quotes him"—fling. We are surprised at our poet so tenaciously hurling this glass-house sort of cavil. The fact is that D. L. R. has no relish for the poetry of action. Homer, and Virgil, and Dante, and Tasso, and even Milton himself perhaps (?) are not the Gods of his idolatry. At least they oose not out in imitation, or citation. Even the poetry of description, is not so much to our Critic's fancy, as that which he would call "the psychological"—although sometimes it may have no more claim to be so considered than the querulousness of the hypochondriac—for is not a great deal of the so called psychological poetry, taken up with the writer's complaint, of unhappiness of mind? Is not that the case with a great portion of D. L. R.'s own poetry? Need we be surprised therefore, at finding the beautiful description of Melrose Abbey by moonlight, denoted as "in villainously halting verse?" Do great writers quote him indeed! where was a greater writer of his time than himself—if we except Byron. Do not multitudes crowd, every year, in pilgrimage, to behold the scenes which he has rendered immortal, by associating them with beautiful poetry? Who heard of the Trossachs before he shed the *glamour* of his genius over them? The power, the spell, that moves multitudes on pilgrimage, to scenes previously uncelebrated, is itself, superior to mere quotation. It is a perpetual citation not of passages but a whole. The "Lady of the Lake"—is an European poem, we might well reply, to such a cavil, that it is not contemporaries that quote contemporaries. Who are the great writers of their own day, that quote Shakespeare, Johnson, Marlow, Ford, Massinger, Shirley, or Milton? Proceeds the Critic: "There is nothing of the permanent and universal in his works.

* Chit Chat, p. 3.

I do not remember (even in his novels) a single observation exhibiting a profound knowledge of our nature." The shadow dialogist, on the more favourable side, now languidly replies—"you underrate him." One would think so. He then allows that "his works have given more genuine delight to thousands of intelligent readers, than any other productions of the time"—then comes a little more see-sawing, and blowing hot and cold. "The characters, it is true, are little better than picturesque outlines." Then comes a little sweet to the bitter—"but what boundless variety of invention! How admirable are many of the plots!" Then comes a squeeze of the lemon—"I do not think much of his plots." The shadow in favour of Scott, had just showed that some of his plots were *admirable*. "Too many of his most important turns of fate, are in the hands of madmen, dwarfs, and beggars." And is it not so in real life? How often is the clue of fate held by an apparently insignificant agent. The bow drawn by some obscure one at a venture, may slay a king. It was apparently in the hands of a little Hebrew slave girl, that the fate of the great Syrian General turned. The destiny of others again becomes so dubiously involved—that the individual (as in the case of Charles XII. of Sweden) is altogether lost sight of in the obscurity of history.

> His fall was destined to a barren strand
> A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
> He left the name, at which the world grew pale
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

Of Campbell we are told that—"he is the only man who has ever succeeded in writing such national songs as an Englishman can repeat with pride." Englishmen sang "Rule Britannia"—with pride, before Campbell was born. Yes and there is "Tom Bowling"—and had we not some others, that it is to be hoped, have not dropped out of the hearts of the people? Macaulay's *lays of ancient Rome* "have neither imagination nor fancy"—curious if true, that a collection of lyrics should be popular, and yet have neither imagination nor fancy. Wordsworth's poetry "has no body, no telling points." To us it seems that it has soul, as well as body. It has been said in regard to preaching, that some who came to scoff remained to pray—and in respect to "Betty Foy"—and "Peter Bell"—some who begin by laughing at these ballads—come with different feelings to the end. Indeed Wordsworth is a great master of the pathetic, and that by a few simple, but powerful strokes of nature In the poems just alluded to, never were friendly, and parental affection, and solicitude, better delineated than in

the one, or brutal recklessness, followed by penitence and reformation, than in the other. It is amusing to witness the see-sawing, inseparable we suppose, from a plan of criticism like this—where a couple of opinions must be uttered about any man, and any thing. Wordsworth's simplicity is "mawkish, laboured, artificial, false, and utterly foolish," and then comes a disclaimer about—"speaking too strongly upon the subject." The *Excursion* is dealt with in a single paragraph as—"diffusive, prosaic, wordy, wordy—ill conceived." The "Excursion," curious as it may seem, is a kind of living Divina Commedia. The Wanderer is the author's Virgil, and these two, take a contemplative view of various circles and plans of rural life. A poet's sympathy with all living nature is happily expressed in a few lines.

> And in the silence of his face I read
> His overflowing spirit. Birds and beasts,
> And the mute fish that glances in the stream,
> And harmless reptile coiling in the sun,
> And gorgeous insects hovering in the air,
> The fowl domestic, and the household dog,
> In his capacious mind—he laid them all:
> Their rights acknowledging he felt for all,

who will not say amen—to the poet's hope, on hearing the chanting of a sacred song?

> From yon crag,
> Down whose steep sides we dropped into the vale,
> We heard the hymn they sang—a solemn sound
> Heard any where but in a place like this
> 'Tis more than human! Many precious rites
> And customs of our rural ancestry
> Are gone, or stealing from us; this I hope,
> Will last forever, ———

Has a vision of cloud glory—ever been more beautifully conceived or described than the following?

> A single step that freed me from the skirts
> Of the blind vapour open'd to my view
> Glory beyond all glory ever seen
> By waking sense or by the dreaming soul!
> The appearance instantaneously disclosed,
> Was of a mighty city—boldly say
> A wilderness of building, sinking far
> And self withdrawn into a wond'rous depth,
> Far sinking into splendour without end!
> Fabric it seemed of diamond and of gold,
> With alabaster domes and silver spires;
> And blazing terrace upon terrace high
> Uplifted; here serene pavilions bright,
> In avenues disposed; these towers bright,
> With battlements that on their restless fronts
> Bore stars—illumination of all gems!

By earthly nature had the effect been wrought
Upon the dark materials of the storm
Now pacified; on them, and on the coves
And mountain steeps and summits, whereunto
The vapours had receded, taking there
Their station under a cerulean sky.
O, 't was an unimaginable sight!
Clouds, mists, streams, watering rocks, and emerald turf,
Clouds of all tincture, rocks and sapphire sky,
Confus'd, commingled, mutually inflamed,
Molten together, and composing thus,
Each lost in each, that marvellous array
Of temple, palace, citadel, and huge
Fantastic pomp of structure without name
In fleecy folds voluminous, enwrapp'd.

Wordsworth's sonnets, somewhat to our surprise, are with a few exceptions pronounced to be "unmitigated twaddle, abruptly and unnaturally cut off at the 14th line." To this the poet of Rydal Mount, may well say, with the dying Roman, *et tu Brute!* But our Critic's own opinion, we suppose, is not to be taken from A.—but the H. who leans quietly to the more favourable side—though in vigour, his opponent has it all hollow. Of the living Critics it is said racily—"are they not every man jack of them, against themselves, that is their former selves?" The Critic then prophecies—"twenty or thirty years hence"—the vaticination is pretty safe for most of us. Let us, however, express a wish with John Gilpin, that we may be there to see. Twenty or thirty years hence—"and the herd of Critics will wonder how such a feeble, egotistical, sentimentalist as Wordsworth, could have maintained his ground for a single twelvemonth."

After what appears to us a harsh censure on Croly, the Critic as a sort of counterpoise observes—"I have heard some men speak far more favourably of Croly than you do." We are almost tempted to say, what even that amount of commendation, would be meagre enough. The allusion to Croly's vestry dispute is unjust. In that matter he was always the open, manly defender of the rights of his parishioners, even at the cost of great personal inconvenience. It was from no "cantankerousness"—of his own, that he had to interfere, as he was under the necessity of doing—but from that of Alderman Gibbs—who would pay for no church, or other repairs, or make other current advances to parochial functionaries, unless *his own* accounts of many years standing were passed in the lump *unaudited*. The allusion to the Rev. Dr. Bryce was quite uncalled for. He has ceased for many years to be a member of this society—where, however, there are still some who cherish kind recollections of him, and who cannot approve of this ungene-

rous snap at him—our Critic is more just in his reference to Theodore Hook, and his aristocratic supporters and admirers of his "Sabbath ribaldry." Christopher North it seems is "decidedly not a good critic." He is accused of either idolising or hating. Nevertheless he has one great quality, and that is a generous appreciation of genius for its own sake. He interposed nobly for Shelley when the *Quarterly* in trying to crush the *man*, went too far. No, Christopher is at times an admirable critic.

It is one of the infirmities of the literary character to be somewhat prone to out-breaks of temper. Regarding the difference between Lord Byron and Southey, our Critic appears to blame the latter, and is terribly severe on him. Was not Byron the aggressor; did not the noble poet add insult to the original injury, by introducing the argumentum ad feminam? Is it not a base thing to do this? Was it not particularly so in a peer? Had Southey's wife been something still humbler, than "a milliner at Bath," what had the lady to do with a literary passage at arms? Byron in fact never forgot that he was a Peer, he thought too much of it. He was prouder of this adventitious circumstance than of being a great poet. Why should Scott be blamed for yearning to be a laird? Surely it is a mighty pleasant thing to have a few acres of one's own. With all Scott's hankering after lairdship, he was kindly courteous, accessible, and humane. Byron was always a proud, and often a rude Aristocrat. He never could forget being a Lord. He laboured also under vehementissimæ gloriæ cupido, and he has himself expressed the same thing, though in different words, with Mr. Burke in his eloge on Charles Townshend—"one to whom a single whiff of incense withheld, gave much greater pain than he received delight in the clouds of it, which daily rose from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers." Our Critic, we have said, is terribly severe on Southey, for his "rancour" towards Byron. Much will depend upon the fact, as to who was the aggressor. "I have often made the remark," pursues the Critic—"that if Christianity seems generally to increase and mellow the charity of a man benevolent by nature, it also makes the haughty and intolerant, a thousand times worse." We do not know which is most at fault here, our Critic's estimate of Christianity as a rectifying power, or his logic. According to the position laid down, Christianity has a contradictory effect—the positive being put optatively however—and the negative positively. It makes a man benevolent by nature, more benevolent, and makes the haughty, more haughty. Our Critic, we have no doubt, has allowed the above remark to slip hastily from his pen. If

Christianity were effective only to the extent of increasing natural tendency, or drawing out kindly, and unkindly, natural disposition, to a greater length, India-rubber wise, its claims to be "glad tidings"—and saving news to all men; would be very small. Thus represented it would only make the naturally well disposed—a little better disposed—and the evil disposed *worse* disposed! The value of such a system would be surely very equivocal. The Christianity which can make any man a thousand times more haughty, than he was before, must be of a very spurious kind indeed. It is on the other hand, the very test of genuine Christianity (to which haughtiness of all kind, and cruel intolerance of human error, are altogether alien)—to change entirely the natural man, in regard to his evil propensities—to rectify malevolence of disposition, to neutralise the boiling impulses of passion—and to regenerate the whole economy of the mind and affections. It is thus that true Christianity, metaphorically, requires a man to be born again.

What shall we say of "women called pious"—who our author assures us—"after rising from their knees pump secret histories out of their servants." Presuming that these are "genuine sketches from nature"—all we can say is, that we trust they form exceptions to the general rule. Piety like every other quality, has a test—and it is very necessary it should: false piety may improve upon man—for to detect hypocrisy is not always an easy task. Sooner or later however, like all shams it betrays itself, even in this world. It is very clear that women, remarkable, as our author represents, for being "peculiarly prying, scandalous and spiteful"—could not be truly pious, whatever they might pretend—seeing that they were deficient in the gold of the character—*charity*—all else being base metal,—let it tinkle, and sound, as it might. We could wish that the term *pious* had not been used here, in any but its genuine sense. Piety, and sanctity, represent qualities, that the mind should hold sacred—and the ironical application of such words as pious, and saint, has a tendency to lower our estimation of the essential quality. "I think"—proceeds the dialogue—"you generally find the 'pious' male somewhat more generous than the 'pious' female." We presume that our author here uses the term quite ironically—but had it not been better to avoid using it in that sense—or to have substituted some other phrase, seeing that it is not really pious persons he is alluding to, but those who try and pass themselves off as such. Our author "would not wish to exist in the world if woman left it." Is this so remarkable a feeling that there is a necessity for declaring it solemnly in print? It is consoling to know,

that if our author's remaining long in this world, depend upon that contingency—he is likely to die full of years. He, "cares comparatively, little for his own sex"—the more necessary then is the balm of female sympathy. Let human nature be taken all in all, it has a great deal of average good—and though we may concede the point to our author, that—"man is a cold and selfish animal"—yet do we gratefully confess, for our own part, that there are in the world, warm-hearted and generous men, as well as cold and selfish ones. Neither must it be forgotten, as not of rare occurrence, that some of those, who have complained the most of the selfishness of their fellows, have themselves been eminently selfish. Who was more severe on selfishness than Swift—and who more selfish? Who so satirical on the same foible as Horace Walpole—the most selfish of human beings? Apparently our author concurs "with those philosophers who maintain that there is no such thing as a purely platonic friendship between the sexes." There is, it appears, always a secret consciousness of sex—"but this instinct is not necessarily sensual or impure. Far from it." Necessarily sensual or impure! It is to be hoped not, indeed; otherwise would it be a queer world. Then comes a somewhat odd remark "When a man fondles a pretty little girl of eight or ten years of age, or even less, there is always a tenderer feeling excited, than in playing with a boy of the same age." It is to be wished some lady author, would kindly inform us, whether the feeling in her case be vice versa? We may suppose so, as a link in the chain of nature's antithesis. Apropos to lovely woman, come some remarks on the loveliness of Christianity. "Was there ever"—it is asked—"an infidel or a sinner of any sort who really hated the character of Jesus Christ. I cannot believe it." Alas! the point has been placed beyond dispute, and that it has so, is a historical truth. Surely the putting a person to a cruel and ignominious death, is a convincing proof that he was hated, or feared—which is the same thing. We hate whom we fear, and the Jews, or rather those artful and bigotted leaders—Scribes and Pharisees—hated that divine being, whose doctrine and practice, formed a contrast to their own corruption, of the rule of faith and morals, which they could not brook. It was a living reproach to them, that like scorpion stings, goaded them to madness of malignity. The yells round the Roman Procurator's chair—dooming the just for the unjust, to a summary and terrible death—answer our author's question. The proof of perfect love is to endeavour to please the object of it. To "be steeped in the loveliness of Christianity"—it is necessary to do this. If we

would indeed heartily recognise the perfect loveliness of it, we must come with child-like sweetness and docility towards the ineffable author of that system. We must endeavour to conform our secret thoughts and aspirations, and the practical issues of the heart, towards the rules he has laid down for our guidance. "Men"—it is stated in our *dialogue*—(for the subject surely is too sacred for *chit-chat*)—"men do not sin from the love of sin for its own sake—or from hatred of good, but either from a blindness to their own real and best interests, or from that weakness of mind which renders them unable to resist the force of temptation." What is this but sophistry? Not that our author would knowingly use such on a point so serious—but that somehow, he has been hurried into an argument that amounts to that. Let us see how the argument would stand in the case of murder. The murderer is too weak, to resist the force of the temptation, to take away the life of some one. This in other words is the plea of monomania—a plea, that we trust, will hereafter meet with a firmer resistance to its claim for impunity, than it has hitherto done. It is a plea that if it were to become general, would render all justice a mockery. No man sees more clearly, than the drunkard, that the course he is pursuing will destroy him—but—he loves the sin—he prefers brandy to principle—and walks on to the precipice, *not* blindly but deliberately, in broad day, and with his eyes wide open. There are thousands who undoubtedly are not so much drawn into sin, as impelled to it by native depravity. There is a kind of sin that demands our pity—the sin of misguided inexperience, the sin of the guileless, misled, and circumvented; the sin of the weak, in short, who bewail their falling away with bitter tears. As true it is, on the other hand, that there is a sin of foregone intention, of predetermined licentiousness, that defies the moral sense, with brazen audacity; and challenges our unmingled abhorrence. History sacred and profane teems with examples of this melancholy truth.

In a dialogue where H. and A. discuss the merits of Landor—Byron—and Hood—(our Critic *does* group his characters oddly enough)—the originality of Landor's description of a sea-shell (in his Gebir) is traced. There must be something fascinating in the process of tracing imitations to their source—and our Critic evidently dislikes not an opportunity, for expatiating upon this favorite subject of speculation. It is pretty generally known, that univalve shells, when applied to the ear, give a peculiar faint, sweetly murmuring sound—not unlike the sighing moan of the ocean. The probability is after all—that this natural circumstance, is the source of the fine classic idea, of the

conch sounded by the Tritons. But to the simile as given in the Gebir.

> But I have sonorous shells of pearly hue
> * * * * * * *
> Shake one, and it awakens ; then apply
> Its polished lips to your attentive ear,
> And it remembers its august abodes,
> And murmurs as the ocean murmurs there.

Our Critic then compares this passage, to what he calls the imitation of Wordsworth—commencing with

> I have seen
> A curious child applying to his ear
> The convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell, &c.

Wordsworth's is the most elaborate of the two—as our Critic justly calls it—and we concur with him in his leaning as to its being more beautiful. The reason that it is so, is this, in the one *you* are told to apply the shell to your ear. In the other " a curious child " is much more picturesquely represented, as doing the same thing, and brightening with glee as he hears the sonorous cadence. Wordsworth's version would be perfect, but for a pedantic mistake. He speaks of the child applying to his ear " the convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell." He does nothing of the sort. To the child there are no such things as convolutions. You might as well say that a deaf man, approaching his ear close to a friend's mouth, in speaking, applies it to his convolutions. The shell and the man contain convolutions—but we apply our ear to the lips of each, and not to their convolutions, which are internal details, that as listeners we have nothing to do with. It strikes us that Darwin also, has a shell simile in his works—but not being able to refer to them—we cannot write confidently as to that point. A similar sound to that alluded to, is to be heard in the great Pyramid of Cheops, and the Arabs make you put your ear to a little hole, in the wall of the Sarcophagus chamber, where the sound that strikes it, is very like the humming murmur of an ocean-shell. Are not all natural images so obvious that some time or other, they must strike all poets, even when not in communication with each other ? It is hence not improbable—that could we trace literature higher up than it is in our power to do—we should find Homer and Hesiod even, to be imitators. What, for instance, is so common in a country abounding in trees, as fallen leaves. Must every one be called an imitator—because Homer first used leaves as a comparison ? There are similes that are common property —as the leaves—the sun and the stars, &c. In the VI. Book of the Iliad Glaucus replies to Tydides.

Οιν περ φυλλων γενεη, τοινδε και ανδρων.
Φυλλα τα μεν τ' ανεμοε χαμαδις χεει, ἄλλαδε θ' ὑλη.
Τηλεθοωσα φυει, ἔαρος δ' επιγιγνεται ὡρη.
Ὡς ανδρων γενεν, η μεν φυει, η δ' απολληγει.

In the Æneid (VI. book) the crowd of ghosts is as numerous as leaves.

Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo
Lapsa cadunt folia ——————.

In the Inferno (canto III.)—the simile of the autumnal leaves is reproduced—the evil brood of Adam in their circle of torture, as to number, are compared to them.

Come d'autumno se levan le foglie
L' una appresso dell'altra, infin ch'l ramo
Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie ;

Similemente il mal seme d' Adamo :
Gittansi de quel lito ad una, ad una
Per cenni, com 'augel per suo richiamo.

Homer, Virgil, and Dante, leave the comparison very general, the fall of the leaves as to county or place, being left entirely to the reader's imagination. Milton's comparison is similar to Dante's, in regard to the application. One refers to lost souls, the other to evil angels. A charm is conferred on the Satanic subject—by a simile that for a moment, gives the Epic a human interest—and ascribes a locality to the very leaves, that were a type of the numbers, of the spiritual rebels, sweltering on the infernal lake of rolling brimstone.

Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High overarched embower.*

To trace imitations would open a wide field. Does not the *whale* passage in Hamlet, look as if suggested by a passage in the Clouds of Aristophanes?

Ham. Do you see yonder cloud that's, almost
[in shape like a camel ?
Pol. By the mass, and 'tis like a camel indeed.
Ham. Methinks it is like a weasel.
Pol. It is backed like a weasel.
Ham. Or like a whale.
Pol. Very like a whale.

Socrates enquires—(Νεφελαι)

η δη ποτ' αναβλεψας νεθελην Κεν ταυρω ομοιαν.
η παρδαλει, ἢ λυκω, η ταυρω.

* Par. Lost, Book I.

Strepsiades replies.

νη Δί' εγωγ' ειτα τι τουτο.

To pursue the subject of imitations is rather seductive—but not so conclusive as attractive. We leave it to the reader to judge for himself, whether the few we subjoin, come properly under that head or otherwise.

Much did he see of men
Their manners, their enjoyments and pursuits.

Excursion, Book I.

Mores hominum multorum videt et urbes.

Hor. Epist. ad Pisones.

'Good folks are scarce.'

Is this derived from

——— Rari quippe boni.

Juv. Sat. XXII.

——————— Or from above
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us.

Paradise Lost, B. II.

Is this from Horace ?

— et rubente
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces
Terruit urbem ———.

Hor. Lib. I. odes.

The following from Milton, looks very like an imitation of a passage in Shakespeare :—

There to converse with everlasting groans
Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved.

Par. Lost, B. II.

Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin
Unhousell'd, unappointed, unanealed.

Did not Pope derive his 'little learning,' oracle, from the father of the inductive philosophy ? Let the reader judge.

It is an assumed truth, and a conclusion of experience, that a little or superficial knowledge of philosophy, may induce the mind of man to atheism ; but a further proceeding therein doth bring the mind back again to religion.

Lord Bacon.

A little learning is a dangerous thing,
Drink deep or taste not the Pierian spring,
There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.

Pope.

Did Burns borrow, in a couplet that has become proverbial?

> For rank is but the guinea's stamp
> Man's the gowd for a' that.

> ——————— I weigh the man not his title;
> 'Tis not the king's stamp can make the metal
> Better or heavier ——— ———.
>
> *Wycherly.**

Byron might, or might not, have improved the subjoined hint

> Farewell! with him alone may rest the pain
> If such there were—with you the moral of his strain.
>
> *Childe Harold, C. IV.*

> Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge.
>
> *Par. Lost, B. II.*

The last note of the late Thomas Hood (to the address of Mr. Moir, the *Delta* of Blackwood), is so characteristic that it demands a place.

13th March.

"Dear Moir,

'God bless you and yours, and good by. I drop these few last lines, as 'in a bottle from a ship water-logged, and on the brink of foundering— 'being in the last stage of dropsical debility; but, though suffering in 'body, sane in mind; so without reversing my union jack, I await my last 'lurch. Till which, believe me, dear Moir, yours most truly,

Thomas Hood."

Our Critic takes a great deal of unnecessary trouble, to shew that the style of this note implies no unseemly levity. To us it appears, that this go between officiousness, might well have been spared. Hood can always stand on his own base, without any such gratuitous propping. The note cited, stood in no need of such apology. It is fraught not with levity, but true bravery. Does our Critic deem mankind in general so stupid as without *his* special interference, to run the risk of mistaking for disgusting levity, the sustained, the grand undauntedness of a man who has made up his accounts, and can look death in the face without dismay? Hood was a true poet—and a sterling man—and accordingly the last scene is anticipated, not merely with manly cheerfulness, but with a poet's eye. The metaphor, of the bark of life, about to founder, is right noble. There is something as touching, as pithy in the eloquence of "not reversing the Union Jack." It implies a firm hope founded on

* Plain Dealer.

faith, rising superior to the prospect of death straight a-head. It is akin to the sentiment of a fine ballad.

> Though Tom's body's under hatches
> His soul is gone aloft.

The "selections from the British poets"—was a work much required—and has undoubtedly proved very useful, for the purposes that the compilation was first undertaken. Had the author himself, perhaps, been fully aware of the bulk his compilation would attain, he would in all probability have cast it into another form. It is of much too unhandy, or of inconvenient size, for a school book. Should another edition be determined on, the present bulky volume might be divided into two or three. It is time, that the double column form, should entirely cease. It is a barbarism—and displeases the eye, or rather distracts it. It must have originated in parsimony. Works of this form are but little read, and one does not like the idea of being cabbaged in margin. The notices in a great measure appear to be abstracts of "the lives" of Johnson. No novelty therefore was to be expected, save in respect to the last quarter of the eighteenth, and from that, up to the present date. For Students, the republication of the notices in their new form, will be useful; but the English scholar must look for information elsewhere, since here, he can have only a spoonful, and never a plateful. Some of the omissions in the first work were rather remarkable—nor are they compensated in the one before us. Several productions appeared in "The Selections," without any notice, of the authors, being prefixed. This deficiency is made good in the new work, in the instances of Wyatt—Marlow—Shirley—Sackville—Barnefield—Quarles—Wm. Browne—Phineas Fletcher, &c. Several bits of notices of living writers are also given. The compiler complacently remarks, that there is no where—"a similar chain of poetical biography in a single volume. The chain is indeed a slight one, but it is unbroken." We hail the work, as the nucleus of one which the author hereafter, if he should be able to command the requisite leisure, may be able to make acceptable to general readers, as well as to raw students. We cannot, however, concur with the compiler, that the chain is unbroken. We miss several links, which appear to have been deliberately left out. As it ought to be, the memoir of Shakespeare, is one of the best in the collection. Those of Cowper, Crabbe, Coleridge and Bowles, are written also in a very clear and happy style, uniting information with instructive remark. The meagre sketch of Campbell disappoints us, especially recollecting, that our annalist had the pleasure of being personally acquainted with him.

Our compiler has a tendency to repeat himself; accordingly, in some of these biographical sketches, the reader meets with passages, or opinions, with which he had already become familiar, in the "Literary Leaves"—or "Chit-Chat." We have cogent doubts, whether it would not have been more expedient, had not the compiler originally attempted so much. The inclusion of such a large body of dramatic selection, does not strike us as a very judicious step. We suspect that very few of our English born and educated students, know much of Chaucer, or the Elizabethan writers, while pursuing their school studies. If they know any thing of them, it is almost by stealth. We have an impression, in short, as if there were too many dishes of poetry served up, on the educational table. Might not a more succinct collection, commencing with Dryden, and terminating with Cowper or Beattie, have answered every useful purpose? We certainly should not, had choice in such a compilation rested with us; have given any selections from contemporaries, for the simple reason, that they are in a manner at hand, and that we hear so much about them in current conversation and literature. Of course in matters of this sort, there must even be considerable differences of opinion, nor are we at all so biassed to our own impressions, as not cordially to bestow our meed of praise, for the ability, and patience, evinced by the compiler of *the selections* in the performance of his truly laborious task. We may be permitted, however, to observe without offence, that many of these selections are not such as seem best adapted for native students. In those from Pope for instance, we should certainly have omitted the "Rape of the Lock." "Eloisa to Alelard"—and "the Dunciad." Our compiler perhaps will smile, when we state, that we should have substituted the "Essay on Man"—for these. Although that essay includes positions, that we cannot accede to, yet does it furnish grave and masculine reading, and sustain throughout a fine moral tone. Seeing, on the other hand, that our compiler attempted so much; it behoved him methinks to carry out the attempt to greater completion. Among the names of writers who have not contributed a line to the "Selections"—are Wm. Dunbar—John Skelton—Thos. Tusser—Geo. Peele—Thos. Nash—Wm. Warren—Giles Fletcher—Thos. Lodge—Thos. Middleton—Edward Fairfax—Geo. Chapman—John Marston—Thos. Dekkar—John Webster—John Ford—Joseph Hall—Allan Ramsay, &c. Yet we have notices of all these, in the pretty little blue covered book before us. These literally, are passages leading to nothing, seeing that there are no selections, to which they refer, and no specimens, save of a few lines, to which they can be considered as apropos. What

then, is the use of such tomb-stone notices, as those for instance of Marston and Dekkar? The *Selections* professed to be from the British Poets, commencing with Chaucer and ending with Moore—and yet several Poets have altogether been passed over, in order to afford space for foreign productions, or those of living authors. For instance we have a scrap of translation by J. H. Merevale, and not a line from Lord Roscommon, or allusion to his name even. Seeing that we have translated specimens of the poetry of Homer, who can scarcely be considered as a *British* poet, was there not a graceful opportunity, on the score of mere literary taste, to give specimens of Hebrew poetry—seeing that, that, is the oldest known well, of such ever living lore? We feel satisfied that this might have been done, without trenching upon native prejudice, in regard to proselyting. We have no specimens of Isaac Watts—Pollock—John Day, Vaughan, &c. &c. The Christian poets have therefore for the most part been left out. When our compiler does allude to one or two of these, (as Kirke White—and Watts—) it is in terms of derogatory comment. To judge by both the selections and the notices of lives, such writers, as Hannah More—Robert Blair—and James Grahame, never existed. Such omissions would seem like an assumption of infallibility, in deciding who are, or are not to be considered poets. Have the writers alluded to lost all claim to be considered as *poets* because their strains breathe a spirit of Christian piety? Would not Lord Glenelg's prize poem 'on the restoration of learning in the East'—be a more suitable subject for a Native student's contemplation, than the selections from Prior, or 'Eloisa and Alelard,' or 'All for love or the world well lost.'*

But the missing links, in a chain assumed to be complete, do not end there. We miss the names of James I. of Scotland —of Blind Harry, of Henry King—of Cartwright—of Garth—of Michael Bruce—of Hammond—of Fergusson—of Ross ('Fortunate shepherdes')—of Dermoddy—Langhorne—Mac Diarmid, &c. The germ of our early poetry may be considered as romantic, mingling oriental imagery with northern superstition. Though in England, poetry owed nothing to court encouragement, yet the name of Chaucer shed a glory on the reign of Edward III. From that time till the Elizabethan period, with the exception of Gower—the scroll of English poets may be considered a blank. Gower was the contemporary of Chaucer—but greatly his inferior—wanting his fire.

* Would not the "*Aurungzebe*," by the same hand, be more in keeping with the genius loci.

Though our compiler has given a short notice of Lydgate, he has not furnished his readers with any specimen of his manner, which is tender and elegant. A guilty mother thus describes her infant.

A mouth he has, but wordes hath he none
Cannot complain alas! for none outrage
Nor grutcheth not; but lies here all alone
Still as a lambe, most meke of his visage,
What heart of stele could do him damage
Or suffer him dye, beholding the manere
And look benigne of his twein eyen clere—.

The life of James I. of Scotland was full of romantic adventure. The story of his falling in love, at first sight, with the lady Jane Beaufort—whom he sees disporting herself in a garden from his prison at Windsor; is very poetically and naturally told, by the Royal captive, in lines which we cannot spare room for. The poem of 'The nut brown maid'—is a legend of woman's staunch fidelity, under most inauspicious circumstances; —and of man's severe test of it. The lady is a Baron's daughter, and the lover, high born but in disguise. Prior, in his attempt to paraphrase the beautiful original, outrages all delicacy of sentiment. In the original, at every trial of her constancy—the lady replies in terms of devoted affection, of which these few lines may afford some idea.

Now syth that ye have shewed to me
The secret of your mynde,
I shall be plain to you againe,
Lyke as ye shall me fynde,
Syth it is so, that ye will go,
I will not live behynde;
Shall ne'er be sayd, the Not brown Mayd
Was to her love unkynde;
Make ye redy, for so am I;
Although it were anone,
For in my mynde, of all mankynde
I love but you alone.

Is it not a pity that the compiler did not give more of our fine old ballads, as "Hardyknute,"—"Barbara Allan"—"Gil Morice"—"The battle of Otterburne"—"Gilderoy."* The Marquis Montrose demanded a corner were it only for his noble epitaph upon his royal master (Chas. I.) which breathes the soul of a warrior poet.

Great God! and just! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,

* We could have wished that the Compiler had given a notice of "Silvester"—to whom he attributes the fine lyric of "the Soul's Errand." As it has also been ascribed to Raleigh, we should like to have the authority cited, on which the compiler relies for Sylvester being the writer of it.

I'd weed the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once again,
But since thy loud tongu'd blood demands supply
More from BRIAREUS hands than Argus' eye,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.

This article is extending to such a length, that we feel compelled to leave altogether untouched, several points of omission, to which our attention has been drawn by our compiler's own boast, about 'the unbroken chain.' We cannot, however, reconcile it to ourselves, on the principle avowed by the accomplished compiler himself, of advantage to Hindu students, to omit the opportunity of shewing, that he has done those who may eminently be called Christian poets, great injustice. He has not merely overlooked some of them altogether, contemptuously as it would seem; but he has consigned them as far as it was in his power to produce such a result, altogether, to oblivion. It is not a few specimens, that may serve to neutralise this. So far as these can operate, by tempting readers to a perusal in extenso of the works of the *neglected* ones —we acquit ourselves of a duty. A tomb-stone notice is given of William Dunbar of Salton. That he was a true Christian philosopher, is amply proved by the two following verses—being the first and the last of a series.

Be merry man! and take not far in mind
The warning of this wretched world of sorrow;
To God be humble, to thy friend be kind,
And with thy neighbours gladly lend and borrow;
His chance to night, it may be thine to-morrow,
Be blithe in heart for any aventure;
For oft with wysour, it has been said aforrow
Without gladness avails no tresure.
* * * *
Though all the work that ever had living wight,
Were only thine; no more thy part does fall
But meat, and drink, cloathes, and of the laif * a sight!
Yet, to the judge thou shalt give, compt of all,
A reckoning right comes of a † ragment small.
Be just, and joyous, and do to none injure,
And Truth shall make thee strong as any wall:
Without gladness avails no tresure.

Since these pages, may chance to be looked over, by several Native readers, we may be permitted to observe, that the production, by which the author of "the Sabbath"—is best known, ought to have been quoted in 'selections from the British Poets'—and how easy it was to do so, without trenching on for-

* *Laif, remainder.* † *Ragment, account.*

bidden ground, quotations would easily show. We cite two short ones only.

> Hail, SABBATH! thee I hail the poor man's day:
> The pale mechanic now has leave to breathe
> The morning air, pure from the city's smoke;
> While wandering slowly up the river's side,
> He meditates on HIM, whose power he marks
> In each green tree that proudly spreads the bough,
> As in the tiny dew-bent flowers that bloom
> Around its roots; and while he thus surveys,
> With elevated joys each rural charm,
> He hopes, yet fears presumption in the hope,
> That Heaven may be one SABBATH without end.

The description of the suicide is very impressive, but we prefer a few lines that are sweetly poetical, and not the less so, that they are redolent of devout aspiration.

> It is not only in the sacred fane
> That homage should be paid to the Most High;
> There is a temple, one not made with hands,—
> The vaulted firmament: far in the woods,
> Almost beyond the sound of city-chime,
> At intervals heard through the breezeless air;
> When not the limberest leaf is seen to move,
> Save where the linnet lights upon the spray;
> When not a flowret bends its little stalk,
> Save where the bee alights upon the bloom;—
> Then rapt in gratitude, in joy, and love,
> The man of God will pass the Sabbath noon;
> Silence his praise: his disembodied thoughts,
> Loosed from the load of words, will high ascend
> Beyond the Empyrean ————————.

The omission again, of any mention even, of such a noble and suggestive poem as "the Grave" of Blair; by a man of such acknowledged good taste as our compiler—does greatly surprise us. There are lines in it, familiar to all, as for instance—

> Oft, in the lone church-yard at night I've seen
> By glimpse of moonshine chequering thro' the trees,
> The school-boy with his satchel in his hand,
> Whistling aloud to keep his courage up ——.

We had almost rather, that our biographer had not written about Giles Fletcher at all, than that he should slur him over so curtly, and without furnishing a single extract, from his magnificent poem of 'the Temptation and Victory of Christ;' and pronounce it as a whole, "so tedious that the world will willingly let it die." No doubt a worldly portion, of the reading world, may, but there are many, we hope, who estimate its merits very differently indeed. We can spare room only for a very short specimen of his manner—taken from the description of Justice—

'that virgin of austere regard'—'not as the world esteems her deaf and blind, but as the eagle.'

> The winged lightning is her Mercury,
> And round about her mighty thunders sound;
> Impatient of himself lies pining by
> Pale sickness, with his kercher'd head up-bound,
> And thousand noisome plagues attend her round.
> But if her cloudy brow but once grow foul,
> The flints do melt, and rocks to water roll,
> And every mountain shakes, and frighted shadows howl.

If the reader of the "Selections"—will turn to the Index—he will see the name of WATTS. Let him look up the page—and if he expected to find the name of the sweet songster of Sion—he will be grievously disappointed; and Alaric Watts, is thought worthy of a place, denied to him whose name is as familiar (and long may it be so !) to the children of Great Britain, as the note of the Thrush or the Lark. There is, we are aware, much in association. It is not then, without embarrassment, that we turn to the venerated name of Isaac Watts. It is scarcely with unmoistened eyes, that we revert to strains, that are, as it were, inwoven with the texture of the heart. We look back to days of innocence and childhood, when they were to us, as it were the laws of the two tables, brought sweetly home to the business and bosom of scenes of Infancy. There is surely something morally sublime, in contemplating a mind like his—the Classical Scholar, the Theologian, the Poet, and the Logician—(for such he was)—sitting down prayerfully, to write Nursery-ballads. How few—in regard to children, feel the deep import of our Lord's words—'of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.' The good and great man—of whom, we venture, in a spirit of profound respect, to make this mention; in an article that of necessity is more miscellaneous than we could desire; has entailed an eternal debt of gratitude upon English children, or in other words upon the English nation. He is gone to his rest—he has never been seen by any of us—but though dead, he yet speaketh; and to generations yet unborn, will his sacred songs be sweet melody, like the summer music of

> Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the oracle of God.

What forgetfulness came over our compiler, when he omitted that venerable name? Not content with this, however, in the *Chit-Chat* (p. 67)—it is observed in a tooth-pick sort of manner, such as a man may enjoy with his wine and walnuts, "Isaac Watts' doggrel hymns have done as much good to mankind as Milton's Paradise Lost." If we may be permitted to

say so, we should beg to state, that in our humble opinion; they have done much more good, than the grandest of our English Epics. Isaac Watts condescended to write his sacred ballads for children. John Milton wrote his grand poem for grown up men. Accordingly men of no religion, as well as religious men, love to turn over its pages. Watts, on the other hand, gives in all his little songs for children, a paraphrase of God's law. We say *little* songs reverently—and affectionately. Let the man, who, despising the day of little things—is disposed to curl the lip, at the doggrel of Watts—*try and imitate it.* Let him sit down, and endeavour to write a hymn level to a child's capacity and—yet that shall not be *childish.* Let more ambitious aspirants match this doggrel.

Great God, to thee my voice I raise,
To thee my youngest hours belong;
I would begin my life with praise,
Till growing years improve my song.

'Tis to thy Sovereign grace I owe,
That I was born on British ground;
Where streams of heavenly mercy flow,
And words of sweet Salvation sound.

I would not change my native land
For rich Peru with all her gold;
A nobler prize lies in my hand,
Than East or Western quarters hold.

Is there not something in these simple lines—that comes powerfully home to our hearts at such a season as this, when our ears tingle with tales of revolutionary licentiousness and atrocity—but blessed be God, not in our privileged land. Do we ask why our land is *so* privileged? We answer at once, in all honesty, and simplicity of heart, as conveying our solemn conviction on the subject—because it is the land of the Bible and the land where men of poetical genius—and logical strength of intellect—do not consider it beneath them, to sit down as it were at the feet of Christ, to write songs for his lambs. Aye to write songs which are very, very simple in structure, but most felicitous in their tone of adaptation, striking as they do on the infantile ear like the music of the groves—and yet so strong in their biblical logic—that they defy giant power to untwist it. We challenge any one to point out, in the whole circle of paraphrase—any thing more admirably done, than Watts' rythmical version of the laws of the two tables—'for children'—as he, with characteristic modesty wrote—aye and for children's children, grown grey-headed, say we.

1 Thou shalt have no more gods but Me.
2 Before no idol bow thy knee.
3 Take not the name of God in vain.
4 Nor dare the Sabbath day profane.
5 Give both thy parents honor due.
6 Take heed that thou no murder do.
7 Abstain from words and deeds unclean.
8 Nor steal, though thou art poor and mean.
9 Nor make a wilful lie, nor love it.
10 What is thy neighbour's dare not covet.

We reluctantly turn from these truly divine songs. We could expatiate upon them—but we *must* refrain. Yet linger we when we look to the deep motives of the heavenly minded author.* "This will be a constant *furniture for the minds of* CHILDREN, *that they may have something to think upon when alone, and sing over to themselves. This may give their thoughts a divine turn, and raise a young meditation.*" How truly and amply have these anticipations been fulfilled! That word doggrel, applied by our compiler, was rashly used. We have, we think, sufficiently demonstrated this, even in the songs intended for children. Is it not possible, that our compiler looked over them very hastily? We cannot help thinking so. He had a very onerous task to get through; but then—he should not have been so dogmatic in his judgment, when he was so sparing, or altogether negative of illustration. Will our compiler try and turn the following *doggrel*, as he would call it, of Watts—into more nervous or significant form:—

Keep silence, all created things,
And wait your Maker's nod:
The Muse stands trembling while she sings
The honors of her God.

Life, death, and hell, and worlds unknown,
Hang on His firm decree;
He sits on no precarious throne,
Nor borrows leave to be.

Th' Almighty voice bid ancient night
Her endless realm resign,
And lo! ten thousand globes of light
In fields of azure shine.

Now wisdom with superior sway
Guides the vast moving frame,
Whilst all the ranks of being pay
Deep reverence to his name.

We refrain from turning to the Lyric poems, or odes of Watts; which, had they been written upon any other subject, than

* The Italics are ours.

praise of God's power, would be more popular. This may be curious, but is nevertheless true. We must turn from English *doggrel* to a specimen in another language, addressed, "ad Dominum Nostrum et servatorem JESUM CHRISTUM." We can only afford space for a verse or two.

Immensa vastos sæcula circulos
Volvere, blando dum Patris in sinu
Toto fruebatur Jehovah
Gaudia mille bibens Jesus.

Donec superno vidit ab æthere
Adam cadentem, tartara hiantia,
Unaque mergendos ruina
Heu nimium miseros nepotes;

Vidit minaces vindicis angeli
Ignes et ensem, telaque sanguine
Tingenda nostro, dum rapinae
Spe fremuere Erebea monstra.

En, ut resurgit victor ab ultimo
Ditis profundo, curribus aureis
Astricta raptans monstra noctis
Perdomitumque Erebi tyrannum.

Quanta angelorum gaudia jubilant
Victor paternum dum repetit polum?
En qualis ardet, dum beati
Limina scandit ovans Olympi.

Io triumphe plectra seraphica,
Io triumphe Grex Hominum sonet,
Dum læta quaquaversus ambos
Astra repercutiunt triumphos.

We now leave our critic to determine, how it is, that doggrel should by his own showing, be as capable of doing equal good to mankind, as the noblest poetry (for such Milton's is) which the human mind can produce. It is a paradox which we cannot solve. Watts having been thus summarily disposed of—Yalden is much more quietly provided for, that is, he is not alluded to at all: though his hymn to darkness, deserved at least to have a verse or two quoted—an omission the reader may not be sorry to see rectified here.

DARKNESS! thou first great parent of us all,
Thou art our great original;
Since from thy universal womb
Does all thou shadest below, thy numerous offspring come.

Thy wondrous birth is e'en to time unknown,
Or like Eternity, thou'dst none ;
Whilst light did its first being owe
Unto that awful shade it dares to rival now

Say, in what distant region dost thou dwell
To Reason inaccessible !
From form and duller matter free,
Thou soar'st above the reach of man's philosophy.

Involved in thee, we first receive our breath,
Thou art our refuge too in death :
Great monarch of the grave and womb,
Where'er our souls shall go, to thee our bodies come.

Kirke White is a little better dealt with, for a single specimen of his poems is given in the selections. In the life of Southey he is contemptuously alluded to as—" Poor Kirke White, one of the feeblest, though best intentioned of the Muse's followers."—He had no *living* merit of his own it seems. He was a mere corpse of a poet, galvanized into temporary movement. He is dead—and " no voice now on earth can raise the dead."* Poet critics differ—like other people sometimes. Lord Byron, who was more in the relation of a contemporary, to Kirke White, formed a very different estimate of him, from our Critic's as witness the well-known lines beginning—

Unhappy White ! while life was in its spring,
And thy young muse just waved her joyous wing
The spoiler came, and all thy promise fair
Has sought the grave to sleep for ever there.†

It was not on one occasion only, that the noble bard did honour to White's memory. He has another tribute to him in verse commencing—' Bright be the place of thy soul !' This is at least cogent, as coming from Byron. It shows at any rate that he deemed a soul departed hence, to be in a place. In prose also he adds—" his poems abound in such beauties as must impress the reader with the liveliest regret, that so short a period was allotted to talents, which would have dignified even the sacred functions he was destined to assume." Though we have not the ' Remains'—to refer to—yet is there one little poem of his that has clung to our memory. Surely there is something unexpressibly touching in the foreboding sympathy that drew him, as it were with powerful attraction, in the bloom of youth, to the grave of the loved one—

* Notices, p. 490.

† ' English Bards and Scotch Reviewers.'

Fanny upon thy breast I may not lie !
Fanny thou dost not hear me when I speak,
Where art thou love ?* Around I turn mine eye
And as I turn, the tear is on my cheek—
Was it a dream ? Or did my love behold
Indeed my lonely couch ? Methought the breath
Fann'd not her bloodless lips ; her eye was cold
And hollow, and the livery of death,
Invested her pale forehead—Sainted maid !
My thoughts oft rest with thee in the cold grave,
Through the long wintry night when wind and wave,
Rock the dark house where thy poor head is laid.
Yet hush ! my fond heart hush ! there is a shore
Of better promise ; and I know at last,
When the long Sabbath of the tomb is past
We two shall meet in Christ to part no more.

We have said that D. L. R. has a tendency to repeat himself. The nature of the subjects he treats of, rendered this perhaps, in a measure unavoidable. It also imposes upon us the necessity for brevity's sake, of giving our own further remarks, upon different passages, paragraphically, rather than in sequence of subject, as set down in the works under notice.

Haydon. We could have wished that our Critic had entered more into analysis of his merits as a painter, few being so well qualified to do so. To us it appears, that punning altogether apart, there is a rough greatness about Haydon's paintings. Every one of his pictures, that we have seen, gave us this impression, and yet there is a coarseness of conception, as well as of execution that touched the brink of all one hates in art. The chief figure in his raising of Lazarus, wants the mens divinior that Domenichino or Guido would have given it, or even Vandyke. The Lazarus is better. The anatomy throughout is perfect. Whatever Haydon's faults were as a painter, there is that spell of genius about his pictures, that makes one return to have another look, again, and again. The picture of Napoleon reminds us of St. Helena, and the appearance of the ocean from the highest point above St. James' town, and of our Critic's objection to Wordworth's line—which is itself, a picture of the Ocean. 'That unencumbered white of blank and still.' By the way, the hue is more a leaden grey than white. Keats has a somewhat similar expression in his '*Endymion*'—'Hence shalt thou quickly to the watery vast'—and in another place—

· Far had he roam'd
With nothing save the hollow vast, that foam'd
Above, around, and at his feet ———.

This will remind the reader of Burns' lines.

Mary ! dear departed shade,
Where is thy place of blissful rest ?

It is a pity that the *Hurkaru* London Correspondent's letter, regarding Haydon, had not been quoted, instead of being alluded to in condemnatory tones by our Critic. If we remember it quite a-right, it censured Haydon's obstinate persistence, in painting huge pictures on *biggahs* of canvas, for which there was neither partiality, nor demand, on the part of the public. Haydon might have been right, as respected his own grand ideas of the claims of high art; but as the head of a family, he was very improvident and imprudent, in confining himself doggedly to the historic or heroic line, when portrait painting formed a surer road to fortune. Ought he to have gone on painting those partition like pictures (we speak as to size of course) thus adding ruinously to his own embarrassments, and doing but questionable service after all to art. We feel deeply for the Artist, an artist of genius and taste—but there are duties which society sternly claims, and the *Hurkaru* Correspondent, himself a man of genius, and not to be suspected of lacking sympathy for it; yet knowing that such avails not the dead, deemed we presume, that he would better discharge his duty, as an uncompromising moralist towards the living, by raising his voice against what he could not honestly approve of. People in the emotion arising from such a dreadful calamity as that which closed the life of Haydon, are apt to lose sight altogether of the errors that tend to the tragical finale; and it is salutary, especially for young aspirants, in the same arduous profession, to be reminded of these errors, at the time when the impression of the closing scene of such a life is most vivid. It may seem unkind to one who is altogether beyond the reach of praise or censure, but it is true kindness to the *many*. The argument in regard to suicide,* is like several others with which we are involved in the present state—scarcely capable of being resolved here. They turn upon a pivot, our knowledge of which is but obscure. They hinge upon the state of the reasoning faculty, and that monitor which God has placed within the heart of every man, who has a *reasoning* soul, and feels that he is an accountable being. It was truly said by one of the chiefest poets—

> For neither Man nor Angel can discern
> Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
> Invisible except to God alone ——†

The same remark is applicable to some forms and phases of Insanity. All emotion ought to be brought under the discipline of reason, but reason alone will not give the required firm rein, unless there be religion. It is next to nonsense, to talk

* Chit-Chat, p. 49. † Paradise Lost, B. III.

of calmer temperaments, enabling men to bear and to forbear. It ought not to be left as a question of temperament merely—it must become a question of principle. But religious men may commit suicide? Yes—for religious men may become insane, like others who have no religion at all. The question then, in its largest sense, must be left to the determination of the Great Judge—but it is one that has an awful affinity to the general subject of education, and the necessity of religious instruction. It is a fact, no less singular than true, that lesions of so subtle a character, as almost to elude analysis, produce the most serious effects upon the reasoning powers, and the sentiments of man. Unrestrained passions will of themselves lay the foundation of disease, and functional disturbance. It behoves every man therefore to discipline himself, by the rule and light of conscience. Lesions of the brain and nervous system, may be threefold—those connected with functional disturbance, those produced by organic deterioration, and such as depend on a sudden mental shock. Congenital phenomena we altogether leave out of the question, addressing ourselves wholly to those that may affect a generally healthy adult, at any period of life. There is no question in the world that has divided so much the opinions of men deemed wise in their generation, as what constitutes insanity. Let us take a minor affection—intoxication—how difficult it is sometimes to prove or to disprove it! It may to the rash, the inexperienced, and the unreflecting, appear a very easy matter—but when respectability, character, and continuance in employ, depend upon the verdict to be given, how important becomes a cool and discriminative consideration of it.* The question may be of comparatively easy solution, at a glance, where the witnesses are the implicated party's familiars. It often happens, that the witnesses may be mere acquaintances, or even strangers. How much more is circumspection required, where the question refers to soundness of mind! We have known the faintness of exhaustion mistaken for intoxication, and oddity of manner, or eccentricity natural to the individual for derangement. At the coronation of George IV, a Highland chieftain accoutred in the costume and arms of his country, was screeched at by a fine lady in the gallery of Westminster Hall. She had never probably seen such an apparition before, a real Highlander with real pistols in his belt, and dirk on his thigh. It was dreadful! He must be a mountain Guy-Fawkes—coming to blow up the king with all his chivalry—scream—scream showed the vividness of her

* We remember a Court Martial where intoxication was charged—after much conflicting evidence the verdict was acquittal.

conviction—and yet the sovereign had not a more loyal subject than the generous and gallant Glengarry. Here, however, was a very fine lady—who thought to scream herself into the odour of super-exuberant loyalty, by casting her vociferous doubts, on the loyalty of a high-minded gentleman. Is it not thus, *per saltum* and superficially, that questions of deep psychological and social concern are too often treated? Is there not a risk that owing to the over-refining spirit of the age, great criminals may, almost, altogether escape condign punishment on the plea of monomania? Indeed the greater part of the machinery of our courts, seems much better adapted to screen the hardened criminal, than to protect accused innocence. Men who are a disgrace to society, either by their flagrant dishonesty, or flagitious wickedness, escape, while poor rogues are punished without mercy. Impunity would seem to be skilfully proportioned to the magnitude of the offence. Surely the argument, of the necessity of appeal, from a fallible to an infallible tribunal, must ever be a strong one, with even the sceptically inclined, on matters of ultimate responsibility—and to such a tribunal, must the question of suicide be left, for it is too often, of a nature, utterly to perplex the reach of finite speculation.

Shelley. It were well we think, as he was especially drawing up his work for the guidance of young men, if in his notice of the life of this extraordinary son of genius, our Biographer had warned his readers, against errors of conduct and speculation, that assuredly tended to his own personal unhappiness, as well as depreciation in the estimation of wise and good men, whose esteem most persons of well regulated minds would be anxious to secure. It is a curious thing to contrast our author's indulgent handling of all that relates to Shelley—with his harshness of allusion to others, as Southey and Croly—and Scott. "Shelley had vast genius"—we are told*—"but his mind was in some degree unsound." We concur entirely with our biographer; who proceeds—"His faculties were not well balanced. To use the jargon of the phrenologists, his *bump* of reason was very small, compared with that of ideality." When we oppose any sect of philosophers, it is the usage of philosophers, not to put expressions into the mouths of opponents, which they have never sanctioned, and on the strength of such to accuse the said opponents of using *jargon*. We challenge D. L. R. to name any phrenologist who has ever used the term *bump*—and further to point out any phrenologist who ever alluded to a "bump of reason." We are so much agreed with

* 'Notices,' &c. p. 373.

our biographer in regard to Shelley—that we shall make no further comment in reference to his remarks, but state for ourselves, that we wish to speak with all due respect of one possessing so magnificent an intellect as Percy Bysshe Shelley. His youth was assuredly ill-prepared, ill-regulated, ill-disciplined. This led to errors of conduct which it were absurd to deny. His youth was remarkable for ultra radicalism in religion as well as politics. We know too little about Shelley, to enter into a rigid analysis of his history. What we do know is on the one hand from rancorous misrepresentation, and on the other from the partiality of relations or friends. By circumstances Shelley was made a wild spiritual Quixote. All the world on certain solemn conclusions, and fundamental principles, were wrong ; and he, the young Titan right. Never was there a more striking instance of the sure tendency of harshness to turn away the growth of the plant, or to give an inclination to the green suckers of thought, not natural to them. Harshness in his juvenile days, made Frederick of Prussia a heartless infidel and a scoffer. Shelley had too much heart, too much native, and characteristic goodness, and amenity, to come under the same category—and one mourns, with a brotherly feeling, over the unhappy waywardness and wanderings of such a noble intellect—seeking a resting place for the sole of his foot, and finding none—for no resting place *can* there be for him who in his own ethics dethrones the Ruler of the Universe, and exalts a non-entity to hold his sceptre. Shelley was of a nature that might have been led by kindness, but to attempt to turn such a wilful spirit by coercion, harshness, and proscription; was as fruitless a task, as it was for 'the Tyrant Jove'—to bend to his sovereign will the bound Prometheus. Surely there must be, to use a common expression, a screw loose, or something organically wrong, in the great National Universities, when no provision is made, to deal with such erratic, yet shiningly talented spirits as Shelley, in their green and ductile years. In a Jesuit College, such a genius would have been calmly studied, and therefore understood. His springs of thought would have been observed and conned, anticipated and humoured; his motives prevented (in the scriptural sense;) and his future movements, moulded into some determined channel, of productiveness and utility. At Oxford, all this in a great measure is overlooked. A raw student may turn out a Gibbon, a Shelley, or a Ward—one can scarcely tell which. There, if a young man, in the volubility of youthful indiscretion, proud perhaps of being deemed an *Esprit Fort*—denies the being of a God—he is expelled, but if in his heart he laughs at the verity of the ecclesiastical system, of which Oxford is a

grand result; if for the sake of the lucre of fellowship, he undermines with all his heart and soul, but under the rose, all that Oxford spiritually and ecclesiastically holds dear, it matters not a jot. A Shelley is expelled—but a Pusey may remain and fatten—provided he temporizes, and trims his sails duly. Surely this is not as it ought to be? What a glory it would have been for Oxford, had she nurtured this Alumnus tenderly, had she made a motherly endeavour, to snatch him as a brand from the burning—instead of driving him forth with the Cain mark of infidelity and expulsion on his brow. No attempt, that we know of, was made to tame down the wild unbroken colt. The young Alumnus was not satisfied with the milk of speculation, metaphysical, and theological, that usually satisfies babes. He evinced an appetence for strong meat. It is easier to expel than to reason. It is a pity, that at any age, such a spirit could not be met frankly in all christian love, and all christian learning The young unbroken colt, was at once flogged out of the Academic pasture. This boy-Titan in intellect, is whipped with nettles, and should we in reason be surprised at the result? We may well exclaim—'the pity of it—Oh the pity of it!' A harsh University, and a stern father, drive out the Prodigal son, to feed on such husks as he best may. *Queen Mab* was the result. Christianity lost one who might in process of time have become one of its most eloquent advocates—as he became the reverse.

Shelley cared not for the world or the world's law, because he was made too early to feel that the world cared very little for him, and on this rock to which his own impetuosity, and daring carried him recklessly, he struck fatally. Cut by his family, an alien to the circle of that family's friends, expelled his university, an outcast every way, his position became truly a fearful one. He beheld as he conceived, injustice rampant, and nature and her rights trampled on. Lacking the grace of the royal Psalmist—he dreamed not of humble submission to the power who causes, but constituted his own reason sole judge of all in heaven, as on earth. He became a moral Titan, a giant of resistive and defiant energy. He was nothing by halves. He professed himself a sceptic out and out—for he abhorred hypocrisy. Strange that this being, so warmly tender, so meltingly kind and generous, should insist on keeping himself in so false a position. Surely it was altogether a phase of insanity. The existence and the origin of evil puzzled his brain. The prosperity of the wicked filled him with wonder and indignation. His mental faculties seemed excited by such distracting speculations into a continued fever heat. He became impatient and irrate, as people are apt to do when they torture themselves with try-

ing to solve enigmas, that for his own wise purposes, are reserved by the Almighty, for another scene and state of being, of his everlasting kingdom. Whatever he felt on subjects—of which he 'found no end in wandering mazes lost'—he avowed with a kind of wild fanaticism which is particularly rife in *Queen Mab*. His scepticism at one time was reckless and violent. It had the virtue at any rate of frankness. His infidelity was not of the sneering kind like Gibbon's, or of the indecent laughter-seeking sort, of which Voltaire was such a consummate master. After the first outburst of *Queen Mab*, wherein we behold the writhings, of a burning thirst for perfectibility by mere human means, that can never be effected; and a convulsive impatience of the institution of marriage, to which he attributed much social misery—he gradually mellowed down into that state of mild contemplativeness, which for the most part ever after distinguished him. Ill health and continued pain at a later period of his life, frequently preyed upon his powers. Truly may we apply to him the remark of Sir James Macintosh* in regard to Hume. 'To those who are strangers to the seductions of paradox, to the intoxication of fame, and to the bewitchment of prohibited opinions; it must be unaccountable that he who revered benevolence, should without apparent regret cease to see it on the throne of the universe.' There is an occasional vehemence of dislike, surged off from the human mind, that is indicative of a contrary feeling, to what it would manifest. It is wonderful what fantastic tricks, almost unknown to itself, pride plays with the soul of man. We have known people who ostentatiously professed disbelief in supernatural appearances, who were afraid nevertheless to be left alone in the dark. Not that they admitted being afraid—but left the inference to be clearly deducible from some little traits of conduct. There are people in the same way who deny a first cause—but in their heart fear and tremble. Why is it that they do it then? It is the pride of intellect. There is a vehemence of passion—and we see in Shelley's unhappy state of mind—unhappy we mean as related to his conclusions on the most solemn points that can engage the thoughts. He was somewhat like a child under parental discipline shouting to the corrector. "You are not my father." Does the poor child really believe so? Not at all. *Queen Mab* is an impassioned outburst of hysterical passion against the Ruler of the universe. The God of the Bible in Shelley's vocabulary—that is his youthful vocabulary, was a tyrant. There is much of the same strain in the Prometheus. In both we have

* Ethical Philosophy.

a splendid intellect kicking against the pricks of authority divine and human—because he cannot comprehend all things. When he most vehemently, trolled out his wild notes of defying unbelief, on an unhallowed harp—yet was there a well of belief in his inner spirit, that he scarcely wot of himself. Cold it was during his feverish day dream of life—but if the evening of advanced years had been permitted him, it would have glowed like the fountain of Arethusa. He viewed the supreme through a haze of pride, prejudice and passion. He rated his own reason too high—and the mysterious being, too low, after whose identity he yearned at the very time he seemed most to doubt his power, wisdom, and eternity. We infer that had his life been spared longer on this earth—that the close of Shelley's would be more in harmony with what we most devoutly desire.

This is consonant to the nature of man—especially of men of magnificent imagination, when the hey day of youth, and the passions is past, and their logical powers clarify. 'Few or none advert to the fact in morals as well as in physics, that extremes are ever ready to meet, and that like the pendulum, which when it is hurrying to one extreme point of its oscillation, is only preparing to return to the other. The actions of men often lead to results diametrically opposed to those towards which they seemed to be advancing.'* The God of the Bible being scouted even to abnegation—who was to take his place. Who was to be the First Cause in succession to the LORD OF SABAOTH? Oh the measureless absurdity of the whole affair! Pagan antiquity must be searched in preference to the pages of revealed truth, and from its chaos, is dragged forth the old phantom, Necessity, to grasp the sceptre of the Almighty! In a mind constituted like Shelley's, we do not think this delusion could have possibly lasted. It did not indeed last. Let us remember that *Queen Mab* was written when he was very young, and that when a premature fate closed his career, he was only thirty. Possessing as he did, so much natural benevolence, a great lover of nature, and gentle indisposition, though inflexible in will under any approach to coercion, it is more than interesting to learn from one who had the best opportunities of knowing that—"for the character of Christ and his doctrines he had great reverence."† Who shall say then but the Prodigal Son might have returned—who can say but in secret he was on his return to his father's house? Had he been spared—perhaps the time might not be far distant, when casting aside all self-

* "Excursion through the Slave States of America, by G. W. Featherstonhaugh, F. R. S. &c."

† Memoir, by Mrs. Shelley.

sufficiency, he might recognize a voice out of the whirlwind, and like the Patriarch exclaim—'I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.' There is a stretch of speculation that leads to bitterness and sorrow—and there is a fleeing away of the spirit, like a dove, seeking to be at rest. Of these states of mind Percy Bysshe Shelley and Henry Kirke White, may be considered as representatives. The mind of the one was as the troubled sea, that is not at rest. The other leaned calmly against the rock of ages. We can speak of all Shelley's works but one, as full of splendidly beautiful passages. His 'Revolt of Islam'—is the only composition of his we could never read. We tried once or twice, but could not get on. The fault may very well have been in us and not in the poem.

Keats. From his discriminative fine taste and intuitive perception of the finer qualities of true poetry, (save with such exceptions, as we have honestly put down): we anticipated that our Critic would do ample justice to Keats; and we have not been disappointed. It is impossible to go through the works of this radiant votary of the Muses, without a sigh for the untoward fate of the author. The Reviewer who crushed his sensitive spirit under his merciless lash, had not even performed that duty, which a conscientious Critic would never neglect that of reading his works in the first instance, works which it was easier to pooh, pooh! forth in the lump than to analyse. His idolaters have in great measure passed away—and one may now aver without the risk of being impaled for it in the stockades of criticism, that Gifford after all, was a coarse-minded man, and most rancorous in his dislikes. His conduct towards Keats must ever rest as a stain upon his name. For all power, men are often called to account, even in this world. The way in which the Bashaw of the *Quarterly* sometimes wielded his, was wanton and cruel. Truly has it been said, by one who by some process almost miraculous, seemed to dive into the recesses of the general heart.

> O it is excellent
> To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
> To use it like a giant ———— *

Poor Keats fell on evil days, for a just consideration of his merits, or an equitable acknowledgement of his claims to indulgence. Political leanings, real or supposed—were then the test of all excellence. He who had the plague spot of independence of mind, in regard to political views, was deemed a moral leper, to

* Measure for Measure.

be driven forth without the camp. He was destined to be one of those, not acknowledged to hold a patent of nobility, in the Court of Apollo, but on condition of martyrdom. It is indifferent whether the God himself performs the flaying process, as in the case of Marsyas; or whether it is consigned to one of the common janitors of his temple. To the individual the process is equally fatal, as concerns his temporal welfare—whatever may be the consequence, in respect to his fame, and the vitality of his works. Full of the god nevertheless, as the Pagan oracles would say, embued with fine old Grecian lore, and inspired with the most vivid idealites of the richest fancy; young Keats entered upon the literary stage, uttering glorious symphonies which the Coryphei of the place, contemptuously recognised, as mere Babel sounds. The time was unpropitious. Other poets had possession of the public ear. The works of Byron and Scott, of Moore, Southey, Coleridge, and in a less degree *then*, of Wordsworth, made the land resonant with melody. Your public will rest long unsated at the table of poesy. It becomes indolent, and drowsy, and unwilling to listen to a new performer. Politics ran high, and there was a courtly impatience of the liberty of the press. Congenial to some of the spirits, who directed a portion of the press—was Keats believed to be. He was therefore to be flouted upon, and made light of as a Cockney genius. The bruised camomile, even when trampled on, exhales fragrance. The young poet with shrinking sensibilities, but irrepressible genius, found a way of his own, to mount into empyrean regions, as it were above the mundane din, that rung so harshly around him. His political, or supposed political associations were against him. What—a young Poet and a friend of Leigh Hunt—away with him! How often must he have felt, as a canary bird might be supposed to do, if he found himself among crows. At length the man was done for effectually—and all that was mortal of him, was deposited in classic ground, at the base of the pyramidal monument, said to be that of Caius Cestius. But there was something that harsh criticism could not kill, and the memory of the young Poet is immortalised in his works. Keats reminds one of those ancient alabaster vases, sculptured exquisitely without, and that served at night as a lamp. Notwithstanding a mannerism, traceable rather to the fidelity, with which he gave the vivid impressions of a warm fancy, exuberant even to the flush of tropical verdure and bloom, than to affectation; he was a young man of truly wonderful powers. His fire was his own, and it was by its light, that he became saturated, as it were, with Hellenic lore. The Endymion and the Hyperion, are both astonishing, the one for the exhaustless wealth of fancy, the other for the august grandeur, of

imaginativeness it displays. There is much of Shakesperean sweetness, and sensuousness, about the Endymion, in regard to those qualities, as they flavour the earlier poetical productions of the Swan of Avon. To say that he borrows occasionally from Homer, can be no reproach, for there are passages that reflect the Homeric afflatus, as in the intoxicating interview with his goddess mistress. The sensitive-plant like sympathies of the author, are slightly reflected in these lines.

> Therefore 'tis with happiness that I
> Will trace the story of Endymion,
> The very music of his name has gone
> Into my being, and each pleasant scene
> Is growing fresh before me as the green
> Of our own valleys.

The opening of the Ode to Pan is very fine—

> O thou, whose mighty palace roof doth hang
> From jagged trunks, and overshadoweth
> Eternal whispers, glooms, the birth, life, death
> Of unseen flowers in heavy peacefulness——

There is a beautiful address to sleep—which it strikes us, is traceable to Homer. We have no time to enlarge, as we could wish. We can only drop a remark here and there—for Keats alone would take a book of commentary to illustrate him. The *brooding* idea of a bird is taken from Milton—in the opening lines of Par. Lost.*

> O magic sleep ? O comfortable bird,
> That broodest o'er the troubled sea of the mind
> Till it is hush'd and smooth—O unconfin'd
> Restraint ! Imprison'd liberty !—great key
> To golden palaces, &c. ————

The description of Glaucus is altogether admirable. There is in it the wild, shadowy, yet lambent spirit of a dream, reduced to the comprehension of our waking sense, in the happiest manner. But we must curb ourselves here. We have said that the staple of the Endymion is beautiful. We now proceed very succinctly to advert to a few of the mannerisms that, at the time, gave occasion for sneering ridicule. Some make a new use of established words; others bring back obsolete ones. Some of those who sneered the hardest, forgot perhaps, that the language they carped at, was still English—though obsolete, yet nothing is obsolete to poetry !

> Full in the middle of this *pleasantness*
> There stood a marble altar, with *a tress*
> *Of flowers* budded newly ————.

* Dove like sats't brooding on the vast abyss.

In addressing the Muse he says—

> But let a portion of ethereal dew
> Fall on my head and presently immew
> My soul ——————.

Poetry thinks nothing of making a verb of an adjective.

> —————— Are not our wide plains
> Speckled with countless fleeces ? Have not rains
> *Greened over* April's lap ——————.
>
> * * * *
>
> A shout from the whole multitude arose,
> That linger'd in the air like dying rolls
> Of abrupt thunder, when Ionian shoals
> Of dolphin's *bob* their noses thro' the brine.

The word *bob* here, may not be very dignified, but it is exactly what the creature does—and no other word will answer so well for the action.

> —————— Perhaps the trembling knee
> And frantic *gape* of lonely Niobe,
> Poor, lonely Niobe! when her lovely *young*
> Were dead and gone, and her caressing tongue
> Lay a lost thing upon her paly lip, &c.

The whole passage, to us, seems abominable. It is the picture of a bitch hound. No human being gapes with grief, or licks her young, or lolls out her tongue.

Sometimes the expression, from excess of fancifulness, becomes almost ridiculous.

> From the horizon's vaulted side,
> There shot a golden splendour far and wide,
> Spangling those million *poutings* of the brine
> With quivering ore ! 'twas even an awful *shine*, &c.

Pouts is rather a favourite expression—we have it again—

> Where every Zephyr sigh *pouts*, &c.

The rhyme sometimes is rather odd—but that's a trifle—

> Guarding his forehead, with her round *elbow*,
> From low-grown branches, and his footstep slow
> From stumbling, &c. ——————

We leave it to antiquarians to say where Endymion procured his Arabian steed—or what his price might be in those days—or by what route the animal reached his Grecian locale.

> I who, for very sport of heart could race
> With my own steed from Araby, &c.

We are introduced to a mood of mind which becks—

> Our ready minds to fellowship divine
> A fellowship with essence; *till we shine*
> *Full alchemized*, and free of space.

A rose leaf round thy finger's *taperness*

a sympathetic touch unbinds
Eolian magic from their *lucid womb*s, &c.

Nor with aught else can our souls knit
So wingedly, &c. ———————

- Wipe away all slime
Left by men slugs and human serpentry, &c.

* * *

——————— The nightingale, up perched high,
And cloistered among cool and *bunched* leaves.

- Overhead
Hung a *lush* screen of drooping weeds.

* * *

Counting his woe worn minutes by the strokes
Of the lone wood-cutter; and listening still,
Hour after hour, to each *lush-leaved rill, &c.*

* * *

It swells, it buds, it flowers beneath his sight;
And in the middle, there is softly *pight*
A golden butterfly, &c. ———————

——————— awfully he stands
A sovereign *quell* is in his waving hands.

* * *

An immortality of passions 's thine:
Ere long I will exalt thee *to the shine*
Of heaven ambrosial, &c. ———————

- He felt the charm
To breathlessness, and suddenly *a warm*
Of his heart's blood ———————.

——————— Kind stranger youth
I loved her *to the very white of truth,*

His fancy gives a colour to things heard—

A clammy sweat is beading on my brow,
At mere remembering her *pale laugh*—

Occasionally our Poet nods.

——————— Two copious tear drops instant fell
From the God's large eyes; he *smiled delectable.*

* * *

Endymion? Ah! still wandering in the bands
Of love? *Now this is cruel* ———————.

* * *

All suddenly were silent. A soft blending
Of dulcet instruments *came charmingly.*—

Scientific Men. We suppose that when it is stated in the *Chit-Chat*,* that the speaker has not the same reverence for scientific genius that he has for literary or metaphysical power, that D. L. R. is unfolding so much of the history of his own mind. Without reasoning upon the subject, he gives it as his opinion that Plato, Aristotle and Bacon were of higher intellect than Newton. This sort of comparison is not of much value, unless our Critic explains his *Nousometer* a little more. Certain minds have a bend towards the ideal, as it is said that the mining rod by some occult sympathy, turns downwards, pointing to where subterranean springs and metals may be found. Others again, delight in tracing up the phenomena of nature, and their relation to each other, in the universe. Many a man has been a devoted flamen in the temple of science, who might have been a follower of the Muses, if he had not curbed his inclination, in order to pursue trains of thought, that led to what he conceived to be more useful pursuits. Sir Humphry Davy was an instance in point, and it is possible that the author of the 'Principia'—could have written a poem, if he had chosen. It is not at all unlikely, that by some dull and common place minds, mathematics, or rather the lower regions of the science, may be over-rated. Grand however is his function, who soars into its zenith. Does not that of itself open up a region of true poetry. Is there not sublime poetry in speculating on the movements of the spheres, or even measuring the depth of some terrific cavern in the mountains of the Moon ? D. L. R. himself in an eloquent passage† admits the great utility of the mathematics, and shews the universality of their application as a branch of knowledge. Then comes a little disparaging see-sawing regarding Newton (p. 81)—"he made discoveries it is true, but he was in the company of hundreds of fellow labourers." May not the same remark be retorted on every labourer in every branch of literature ? Homer, for aught we know to the contrary, might have had hundreds of fellow labourers, but they have left no Iliads or Odysseys. Shakespeare had plenty fellow labourers but not one of them has left us tragedies like Macbeth, Hamlet or Romeo and Juliet. We have had many philosophers, but to one of these only, can the discovery of gravity be fairly ascribed. It is impossible to do adequate justice to the sublime significance and importance of this most grand discovery. Our author himself admits (he is too good a logician not to have done so), that all great inventions and discoveries, are suggested by the imagination, and completed by study. It is thus shewn, that it

* P. 66. † *Chit-Chat*, pp. 78-79.

is the same faculty that suggests a noble strain of poetry, or the discovery of some central principle in space. Is there not something very august, in sweeping as it were, on seraph wing, into the depths of the universe, in ascertaining the heights of temperature that almost baffle calculation, or the speed at which light travels, overwhelming by its unimaginable swiftness? What says our Critic, in relation to this stupendous admission by the giver of all lights, into what for ages had been a sealed up mystery? "If Newton had not discovered the law of gravitation, it would *inevitably* have been discovered by some other man greatly his inferior, and certainly America would not have remained unknown to this day had Columbus never existed. It is a mistake even to compare the two discoveries. It is like comparing the planet Jupiter to an orange. It is very easy to hazard disparaging assertions of this sort. The discovery once recognized for a fact, it is consistent with human nature to look at it through the reversed end of the telescope. "Any other person could have discovered gravity"—any other person could have discovered Oxygen gas, or electricity, or made a calculating machine, or a steam engine, or an electric telegraph. Why then is it that we had no antepenultimate Lavoisiers, Franklins, Babbages and Bains? Columbus and the egg is a very fitting corollary to such an argument. The immensity of consequences pending on the Newtonian discovery, of the principle by which all things move and are held; is so transcendentally grand, that we are apt to overlook them in the apparent simplicity of the thing itself. In endeavouring to express our perception of an analogy for it, we may be enunciating an extravagance, when we say that we are utterly at a loss what to compare it to; and that it is not without hesitation we venture to observe, that it seems to physics what the grand mystery—but recognised necessity for a sinful world, of the doctrine of the atonement is to religion and morals. We cannot enlarge on this subject, in such a paper as this. Our space and time, as we already observed, are limited, yet would we avail ourselves if possible of the opportunity to say something that might teach the *Hindu* reader *to consider*. Our Critic perhaps, has been drawn unawares into this slighting appreciation of the claims of Newton, by the homely nature of the *accident*, which may be supposed to have fired the train of his investigations. Stories of that sort are apt to be repeated, without the strict examination that true philosophy requires. Had it been a legend about a poem how admirably, and rigorously D. L. R. would have traced it! Now he is content to take the story as he finds it. Poetry at any rate is not likely to be damaged one way or another, turn it

out as it may! D. L. R. is too sincere a lover of truth to admit of the question being seriously so stated. Nevertheless we do not do him injustice in giving it as our opinion that he has been a little hasty in stating it. Let us hear what a distinguished scientific philosopher has to remark on the subject. Saycth Sir Humphry Davy (on Chimerical philosophy).

"It requires a certain degree of knowledge and scientific combination to understand and seize upon the points which have originated in accident. * * * It suits the indolence of those minds which never attempt any thing, and which probably if they did attempt any thing, would not succeed, to refer to accident that which belongs to genius. It is sometimes said by such persons, that the discovery of the law of gravitation was owing to accident; and a ridiculous story is told of the falling of an apple, as the cause of this discovery. As well might the invention of fluxions, or the architectural wonders of the dome of St. Peter's or the miracles of art the St. John of Raphael, or the Apollo Belvidere be supposed to be owing to accidental combinations."

We are not aware ourselves that, "Scientific men in general speak with great contempt of imagination." Were a man through life to do nothing but to cultivate, much less to pet and coddle his imagination, then might every person, possessed of common sense, well speak of such folly with contempt. Light is an useful, a beautiful, and a blessed thing; yet what should we say of one who did nothing but illuminate his couch all night while others were reposing? It is the same with the imagination. Useful when regulated, but distracting when not reasonably modified. The imagination is an unquenchable light so long as it is properly handled, so long as it is kept under discipline by reason. It is an admirable lantern in the dark, in order to aid our other senses in groping our way to a truth, but woe be to us, if we mistake this star, or moonlight, for the true light, the rising sun of demonstration that shineth more and more into the perfect day. Mathematicians it seems—" are like helpless children, beyond the pale of their own science. They cannot walk steadily out of their own go-cart." In illustration of this position, Newton (bearing on the subject of prophecy) is referred to—and Coleridge is cited, as observing that,—"Newton's observations on Daniel and the Revelations are little better than downright raving." Well may we ask in regard to Coleridge, man, who hath made thee a Divider over Newton? It may be convenient enough for D. L. R., but as far as we are concerned, we cannot unquestioned permit him to knock down Newton, with dicta of Coleridge. Is it that our Critic, not being ready of fence himself in the theological field, snatches Coleridge's rapier to do battle with? This is a stone from Coleridge's glass-house. He should have paused in the silence of

reverence before charging the illustrious Newton with "downright raving." The disparagement from Newton to Johnson is easy, though we do not exactly see the sequence, considering also that our author (like most of us) is under obligation to the growling, but true-hearted, and far-seeing old sage. Are we to consider Newton's writing on the subject of prophecy—as superstitious ? We infer so from our Critic's tone of remark—referring directly to old Sam—"and was not the great moralist the 'Leviathan of Literature'—Dr. Johnson, *childishly superstitious ?*" We presume that the question is put with reference to Johnson's belief in apparitions. The few remarks on the subject occur in Rasselas. That work was written in a state of gloom, natural to such a mind, after a bereavement he must have felt keenly ; and for the necessities occasioned by which, he was thus, with a noble sense of duty, endeavouring to provide by the labours of his pen. 'That the dead are seen no more,' said Imlac, 'I will not undertake to maintain, against the concurrent and unvaried testimony of all ages, and of all nations. There is no people rude or learned, among whom apparitions are not related and believed. This opinion, which perhaps prevails as far as human nature is diffused, could become universal only by its truth.' To hold a mental impression is one thing, but to be continually under terror of that impression is another. It is scarcely just then to call Johnson 'childishly superstitious'—unless it can be shewn that he lived in habitual dread of seeing ghosts. At any rate, he was ready to confront one, as even Churchill admitted, when trying to cover him with ridicule in regard to the Cocklane ghost. If to have belief in the possibility of apparitions manifesting themselves, be childishly superstitious, how is it that Shakespeare has escaped censure ? The very argument used by Johnson as put into the mouth of Imlac is the one resorted to by D. L. R. himself in the *Chit-Chat*, in regard to Berkeley's theory of the immateriality of the world. "It is exclusively the property not of any single philosopher, but is almost as old as the world itself. It has been familiar to the Brahmins of Hindustan for many thousand years." To this L. replies to H.—"That only proves that it is founded on truth."

Shakespeare. In the 'Literary Leaves'—the author makes some remarks on the great poet which reflect injuriously on his memory. Alluding to his wife, he states—"it is certain that he neglected her in his will, in which her name was at first wholly omitted, and subsequently inserted with the bequest of only—'*his second best bed.*' That he was unfaithful to her, is, I fear, pretty clearly proved by some of the confessional sonnets, &c."

By this exceedingly enigmatical light—our author alludes to something still darker. Now we consider, that to attempt testing Shakespeare's private character, by these puzzling sonnets, is very unsafe, and might prove eminently unjust to the august dramatist. At the time of perusing the remarks, it is very evident that the author of the 'Leaves'—had not seen the Diary of the Revd. John Ward already alluded to.* We feel quite satisfied that D. L. R. will derive pleasure from any record that may place the name of Shakespeare in a clearer light, and are more consonant to the associations we naturally form of such a character. Having been, while yet a minor married to a woman some years his senior, there is a bare possibility, observes the Editor of the work alluded to, that the union of Shakespeare was not one of perfect, unmingled happiness. "But we have not the slightest authority for supposing that there ever was any separation between the parties; on the contrary, the tender and delicate bequest in the Poet's will, written only some weeks before his death, and probably inserted by his own hand, together with Mrs. Shakespeare's desire and anxiety to be buried near to, (and had it been permitted,) in the grave of her beloved husband, evidently proves the unshaken constancy of an affection between them, which deadly divorce had never torn asunder." The Editor of *Ward's Diary*—then proceeds to shew the necessity of great caution in receiving any of the Statements of Mr. John Aubrey, the earliest collector of facts respecting Shakespeare, and whose manuscripts are preserved at Oxford. This writer, according to Malone, obtained his particulars about the year 1680—twenty years *after* the date of Mr. Ward's records, and sixty-four years subsequent to the death of the Poet. Ward therefore, until some other cast up, is in relation to proximity of time, and rifeness of anecdote, the best authority we have in regard to the latter days and circumstances of Shakespeare. We are now informed by Mr. Ward, that Shakespeare's allowance for two plays a year was so large, that he spent at the rate of £1,000 a year. 'Out of this ample income, which according to Malone's calculation would be more than equivalent to £3,000 a year at the present day, it would have been perfectly easy for Shakespeare, to make such a reservation, as would fully suffice to complete any purchase he had a mind to. Much has been attributed to the largesses of the Earl of Southampton. It is however very justly observed by the Editor of Ward's Diary—"that patronised by Queen Elizabeth who is said to have—'distinguished him by many fair marks of her favour,' it is far more likely that she very

* See page 33, ante of this article.

liberally rewarded the efforts of his muse than that he should owe to the private friendship, of one individual, the means of making the purchase of New Place."—This was a house in all respects suitable for the residence of a gentleman of fortune, which is rendered sufficiently obvious by the fact of Queen Henrietta Maria, sojourning there three weeks, when it was possessed by Shakespeare's grand-daughter Mrs. Nash—at the time of the Queen's triumphant entry from Newark with three thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and a train of artillery. Out of so large an annual income as £1,000 a year, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Editor of '*the Diary*'—justly infers, that it is surely not improbable that Shakespeare, whose depth of affection for his family cannot be doubted, made, during his life time, ample provision for his wife. 'The whole evidence of his contemporaries, as well as the tenor of every passage in his works, is in direct opposition to his ever having been capable of adding insult to injury, as asserted by pseudo Critics; and remembering that Ben Johnson was with him only a few days before his death.* Who in his verses—'to the memory of his beloved friend'—makes no mention of any vexatious sources of domestic unhappiness, nor is such a circumstance even hinted at by any contemporary writer, we therefore cannot but conclude that the whole supposition is perfectly unfounded in truth, and only based on ignorance of facts, and the blundering misinterpretation of the interlineary bequest in his will, wherein he leaves—'unto his wief his second bed with the furniture,' &c. But why leave his second and not his first best bed?

Few, if any, either in London or the country are in the habit of sleeping on the first best bed. This was probably reserved for the use of old Ben, Southampton, or any other aristocratic or distinguished guest. "The second best bed was, doubtless, the Poet's ordinary place of repose,—the birth place of his children; and on these and many other grounds, it must have been to Mrs. Shakespeare, of more value than all the rest of his wealth." Shakespeare knew that his wife, who was advancing in the vale of years, had an independence secured, and that the widowed remnant of her life would be spent with Susanna, "the witty, the wise, the philanthropic Mrs. Hall, who, it is recorded, had in her—'something of Shakespeare.' The gift then, about which so much has mistakingly been said, was truly significant, as the most acceptable token of his unaltered love; which no doubt, was received by the widow with the same tenderness of remembrance as it was bequeathed by the dying husband.†"

* A fact derived from Ward's Diary. † See 'Ward's Diary,' passim.

Hume and Gibbon. The nineteenth dialogue of the *Chit-Chat* relates to those two distinguished authors, men of great mark and celebrity up to this hour. It is not the least satisfactory circumstance, in conversations of this kind, that the affirmative and the negative, are uttered by the same mouth. Can any man hold two opinions on the same subject? Not possible surely. One must be *the* opinion—the other—a shadow. How then are we to distinguish the tare, from the corn? That is one reason why we do not like this plan of disseminating opinion—save in a partisan. For a partisan, or to spread class opinions, it is a very convenient vehicle—but in the pursuit of abstract truth, how are we to distinguish the determinate opinion, from the specious objection? In Landor's 'imaginary conversations,' the Interlocutors are well known characters; historical or literary, whose manner is felicitously imitated—and in which, like the imitations of the late Mr. Matthews, we with feelings of delight, recognise old friends. If what is said, be not literally of their own dictation, it at any rate is very like what we should suppose them likely to say on occasion. The conversation in the *Chit-Chat* dialogue, we are now going to notice, is held by H. L. and V. of whom H. expresses a wish that their mutual friend N.—(nobody?) would cease to sport his scepticism in general society. This of course, we need scarcely remark, is the desire of every well constituted mind, on perceiving a tendency to such *sport* existing, on the part of some person in the company. It is to be hoped, however, that such a tendency is not very prevalent. No man likes to constitute an unenviable minority, especially where the '*hunc tu caveto*' is sure to follow. A man *sporting* opinions of that sort in mixed society, now-a-days, would be very apt to have his carriage ordered. It is wholly against the code of good manners, to broach subjects, likely to cause pain to others, or to revolt their feelings. N. however, is represented as one of the most amiable of men, and most acute. Surely if his claim to this character be a legitimate one, ostentatious scepticism would scarcely be his besetting fault? V. declares that he likes his brother sceptic's frankness, and confesses to hold nearly the same opinions; and asks why he should not urge them (ostentatiously?) if he thinks them favourable to the cause of truth? If, indeed! He then declares himself a Deist, a word of so comprehensive a meaning, now-a-days, that it were almost necessary to define it anew every time it is used. Admitting that it is "an unhappy faith"—and "one *unfit* for the *mass* of mankind," we ask how so, if true? Is truth in religion unfit for the mass? Is it not equivalent to saying, that a false religion

only, is fit for the mass of mankind ? The mass of mankind, we are told by the Dialogist—"require the authority and guidance, and civilization of a less abstract and ideal religion." What is seriously meant to be asserted here, we really cannot take it upon us to say that we understand ? If by abstract is meant capable of being briefly stated—where is there truly, a more abstract system than the Christian ? Are we to recognise in an ideal religion, a belief founded on ideas, or certain realities impressed upon the mind, as distinguished from fancies ? If so, where is there any system of religion so transcendently fruitful in ideas, as that which carries us beyond the grave—declaring that death is but the entrance into life, that there shall be a resurrection, and that it has not entered the heart of man to conceive even, the joys prepared for the righteous ?

L. next adduces a circumstance which is rather characteristic of "the most amiable man in the world"—by stating that in a company, where there were present three clergymen—he instituted a comparison between the tricks of a travelling conjuror, and one of our Lord's miracles. To say nothing of such a remark being offensive, on the score of its profanity—it does surprise us, that so skilful a limner should have fallen into the mistake, of representing that man as either amiable, or a gentleman, who could make so grossly irreverent an observation before three clergymen ! L. attributes this 'amiable'—sceptic's notion to vanity. On this V. or sceptic No. 2, rebukes L. for attributing so unworthy a motive as vanity. "You cannot *know* his motives—and they may be good." If we found a man trying to get into our house by the window—should we not have some reason, to deem his motive questionable ? H. rejoins very cogently, that "they who reject Christianity, are persons whose interest it is, that there should be no future state." V. then blames certain "religionists"—for attacking the motives of their antagonists, whose arguments are rather troublesome to answer. It were indeed to be sincerely desired, that people should avoid dealing with motives, in such discussions. While human nature is what it is, however, people's feelings will be apt to become excited, at every encroachment on property, for after all, religion is in the nature of very sacred property. In regard to the trouble of answering objections, it is one which men skilful in theological science, have cause to complain of too—since objections that have been met over and over again, are every now and then brought forward again and again, as if they had never been answered. Thus it has been with the cavils of Hume and Gibbon. The first was easier to deal with because

more open and palpable. Not so the sneerer Gibbon—who always, in his smooth way, insinuates more than he broadly states. V. is very severe upon the Right Revd. author of "The Atonement"—as a fanatical religionist. May there not be as much fanaticism on the part of a sceptic, for his own side of the question, as in a believer, who grips fast his faith? If the believer should chance to get a little heated, is that surprising, when he beholds an agile wielder of an axe, approaching to cut the cable of his hope, and let the vessel drift on the breakers? When V. a little further on, asserts, that "there never existed a human being whose convictions on faith, in matters of religion could be justly deemed infallible"—we presume that the Apostles are held excepted.

We have noticed in a preceding page, that Dickens abounds in lovely little touches, resembling field flowers in an English lane. The same remark is applicable to D. L. R. We could point to many sweet little passages, in illustration of this—but that we are so much pressed for room. How beautiful is this passage.

"The past charms us, because it is sleeping tranquilly in the 'moonlight of memory, and the future delights us, because it 'laughs in the golden sunshine of hope."*

In taking leave of our author, we have to thank him for much intellectual gratification. His works are of those that are truly artistical in the highest sense of the word. They may be laid down and taken up again with pleasure. His style is pure and limpid, as a running stream in our native land. His candour is perhaps too transparent; for in the honesty of his own fine simplicity—he will now and then easily lay himself open to an opponent. An opponent, in regard to some points, he has found us—but not an adversary. We have endeavoured to meet him in the frank manliness of his own nature. We have had our wrestling match, proud to have such an opponent, and we would after our passage at arms, now shake hands, in all cordial kindness. We trust that he will consider our hint—and recast all his works into one great whole. Much may thus be cast overboard, and a work produced that may be launched upon the sea of time, without misgivings. D. L. R. is one of the oldest, staunchest and most valued of our literary men. Though not strictly an oriental writer, he is now our veteran literary representative in the East. He has been before the public for a quarter of a century. He has conferred lasting service

* 'Chit Chat,' page 145.

on the cause of literature here. This we believe, has been acknowledged in the educational circle of the Government. He had been supposed to retire altogether from India. Let us hope that his return to this country may never be associated with feelings of bitter disappointment. May we remind our readers of a passage in *Hamlet*, referring to players—the literary men of that day, which we may rest assured, came from Shakespeare's heart, for he was himself a *literary man* as well as a player? "Do you hear, let them be well used; for they are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time. After your death you were better have a bad epitaph, than their ill report while you live." We could somewhat reverse this—we had rather have the ill report of a literary man while he lived, than his bad epitaph after death. D. L. R. had left India. He was attracted back. We are unwilling to yield credence to a report that has reached us—that D. L. R. has been somewhat shabbily dealt with. Has the promise made to his ear—been broken to his hope? Technicalities will not do here. We do not wish to enlarge on the subject. A man of genius and of honor, has laboured for a quarter of a century in literary harness, and for half that period, or something thereabouts, in the educational service of Government. Let no paltry accountant argument—be brought forward to qualify the disappointment *in faith* of such a man. He is in no condition to meet it. His comfort may be withered by it. 'Twere good policy, to engage the services of honest and high-minded literary men, liberally rather than lop here, and cut off there, from their hard earnings. They have much in their power if provoked. Aye, much more than it enters into the clay hearted common place man of office, even to imagine. The raw material of power, may not be in the hands of literary men; but their winged words will hereafter become, Cherub weapons to wave from the gate of fame's temple, dullards that might have trampled upon them—in the day of consequence and power. We must take our leave of D. L. R. with the following beautiful and eloquent extract from *Chit-Chat*.

"How curious is it that a true poet or an eloquent speaker should be able to seize, with electrical rapidity on the exact word which he requires!—that out of a hundred thousand words he should bring forth the very one which alone suits his purpose. It is a wonderful, mysterious, indescribable process of the mind! In what part of the brain are all these beautiful instruments of thought, as in a vast armoury, laid up for use? In what form or order are they disposed in that small ivory-walled citadel of the soul, the human head, that the commander of the place can in a moment lay his hand upon each as it is required, without hesitation or confusion? It may happen that the word in requisition has been lying silent and concealed in some dim

corner of the memory, or what we please to phrase it, for half a century, and yet present itself as a word of yesterday at our sudden need. What an army of mysterious shapes—living thoughts—are crowded together on the small field of the brain, without pressure or confusion! At the bidding of the soul, how the thoughts rush out of their mysterious cells into the light of day, assume palpable and enduring forms, and become citizens of the world! No longer the exclusive property of the individual who brought them into existence, they visit the brains of millions of men, generation after generation. They 'wander through eternity.'

It is an exquisite encouragement to the toiling heart of genius to remember that books are immortal! They live on earth when their makers are in heaven The great author has a double life. He exists in two spheres. Homer is beyond the stars, and here he is too in our snug and silent study. The moon with her calm, pallid, pensive countenance of light—the all-cheering sun—the blue hills—the green vallies—the long winding rivers, that were gazed upon by Homer more than two thousand years ago, we gaze on now—and we repeat the same magical words that fell from his inspired lips and stirred the hearts of his contemporaries. The mortal frame of the divine Homer was as perishable as a tree or flower, but his spirit, and the printed form in which so large a portion of that spirit is now enshrined, will live for ever. The poetical part of his nature has passed into a tangible form—the property of the world—a legacy, bequeathed not only to individuals of wealth or power, but to all mankind. It is more precious than gold and more durable than granite.

Literature is a radiant palace, in which all men are welcome guests. Our hosts are the greatest spirits that have worn mortal clothing. Homer and Chaucer, and Spencer, Shakspeare, and Bacon, and Milton, a glorious company, stand at the portico and bid us enter. Men of all creeds and colors and conditions may boldly accept the invitation."

Literature is obviously affected by that pride of intellect, which is so perceptible a characteristic of the age. It claims to decide all questions by reason alone. It cannot help recognising a wonderful adaptation of mathematical science in the universe, but not the mathematician himself. It grants geometry but not a geometer, a fabrick but not a fabricator. The spirit of unbelief generated by this pride, would reach questions either above or beside finite reason, by a leap rather than by induction. Instead of ascending from second causes, to a sublime zenith where is enthroned the will that causes; the primum mobile of the universe—it beholds something else of a make-shift, a nebula, or chance, or necessity—illustrating in ethics, a problem once popular in physics, that all the rivers of New Holland instead of running into the sea, disembogued themselves into a huge central quagmire. How is it that the argument of chance, has never that we are aware of, been applied, to solve the question of the Pyramids of Egypt—the colossal temples of the Thebais, and the cavern ones of Ellora and Elephanta? It would be quite as satisfactory a solution of difficulty, as to ascribe the same cause for the architecture of the heavens. When we shall have an op-

portunity of seeing with our own eyes, chance made statues, and houses, chance made watches, and spinning jennies; then shall we consider the necessity, or chance constructing argument, a tenable, and not ridiculous one—but not till then.

There is neither so much attempted, or done, in literature as formerly. The literary undertakings of our fathers were somewhat like their style of architecture—heavy perhaps, but well founded, solid and massy. Those of our own times, are more like fashionable, card house-like, brick structures, calculated to last thirty years. *They* worked for all time, we for a mere temporary purpose, or the lucre of gain. We miss in a great portion of our current literature, the moral fragrance that exhales from faith. It is the same in general society. Look at the manners of youth—and their conduct. The two great guarding principles of Christianity, are faith and obedience. Ought not the great aim of all education to be, to teach youth to obey sweetly, so as to fit it for command. What was at first habit, will ripen into duty. The age, however, is manifestly deficient, both in faith and obedience. Everywhere there is a questioning of authority, and a restless thanklessness under the yoke of labour and duty. A spirit of cavil and discontent, every now and then, manifests its baleful working. The law of the most high may be spoken of indeed, but does it become a motive and a spring of action? Many of the works now produced, and whole reams of poetry, might be as well written by pagans, for any evidence that they give of heart faith. It was not so with the chief pagan and Christian poets; with Homer, or Hesiod, or Plato, or Virgil, or Dante or Tasso, and our own Milton. In considering the extraordinary combination and development of fancy and genius, for which the age of Queen Elizabeth was distinguished, Hazlitt deems that the translation of the Bible was the chief cause of the work. "It threw open by a secret spring the rich treasures of religion and morality which had been locked up as in a shrine. It revealed the visions of the prophets and conveyed the lessons of inspired teachers to the meanest of the people. It gave them a common interest in a common cause. Their hearts burnt within them as they read. *It gave a mind to the people* by giving them common subjects of thought and feeling. It concentrated their union of character and sentiment: it created endless diversity and collision of opinion. They found objects to employ their faculties, and a motive in the magnitude of the consequences attached to themes, to exact the utmost eagerness in the pursuit of truth, and the most daring intrepidity in maintaining it."

How wonderful, if we consider it gravely, are the wants and supplies of literature. Of the many, many books, continually produced, how few live! What is the cause of this mortality, if we may so phrase it? All men are imbued with the insatiate craving after novelty, which made the Athenians of old—'spend their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.' But novelty soon ceases to charm. The newest novelty devours the preceding. To enable a book to live, there must be something besides mere novelty. There must be illustration of nature, either physical or moral, and a savour of belief in revealed truth. The books now most in demand, are voyages and travels, memoirs and novels;—or works developing sober truth, or truth reflected happily in the glass of fiction. But ere long where shall we go to for novelty? There are scarcely any new places left unvisited, or seas to go over. Europe is exhausted. Asia has still mines of intellectual wealth. A day may come when India like England shall become a land of books, and readers of books diversified, and mind elevating. Before that day's advent, however, the native imagination must awaken from death-like torpor. This it cannot do, however, while polygamy and infant betrothment continue the rule. These things pollute the imagination, and befoul the limpid springs of energy and high emprise. This leads us to observe, that every country has *a* book of books—we have reached the prescribed limit we had set to ourselves, or we might be tempted into wider scope of speculation, on this interesting subject. We content ourselves therefore, with simply pointing to those lands, that have a book containing the rule of faith. Turn to the country of the Zendavasta; to the domains of the Koran; the lands of the Shastras; and the immense expanse that bends to Buddhism. How is their mental prostration to be accounted for? What is the reason of the vast moral, intellectual, scientific, and social superiority of one country above all these? It is because it possesses a BOOK that feeds the mind continually, in a wonderful manner; conferring on it elasticity, and vitality, and strength. It is a fountain of living waters, spreading perpetual verdure over all fields of knowledge, and hallowing all social relations.

ART. III.—1. *Statements submitted by the Nizamut Adalut, relative to the Administration of Criminal Justice in Bengal, during the year* 1846. *Calcutta*, 1847.

2. *Reports on the State of the Police in the Lower Provinces, for the year* 1846. *Calcutta*, 1847.

3. *Parliamentary Papers relative to Crime in the British Islands, during the year* 1846. *(Companion to the Almanac for* 1848. *London.)*

THIS is by no means a new subject. It has employed some of the wisest heads and the ablest pens that have ever busied themselves with Indian affairs. The pages of this review have lent their aid in drawing attention to discussions which, however important to the welfare of our native fellow-subjects, are regarded by the majority of Europeans with little interest or solicitude. And to what purpose have been these endeavours? The reports of public officers, the records of the Courts of Justice, the experience of all who reside in the Mofussil, or hold much intercourse with the natives, combine to shew how comparatively little has been done by the most civilized Government in the world, during a space of three quarters of a century, towards the attainment of the great object of Society and Civil Government, security for person and property The Police of Bengal has ever been the *ne plus ultra* of corruption, inefficiency, and mischievousness. Our Courts have held a place but one degree higher in the estimation of those who have known them best. Our prisons are unrivalled as nurseries for felons. The consequence of all this is easily demonstrable, and year by year becomes more obtrusive and undeniable. Crime is, if not actually on the increase, certainly not diminishing. The mass of the people are still in an extremely abject and insecure condition. Industry, energy, independence, are words unknown to the language or ideas of the Bengali; and the only thriving class is that of criminals.

It may be thought that we assume too much in ascribing the state of backwardness and misery which characterizes the most fertile portion of our Indian Empire to defects in the system of Police or Criminal Justice. The blame, it will be alleged, rests upon the immoral character of the natives, their religion, their inveterate evil habits and customs. And far be it from us to palliate or deny the sinister influences which those unitedly do exert. What we mean to affirm is, that these are not the sole causes in operation. It may sound almost like a truism to say that good or bad government has much to do with the prosperous or

adverse circumstances of any people. But it is a truism too often practically forgotten. Now the more immediate objects of Government are twofold, the repulsion of foreign aggression, and the administration of justice; in other words, the defence of the community against external and domestic foes. Until these objects are secured, of what avail to the mass of the people are Universities, Councils of Education, Municipal and Medical institutions? Foreign affairs have no doubt always had due weight assigned them. The question of Military Defence is with the Government one of life and death. This, indeed, is a subject to which all Governments, whether paternal or despotic, must ever find it their interest to attend.

Lavish are the pensions, imposing (in a double sense, occasionally) the advertisements of testimonials, gorgeous the banquets, spirit-stirring or tear-drawing the eulogiums in honour of him who prudently provokes or successfully terminates a sanguinary war. What then may be expected for him who devotes his time and talent to the noble purpose of rendering life and property secure and enjoyable, to devising means by which the social character of millions may be elevated, and honesty and independence take the place of corruption and slavishness? If he escapes unnoticed he may consider himself fortunate. To be snubbed and shunned as a "bore," to be sneered at as a restless innovator, full of new fangled ideas and Utopian theories, is the portion he must often look for. The profits and the patronage of the Honorable Company are goods palpable to all; the blessing of diffusing good order, intelligence, morality and religion among a community is beyond the appreciation of all save a few!

Impressed with this profound truth, we feel a delicacy in touching upon a hopeless and irreverent theme. It will not however be the first time that this Review has had to advocate unsupported the cause of the lowly and despised. It is a necessary characteristic of our undertaking, that in such contests we must fight single-handed. In Europe a powerful press is ever on the look-out for abuses and grievances affecting the mass of the community. This is the kind of matter most interesting to the bulk of newspaper readers; John Bull being proverbially "never so happy as when the has a good grievance," such a theme is therefore found to be most popular and profitable. In this country, on the other hand, the subscribers to English Journals, generally speaking, know little and care less about the condition and circumstances of their native fellow-subjects. Living in cities of palaces or Semi-European Mofussil stations, and too often avoiding all con-

tact and intercourse with the natives, they learn to look upon them as a parcel of good-for-nothing black fellows, fit only to pull punkahs and discharge other menial services, and the less said about them the *better*. The periodical press, if it would thrive, must chime in, more or less with the prevailing tastes of its supporters, and hence we find our local papers usually very much devoted to furloughs and promotions, the prospects of "the plant," the remonstrances of disappointed candidates for Government employ, and the doleful pleasantries of a Calcutta "Punch."

But it is time to turn to the facts which, we conceive, justify a recurrence to a well-worn theme. The last published report of the Superintendent of Police for the Lower Provinces states the number of offences ascertained by the police to have been committed during the year 1846 as amounting to 1,19,932. What proportion this number bears to that of the cases that never come to the cognizance of the police, is matter of opinion and assumption. The committee of 1838, was of opinion that "in *most cases* the people, oppressed and inconvenienced in 'various ways, quietly submit to be robbed rather than apply to 'the police for assistance." Many residents in the Mofussil would, we believe, estimate with show of reason, the amount of crime unreported to the Magistrate at two or three times the amount of that which appears in his official statements: but we believe if we set it down as of equal extent we shall be on the safe side. This would raise the total of offences actually committed to about 240,000. Now the records of the Courts of Justice shew that, on an average, in every criminal case, two persons are concerned, the proportion of the guilty to the innocent being as 1.25 to .75 nearly. Hence, the number of persons guilty of some crime or other during the year may be said to be 300,000, or 1 in 130 of the entire population.

The parliamentary papers on crime, published last year, shew the number of persons tried in 1846 in England and Wales, to have been 25,107, of whom 18,144 were found guilty. The number of offences concealed from the knowledge of the authorities, in a country where the ready co-operation of the people with the police renders the latter almost unnecessary, is of course very small; and, we believe, if we increase the above amount by one-fourth, it will be an ample allowance for those who in England altogether escape detection. This would give us 22,680 in all, or a proportion to the population of 1 in 700, who in the course of the year committed some offence. The final result then is, that, in proportion to the population, crime is between five and six times as abundant in Bengal as it is in England.

This is an astounding fact, and should make all who are interested in the welfare of India perceive that something must be done. Even if the premises assumed by us were too large by two or three times as against this country, (which we confidently assert they are not,) a sufficiently enormous difference would remain to be accounted for, and to render some inquiry and attempt at reform indispensable for the maintenance of our national character.

Let us now glance at the state of crime as compared with past years. Not to fatigue the reader with data and details which may be found in their proper places, we will merely notice the conclusions which they have served to establish. In 1838 the Prison Discipline Committee declared their conviction that, so far from crime having decreased in Bengal, "the immense year by year increase of prisoners can only be accounted for by an increase of crime." Since then, as was shewn on a former occasion,* "the number of prisoners accused and convicted of crime has doubled," and, (a proof that this is not to be attributed to increased efficiency in the police,) "the number of acquittals has been nearly trebled." It was also shewn in a former number,† and on the best authority, that "for the last two or three years *dakoity* had been on the increase, and the conviction of dakoits on the decrease." In his last published report, that for 1846, the Superintendent of Police again alludes to the "difficulty in procuring convictions in cases of dakoity," which is "becoming greater at almost every Sessions"—and this crime, be it remembered, towards the suppression of which our efforts are thus confessed to be unavailing, is one of the most atrocious and alarming to society that can be imagined. While it is unknown in other civilized countries, it is here safely and systematically perpetrated, not, as might be supposed, by the outcasts and dregs of society, the brutal, the starving or the desperate, but resorted to as a regular trade by organized gangs and entire families, protected and salaried by men of substance and apparent respectability, the zemindars of the land.

How little do we who sleep secure in lofty houses, surrounded by swarms of domestics and armed attendants, know of the agony of apprehension endured by the poor husbandman in his mud hut in the lonely jungle, when the dark nights invite the dakoit to the pusuit of his exciting and lucrative trade! How little do we sympathize with the feelings of a family roused from

* Cal. Review, No. XII. Art. on "Prison Discipline."

† Cal. Review, No. XI. Art. on "Administration of Criminal Justice."

slumber by the curses and threats of marauders, the glare of torches, the din of crow-bars and mattocks, the glitter of swords and spears. To abandon the fruits of industry, the saving of years of toil and care, is the smallest part of their distress. Naked or wounded, the only resource of men, women and children, is instant flight or concealment. The next day they return to their desolate homestead, their ears still ringing with the threats of the dakoits against any that shall dare to inform against them. Well knowing, as Mr. Dampier observes, that the amount of legal proof required by the tribunals is almost impossible to be procured, anticipating only trouble, expense, and loss of time from an appeal to the police, dreading the transfer from the Darogah to the Magistrate, thence to the Sessions Court, and ultimately to the hoarded vengeance of the robbers, is it to be wondered at that their first thought is how to efface all traces of the occurrence, and keep it from the Magistrate's ears?

In collecting into one view the different reforms which our system of Criminal Justice most urgently demands, and most easily admits of, we would not be understood to lay claim to much originality. The enforcement of truth, rather than the discovery of novelty, is our object. Most of the remedies we shall allude to, had been suggested and advocated by the philosopher and the philanthropist before the *Calcutta Review* came into existence. A transient and spasmodic effort in the right direction has occasionally been made by the Government. At certain intervals Committees are appointed, and valiant resolutions to "allow no financial consideration to stand in the way of changes so urgently required" are come to. By the time that a full and valuable report has been drawn out, the subject has become tiresome, or money is wanted for some other purpose, necessary or superfluous. The dull inglorious subject of crime and punishment is postponed for consideration *sine die*, and the result of much labour and ingenuity and experience is consigned to vermin and oblivion.

The following, in few words, are some of the Reforms we would advocate—

1. The separation of the Executive and Judicial functions at present united in one individual (the Magistrate.)
2. An improved system of convict labour and prison discipline.
3. The introduction of a summary and much less severe punishment for perjury.
4. A more uniform and centralized system of Police.
5. An increase in the pay of subordinate Thanah officers.
6. Limitation of the power of Appeal in Criminal cases.
7. The education of the sons of large landed proprietors.

The first, although the most frequently overlooked, we conceive to be one of the most important of all. Scarcely any duties are so utterly incompatible, and require for their due discharge such different qualifications, as those of thief-catcher and thief-trier. The latter, the Judicial officer, should be calm, patient and impartial; he should be always at his post on the judgment seat, he should shut his eyes and ears to every thing except what passes in court; his proceedings should be characterized by perfect truthfulness and candour, and laid open to public scrutiny. The police officer on the other hand should be ever on the move; activity, secrecy and cunning should be his attributes; he should pick up intelligence from all quarters, and have eyes and ears for every thing that passes around him. In place of the flowing robes and bandaged brow of justice, he should exhibit the wings of Mercury and the eyes of Argus: instead of the scales he should grasp the handcuffs. Yet, such is the imperfect division of labour under our Government, that every Magistrate is expected to combine in himself the most opposite qualities. At one moment he is upon the bench, a model of imperturbable wisdom, counsel for the prisoner, checking the over-eagerness of prosecutors and police, full of logic and legal erudition. Anon he is hurrying off to the scene of a dakoity, urging on the same police in pursuit of the suspected, conferring with spies and approvers, and employing all imaginable arts and appliances in order to procure a conviction. Fresh from the excitement of such scenes, he again takes his seat in Court, and is expected to exercise a calm, unprejudiced, judicial mind upon the case, the "getting up" of which has just occupied his attention. Mercury and Minos, engaged in the same pursuits, Lord Eldon and Citizen Fouche sitting as colleagues, would not present a more incongruous spectacle than is too often exhibited, from the present necessity of circumstances, by our Protean Magistrates. The Mofussil Magistrate's embarrassment moreover is increased by having two masters to serve. The same dawk may bring him a reproof from the Sudder Court for being "over anxious for convictions," and a "wigging" from the Superintendent of Police for having allowed so many bad characters to be acquitted.

Nor is this confusion the only evil consequence of the present system. Responsibility is divided among so many functionaries, that the share of each is ill-defined and impalpable, and proper stimulus to exertion is wanting. If serious offences increase, the Government probably calls upon the Superintendent of Police for explanation; he censures the Magistrate, who in his turn says, it is because the Judge "won't convict;" the judge

perhaps lays the blame upon the Maulavi or the Sudder, the Maulavi upon the Police, while the people in general look only to the Magistrate. Ill feeling is thus often engendered between officers whose sole object should be co-operation.

Our readers are probably not aware of the number of cooks whose unanimity is necessary to avert ruin from the forensic pottage. If a robbery or murder occurs, the complainant deposes to the fact, at the thanah. The Darogah proceeds to the spot, takes the evidence of every one who knows any thing of the matter, and, (to make what is called a *súruthal,*) of half the village besides. He makes a map or drawing of the scene, and, after a stay of several days, forwards a quire or two of well scrawled paper to head-quarters. An order shortly arrives to send up the case for a second investigation before the Magistrate. Here every thing is re-commenced and repeated *de novo.* From ten days to three weeks more are consumed, and finally a parcel, the very sight of which would appal a dawk bearer, is transmitted to the judge, who appoints a day, according to his expected leisure or the usual period of the sessions, for trial the third. Repetition, reiteration, to a greater degree if possible than before, protracts the trial, till a month or more from the time of the occurrence have elapsed, and the witnesses are beginning to forget all that they ever knew. At length however the day of decision approaches. A grim and bearded gentleman* of oriental extraction is requested to declare what the sentiments of Abú Hunífah or the Companions of the Prophet would have been upon the case under investigation. As these venerable authorities flourished about the time of King Pepin and the thousand and one nights, it may be easily supposed that their ideas of justice are not such as an educated gentleman of the nineteenth century can always concur in. If therefore the judge is unable conscientiously to endorse the *futwa* thus delivered, he is to forward the case to the Nizamut Adalut for trial the fourth. And here, at last, and in the absence of any higher tribunal or possibility of further reference, the case is finally disposed of, generally to the great joy of every one concerned, and of no one more than the party accused.

In the way of effectually separating the executive and judicial functions—an arrangement in itself so obviously desirable—we

* For the information of our English readers, we would mention that this functionary is the *Maulavi* or expounder of Mahommedan law, and that the respect which our Government entertains for the "Great Mogul," is the cause of our retaining at the present day an office so open to animadversion and ridicule. To this sage are referred "all points of law which may arise," and the judge must "regulate his proceedings accordingly."

must candidly confess that there are practical difficulties of a very formidable character. The peculiarities of the country and its climate tend to militate against it. The most active European military officer at the head of the Police in Lower Bengal, from the want of roads, could never move about quickly, save only in the cold weather. Were he to attempt to do so in the hot weather or rains, the heat and the damp would soon prostrate all physical energy, and render life itself not worth a month's purchase. A large mitigation, however, of the evil complained of, might soon be found in the addition of still more Assistants and Deputy Magistrates in charge of sub-divisions, with less judicial powers than they have now. And this at least we hope will be gradually effected. Already the separation of the Magisterial and the Judicial functions does actually take place, when a Magistrate prepares cases for the Sessions.

The institution of Criminal Sessions and gaol deliveries is of such ancient origin and mediæval character that in the eyes of Englishmen it must of course be regarded as sacred and inviolable in the highest degree. It is however difficult to satisfy the unenlightened natives of India of the propriety of punishing the most heinous crimes only so many times a year. To the tyro not yet well versed in the art of baffling justice, a few weeks' association with more accomplished felons, and the opportunity of completing his education in gaol, are advantages that are not to be made light of; but to the innocent they bring only contamination and disgrace.

Suppose now that in every district there were an officer—call him Inspector, Prefect, or Superintendent of Police, it matters little which—whose sole duty was to trace and detect crime, to gather information and evidence from all available quarters, and generally to direct and control the thanah and village police. Let it be his business to superintend the summary inquiries which the laws assign to the local police, conducting personally such as may seem to require the closest research, and to send up cases for immediate trial to the appropriate officer; that is, the most serious charges would go, as at present, to the judge, the next in degree to the officer with magisterial powers, within whose sub-division they may have arisen, and the most trivial to the Sudder Amins or Assistants. Thus would the chance of detection be much increased, the evils of divided responsibility avoided, and the more willing co-operation of the public secured.

The innovation here suggested need involve little or no pecuniary outlay. In many districts the time of the Magistrate is almost entirely and per force occupied with his police and minis-

terial duties. If his responsibility were limited to the due performance of the business which he can thus himself accomplish, most of the benefits contemplated would be at once and at no expense secured. But in many cases we think that military officers might be most advantageously appointed district superintendents of police. The active duties required of them would be at least as well suited to their habits and mode of life as to those of civilians; they would be furnished with useful occupation for mind and body, a sad want sometimes with military men; and, with a small addition to their monthly emoluments, they would render good service to the community; such is the system already in force in Calcutta, and we should much rejoice to see it extended into the provinces.

The reform that comes next on the list can hardly be considered of inferior importance to the one already advocated. However incredible the assertion may seem, it is no less true that, for serious crimes, punishment, in the true sense of the word, is in India unknown. We need not enlarge much on this branch of our subject, as it has been fully and conclusively treated in a former number,* to which and to the admirable report of the Committee on Prison Discipline we would refer the reader. There he will learn that the diet and comforts of the gaol are far superior to those that are enjoyed by the honest portion of the community, that the labour enforced is so slight and inefficient as not to be worthy of the name, and more expensive to the state than hired labour; that in short the present system is more favourable to the physical, and fatal to the moral condition of those affected by it, than any that has yet been devised. The only persons to whom imprisonment is really a punishment are those who are disgraced by it, that is, those who have some sense of honour and shame, and on whom therefore we should wish the penalty to fall most lightly. For the really hardened the gaol has no terrors.† Its only effect upon such subjects is to confirm them in crime. It may not be generally known that in this country persons who appear to be notorious or incorrigible offenders, are, if unable to furnish security for good conduct, liable, without proof of any specific crime, to imprisonment with labour. It has been found necessary to

* Calcutta Review, No. XII. Art. "Prison Discipline."

† Were proof of this required, we need only consider the small number of convicts that escape annually, notwithstanding the facilities and inducements offered by the system of labour on the roads. We have known instances of gangs of working prisoners having been left to their own resources by their guards, who are frequently little better than themselves, and of their quietly returning home at the usual time and reporting their custodians for dereliction of duty.

declare, on high authority, for the guidance of criminal authorities, that the fact of a man's having been an inmate of a gaol is not of itself sufficient evidence that he is of this irreclaimable character. The existence of any doubt or question on the subject speaks volumes as to the state of prison discipline in India.

The reforms needed are few, simple and economical. *Bonâ fide* labour inside the gaol at trades or on tread-wheels, a better classification and further separation of prisoners, and the establishment of Central Penitentiaries and an Inspector General of prisons.

The constant and convenient objection on the score of expense cannot be urged in the face of the evidence and the inferences furnished by the report above alluded to. It is moreover self-evident that in proportion as the intensity of punishment is increased, its duration and consequent cost may properly be diminished. Nor do we fear the force of another of the "noodle's arguments," as Sidney Smith termed them, the charge of "hankering after novelty;" for, in the matter under consideration, we are constantly preceded and outstripped by all other civilized states. In Europe and America crime is daily becoming more and more an object of careful and systematic attention, to a degree which some consider excessive and over-refined. In British India only, where it appears in its most hideous forms, it is allowed to stalk almost unmolested and unchecked..

No offence is of such common occurrence in this country as perjury, and none is so certain of meeting with impunity. Deceit is ever the refuge of the weak. Centuries of degradation and oppression have widely diffused through native society the habit of lying, which, like a noxious weed, chokes the growth of all wholesome improvement, and, scattering its germs far and wide, springs luxuriantly from every crevice. To eradicate this vice, the slow cumbrous machinery of the Sessions Court, with its seven years' penalty, is as inapplicable as a steam engine is to the cutting of cabbages. It is regarded by the mass of the community as a very venial offence at worst, and the law which ranks it with those of a high degree of atrocity carries with it no sympathy, and is therefore unpopular and inoperative. To be convinced of this we have only to look at the number of committals made during any one year. We may take the number of criminal cases decided during the year 1846 as 50,000, and we believe we might fairly assume that on an aver-

age false evidence is given about once in every case; but, as this assumption may appear to some to be excessive, let us say that perjury is committed only once in ten or twenty cases. After making every possible allowance, a person at all acquainted with the ways and habits of native witnesses would probably conclude that one or two thousand cases of perjury at least must have been committed for trial during the year. The exact number was ninety-one! In many districts not a single case is reported, and on an average only two or three occurred in each district during the entire year.

These are curious and instructive facts. Compared with the records of the Courts in England, they prove, either that our present law is a mockery, or that the natives of Bengal rank far higher in point of morality and truthfulness than their European fellow-subjects. Which of these is the true inference each must decide for himself.

A summary punishment inflicted by the Court most capable of determining the question of guilt, that is the Court in which the offence is committed, and proportioned to the *malus animus* exhibited, would do much, we believe, towards removing the greatest stumbling-block in the way of improvement. Let the temple of justice be in future consecrated also to truth. Let the man who dares to profane it by wilful falsehood, whether he be suitor, witness, or advocate, learn that there is at least one place where sure and speedy ignominy is prepared for the liar. We hear it objected that, under the system proposed, the penalty, though of trivial amount, would too often be hastily and angrily inflicted. We doubt it. We believe that that degree of indignation would not then be felt which at present cannot but stir the breast of every honest man who sees palpable and notorious falsehood constantly attended by impunity in the place where, of all others, truth should have sole dominion. Upon youthful vehemence or over-zeal some such check as the following might easily be imposed. The officer whose proceedings were obstructed by perjury might be required to refrain from adjudging the summary penalty until the case then under investigation had been disposed of, or until he had drawn up with his own hand, and in an English Report, a statement of the evidence which led him to consider the crime of judicial falsehood proved, and his reasons for inflicting the particular amount of punishment decreed. This statement, if further check were found necessary, might be submitted for the confirmation and approval of a superior officer. In cases of

such malignity or atrocity as to demand a punishment beyond the general powers of the Court to inflict, we would reserve the power of committing to the Sessions as at present.

Until recently, the constant change of functionaries from one district or appointment to another, might have been enumerated among the chief causes which proved detrimental to the public service. And the once not unfounded cry of injuriousness from this source, having been effectually raised, it is apt, as in all similar cases, to continue to be reiterated, without inquiry or consideration. From the information before us we have reason to believe, that this long standing evil has been subjected to a remedial process, as far as the hostile nature of the climate, and the inevitable changes in the service which it entails, can well admit. So far from men being unnecessarily moved now, whatever may have been the case in former days, the fact is that they are sometimes kept in one and the same place, even longer than some zealous Reformers would suggest. A few examples may suffice to set this point at rest. The Magistrate of Baraset has been continuously at his post nine years; of Rungpore, six; of Backergunge, six; of Tipperah, five; of Maldah, five; of Bograh, four. The Magistrate of Midnapore had been three years at his post when he went home on furlough; and so had the Magistrate of Nuddea. The Magistrate of Rajshahi has just been confirmed at his station, after having been there nearly three years. Other illustrative cases might be adduced, if necessary; but these as specimens may suffice. When a Magistrate throws up his situation and takes his furlough, as has been the case of late; or when he is disabled from sickness, there is of course nothing for it but a change; but even then the place may in all probability be filled up by the Junior Magistrate, who has been on the spot some time, and gained a knowledge of the district. And really in the case of an actually incompetent man, it might be the cause of most serious injury to the whole Zillah, were he permitted to remain too long at his post.

The possibility and expediency of incorporating the village and the thanah police into one body, subject to a centralized system of controul, has been much debated, and we need not now occupy space with figures and details which are to be found at great length elsewhere.* The scheme proceeds upon the assumption that a police commutation tax amounting to (net) sixty lakhs of rupees a year could be imposed upon the village

* Minute by Mr. Halliday, attached to the Report of the Committee upon the state of the Mofussil Police, 1837.

communities of Bengal, in lieu of the obligation they are now under of supporting a Chowkidar for every hundred, and sometimes fifty, houses. That such a poll-tax would in this country be popular or practicable has been doubted by many experienced persons, and the only proper way to decide a question of considerable, though, perhaps overrated importance, upon which diverse opinions are entertained, would be to make the experiment so confidently proposed by Mr. Halliday upon some one district selected for the purpose. If there were found "not a 'Zemindar that would not gladly come forward for a regular 'monthly payment to a responsible public officer," the means of improving the efficiency of the police would be at our disposal; but till some such trial be made, we must consider the project as of somewhat doubtful feasibility.

Within the last three years, as our readers are aware, the pay of police Darogahs has been considerably increased. Many are sceptical as to the good results anticipated from this change, but the Superintendent of Police, who must be allowed to be a good authority, avers that already "a superior class of men 'have commenced coming forward as candidates for the situa-'tions." The fruits of a reform of this kind must necessarily be of slow growth, but that in time such fruits will be manifest cannot reasonably be doubted. The temptation to be corrupt is not so strong, so irresistible, as it formerly was, while the penalty to be incurred is proportionately more severe. But the innovation is of that fitful and incomplete character by which so many attempts at Indian reform are distinguished. The Darogah has found his pay raised from Rs. 25 a month to Rs. 100, 75 or 50 according to circumstances, while his deputies the Mohurrir and Jemadar, whose expenses, responsibilities and powers are scarcely if at all inferior, and who are the more sorely tempted in proportion to the affluence of their fellow labourer, are desired—it would be almost absurd to say expected—to be honest on Rs. 7 a month. And not only does this discrepancy stimulate the subordinate officers to increased extortions, but it prevents respectable persons from accepting the inferior appointments as steps to the superior, and thus compels Magistrates to select for vacant Darogahships either the corrupt or the inexperienced.

The next reform in our brief catalogue is that which the system of Appeals calls for. Government, we believe, has for some time past been considering the subject, and, as it has gone the length of collecting opinions and suggestions from

various quarters, we have too much reason to fear that nothing further will be done. The whole question will doubtless be thoroughly analyzed and elucidated, and when, like Swift's cucumber, it has been exquisitely dressed, picked and garnished, it will, judging from past analogy, be thrown away.

Few deny the propriety of making a distinction between appeals on points of law and of fact. The Court of first instance, if it be at all qualified for judicial investigation, must, in the majority of cases, be more competent to decide the latter point than the Appellate functionary, who never sees the parties or witnesses, who is precluded from asking a question or solving a doubt. If any circumstances can be conceived which make it desirable for the discovery of truth to employ the arts of close personal observation and interrogation, those circumstances exist in their full force and extent in India. We need scarcely inform our readers of the wonderful capacity of the Bengalí witness for committing to memory the story which he is paid to repeat, or of the calm complacency and ingenious minuteness with which he will recount events of which he is profoundly ignorant, or which have really never occurred. Few things are more amazing than to hear half a dozen witnesses relate in succession how A. seized B. by the hair, while C. took hold of his left ear, and D. and E. tied his arms with a rope supplied by F.; how G. then struck five blows with a bamboo, and H. gave three slaps and a push; and so on through the whole alphabet without a particle of difference or a moment's hesitation. To resolve the nebulous matter of such evidence into the nucleus of truth that lies hid in it, is possible only by means of the most crafty cross-examination, and of what Bentham would call "personal altercation;" and these resources are denied to the appellate authority. We think then that no decision as to a fact should be liable to reversal, as it is at present by a single, and, so to speak, irresponsible officer; but that, if such reversal should in any case appear imperatively demanded by justice, the concurrence of at least two "grave and reverend signors" should be required. Averse as we are to sudden and frequent changes in judicial procedure, we would allow the right of appeal on questions of law to remain as it now stands.

True it is that it is hazardous to entrust to young and inexperienced officers the important and responsible functions which they are now allowed to exercise, unless they are subjected to pretty strict control by their superiors; but the obvious safe-

guard against this danger, if such it is proved by experience to be, is to procure the services of men of greater discretion and practical ability.* As this step however would involve an increase of allowances, it is not of course to be thought of. To raise the salaries of all the Magistrates in lower Bengal by one-third, and to secure to the bench a proportional augmentation of wisdom and experience, would not cost quite as much as two Puisne Justices or three ministerial officers of the Supreme Court.

The last reform to which we shall at present allude, has only an indirect, but at the same time most vital relation to our subject. The necessity of bestowing an *enlightened* education on the sons of the Zemindars, or large landed proprietors, might well have been noted as an indispensable preliminary step to all thorough rule or reform whatsoever. All, in any way conversant with Mofussil affairs, know full well that the Darogahs are in the constant habit of taking bribes. But who are the persons that force them to receive money, and threaten them with actions, if they dare to do their duty? Who, generally speaking, but the Zemindars? Who are the persons that systematically keep up lattials or trained hands of ruffian clubmen, and set the community the demoralizing example of utter lawlessness? Who, in general, but the Zemindars? Whatever permanent or extensive good we, *as a government*, can achieve in this country, must very much depend on our imparting *true, practical, influential* knowledge to natives of rank and influence, who will variously impart the good gained to their dependants, in their turn. And until we can teach them that it is *wrong* as well as despicable, to fight *in* and *out* of court, with all indiscriminately who happen in any way to thwart their inclinations and humours—that it is wrong as well as despicable, at one time to *bully*, and at another to bribe the police, the hired servants of the state in the maintenance of peace and order—we shall not be able to accomplish many of the laudable ends at which every generous philanthropist ought ever to aim. The good we can effect must necessarily be small. On this account it is that we have heard grave, sensible and experienced men seriously recommend the propriety of *compelling*

* One advantage in having very youthful magistrates is, we are often told, the greater activity and zeal by which they are actuated. We fear it is partly true that a service where promotion by seniority, and ill-defined responsibility, prevail, is sooner or later fatal to all healthy ambition; and that the energy which should be the result of the system is only met with in combination with the high spirits and love of novelty and power characteristic of youth.

all Zemindars to send their sons to some approved School or College, where they might be initiated, when the mind was pliant, into genuine European maxims of fair and honorable dealing.

We have now passed in rapid review the principal points in the existing system of criminal justice which appear to need attention and reform. We have not very rigidly observed the lines of demarcation which separate the departments of Law, Procedure, Police, and Prison Discipline from each other. It was not our object to do so. We have endeavoured rather to notice the various subjects in the order of their importance, and as they naturally arose one out of another. We shall probably be told, (another "noodle's objection" by the way,) that this is "not the time for reform; that there are neither means nor leisure for introducing innovations while, (to use the hacknied phrase) "the political horizon is overcast" and war is impending in the North West. Of the changes which we have suggested, but few would require increased outlay, and those to the extent of only about a couple of lakhs, or a four hundredth part of the revenue. To shew that in the end would result profit, even of a pecuniary kind, would not, we think, be a difficult task. "If we only behold," says one of the earliest and ablest of the Company's advocates, "the actions of the husbandman in the seed-time, when he casteth away much good corn into the ground, we shall account him rather a madman than a husbandman. But when we consider his labours in the harvest, which is the end of his endeavours, we shall find the worth and plenteous increase of his actions."* Under this quaint simile is concealed an amount of solid wisdom by no means unworthy of the attention of our rulers, but to which we fear they are too frequently blind. The bare allusion to the investment of public money on an extended scale in any scheme of peaceful utility throws Leadenhall Street and Cannon row into a paroxysm of alarm. The policy of our Government often reminds us of that of the sage Wilhelmus Kieft, who "was so intent upon guarding the national pocket that he suffered the enemy to break its head: in other words, whatever precaution for public safety he adopted, he was so intent upon rendering it cheap, that he invariably rendered it ineffectual; * * * perceiving only the amount of immediate expense, without being able to look farther

* "Defence of the East India Trade," by Mr. Thomas Mun. 1609.

'and regard it in connection with the ultimate object to be 'effected."*

We must allow however that there are obstacles in our way which are not to be removed by mere ridicule. The Government of India lives from hand to mouth, and is ever in difficulties. Many are the natural and necessary defects of our peculiar system of rule, but many others are only incidental, generated in by-gone days, and fostered still by superstition or "chill penury." To enter upon the subject of Indian taxation forms no part of our present design. We will merely remark that, as at present constituted, the system is deficient in one important point; it furnishes the Government with no stimulus to improvement. In most other countries, any amelioration of the physical and social condition of the people is followed by an increase of wealth and expenditure, and consequently of the public revenue. The strongest possible impulse in the right direction is thus provided. In this country the chief sources of revenue are such that the Government partakes not directly and immediately of the benefits it confers. Nay, in many cases improvement can only be effected by sacrifice and self-denial, measures which are regarded with favour in few courts or council-chambers. This financial peculiarity, and the absence of the stimulus of public opinion, account in some measure for the current of reform in India being slow even to stagnation. If, according to the theory of a modern philosopher, civilization implies, as its chief characteristic, *progress*, it must be admitted that we are as yet not too far removed from barbarism.

Every new Governor-General, on his arrival, or even long before it, is trumpetted and set forth as the man of peace, the hero who is not only to protect us against foreign enemies but is to wage war against crime, ignorance and brutishness, and to rescue millions from a state of appalling moral and physical, degradation. The new reign commences full of hope and promise; but ere long some just and necessary war which it was impossible to have foreseen or averted, absorbs attention, and from that moment every thing else is forgotten. New acquisitions in distant and desert countries, the triumphant progress of the British bayonet, rivers choked with human bodies, men mown down and tossed about like grass in a hay-field,—these form the theme of minutes and despatches; victory and vengeance become the sole objects of desire. We would

* History of New York.

not be understood as regarding the bare idea of bloodshed with that sickly horror which is felt or expressed by certain sects and societies of the present day. Such emotions, while man is prone to error and injustice, are quite out of place, and tend but to foster the evils deprecated. But, looking upon war with its train of miseries as not unfrequently the less of two evils, we still protest against its ever being contemplated except as the means of securing the blessings of peace. Where any other object is in view, the slaughter inflicted is wanton and unjustifiable—murder on a large scale. Of what avail is it that the insult of centuries is avenged, that the honour of the British flag is untarnished, that another bright jewel is added to the crown, or another coloured spot to the map of India, if the millions for whose happiness we are responsible are weighed down with as much misery and vice as ever? They are doubtless a patient people, long suffering and of much endurance. Our rule and the gain it brings us are in little danger, comparatively, from internal discontent in Bengal Proper. This is the selfish consideration which we fear has too often actuated the Rulers of India. Where social improvement can be effected without the sacrifice of power, patronage or profit, it is not withheld; where the existence of that power or profit appears to be endangered, no expenditure is deemed excessive, no difficulties are succumbed to, no efforts spared.

To trace out and foreshadow the probable fruits of this principle of selfishness would lead us far from our design. Let us hope that our present ruler will regard the claims of the *people* of India upon his time and attention as the first and most paramount, and one not to be satisfied by vague unmeaning professions, or a passing allusion in an after dinner speech. Let him remember that interest and duty point to the same path. "In this day of trial," to quote an able contemporary, "when 'institutions and states are sifted and searched to their dregs, 'and when it becomes a matter of life and death that a Go-'vernment shall be able to justify itself to its people, and stand 'with a clear conscience before the world, abuses become daily 'more fatal and their cure more indispensable."

ART. IV.—1. *A Dictionary in Sanskrit and English, designed for the use of private students and of Indian colleges and schools. By the late Rev. W. Yates, D. D., Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press,* 1846, *pages* 928.

2. *A Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, etc. By Rev. W. Yates, D. D., Second edition, Ibidem,* 1845, *pages* 494.

THREE years have elapsed, since the lamented author of these two works, having left the shores of India in search of renovated health, was overtaken by death on the Red Sea, to whose keeping his mortal remains were committed until that day when the sea shall give up her dead. Born of humble parentage in December 1792 at Loughborough, the birth-place of John Howe, he was originally brought up for the same trade which Dr. Carey once followed; but his judicious father (who survived him about three years) perceiving that the talents and inclinations of his son pointed to a different sphere of labour, wisely encouraged him to take advantage of all the opportunities which Providence might grant for acquiring information. At the early age of fourteen his mind underwent that change which bears the stamp of divine origin; and from that period his progress in the pursuit of knowledge was both continuous and rapid. After struggling with various difficulties, he was at length enabled, chiefly through the interposition of the great Robert Hall, to enter the Baptist College at Bristol, in October 1812, a few weeks before he had concluded the twentieth year of his age.

His predilection for the study of languages, which throughout life formed one of the leading features of his intellectual character, now developed itself more fully than before. In proof of this it may be mentioned, that he composed an elaborate Grammar of the Greek language, including a treatise on prosody. This work he must have carried on in secret, for even his biographer, Dr. Hoby, who was his fellow-student and intimate friend, appears not to have been aware of it; and but for the discovery of the manuscript after the author's death, its existence would probably have remained unknown. As a literary production the value of that grammar may not be great; but that a student of divinity should, at the age of twenty-one, compose such a work, without giving the least intimation of it to any of his friends, is a proof of perseverance and modesty such as we believe are rarely exhibited under similar circumstances. It appears, from a letter to his father, that he had previously "spent all his spare time in

writing a Greek vocabulary, because as there had not been one published yet, that he liked, he determined, if he could, to make one to his own mind." It was in the same pains-taking way that he applied himself to the study of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic.

Whilst at Bristol he was led to form the resolution of becoming a Missionary. Having previously experienced great kindness from Robert Hall, he now wrote to him for advice, and received in reply a letter full of encouragement, and marked by an almost prophetic anticipation of his future career in India. It is singular that the youthful student should at first have thought of Abyssinia as the scene of his labours. "No sooner was this opinion formed," says his biographer, "than the library was searched for the Amharic scriptures and grammars, and closer attention given to the study of Arabic." But the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, to which he naturally offered his services, directed his attention to Bengal, the only country where up to that time it had been endeavouring to plant the standard of the cross.

He left Bristol College in the spring of 1814, and after an interval of three months, the greater part of which he spent at Olney, where he was engaged in pastoral duties, he was publicly set apart for missionary labour at Leicester, on the 31st of August. Robert Hall offered up the ordination prayer, and it is certainly very remarkable to find Dr. Yates twenty-five years afterwards referring to that prayer in the following language:—

"I shall hereafter see whether the impression so strongly produced in my mind by the prayer offered up by the Rev. Robert Hall at my designation will be realized or not. His prayer led me and others to feel that I should be removed in the midst of my usefulness as a translator of the Word of God. There was something very like the spirit of Prophecy, both in the manner in which it was uttered, and in the effect which it produced."

In those days it was necessary for Missionaries proceeding to India to obtain a special permission from the powers that be. With regard to Mr. Yates, his biographer says—

"True to their oft-avowed principles of hostility to the religion and kingdom of Christ, the Court of Directors peremptorily refused permission for him to go out, although his passage was to be made in a private ship. This refusal was repeated, on a second and more urgent but respectful appeal. There remained, therefore, no alternative, but to take the case to the higher court, and at once ascertain whether in the spirit of the new act, which came in force only on April 10th of this year, (1814) the Board of Controul would really overrule, in this matter, the Court of Directors. On application to H. M. Government, permission was immediate-

ly granted,* thus marking the departure of Mr. Yates with one additional peculiarity, inasmuch as it was in reference to him that the disposition of government was tested."

Having overcome this difficulty, Mr. Yates embarked on board the *Earl Moira*, the commander of which, Captain Kemp, gave him a free passage. Near the Sandheads a terrific storm threatened to destroy the ship, but finally Mr. Yates landed in India on the 15th of April 1815. When his arrival was reported, he was once more made to feel the hostility of the Indian Government of that day. He was summoned before the authorities, and had to find sureties for his appearance, in case the Government should determine to send him out of the country. What a mighty change has taken place since that time!

It is not our object to give a detailed account of the career upon which Mr. Yates now entered. The first two years of his Indian life were spent at Serampore; the remaining twenty-eight at Calcutta, with the exception of two (1827 and 1828) during which he was absent, having been compelled by the failure of his health to re-visit England. Nearly thirty years of his life he devoted to the promotion of the spiritual welfare of India. He was a preacher to the natives, an instructor of youth, the pastor of an English church, and the author of a number of school-books in the native languages. Upon each of these departments of labour he brought to bear an unwearied diligence, an uncommonly correct practical judgment, and an unflinching firmness of purpose. His pulpit ministrations especially were highly valued by his hearers. Although his delivery was not pleasant and his style not adorned by any other beauties than those of correctness and simplicity, yet the depth and richness of his thoughts, and the lucidity of their arrangement, imparted to his discourses a charm which was greatly enhanced by the prominence invariably given to the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, which are the words of eternal life. His private character was strongly marked by the essential adjuncts of greatness, humility, simplicity, and benevolence. Persons who saw him for the first time, usually experienced a feeling of disappointment, produced by the extraordinary simplicity of his appearance and deportment. Unlike many other scholars, he possessed great practical wisdom. His advice, whether on private affairs or on more public measures, was always given in a few words,—plain but precise; and however contrary it might be to the wishes or expectations of those

* A fee of ten guineas, however, had to be paid.

who had solicited it, the event almost invariably confirmed its soundness.

That we have not allowed the partialities of friendship to lead us to form an exaggerated estimate of the character and attainments of Dr. Yates, will at once appear from a single document, which we are happy to have it in our power to insert in this place. The Missionary conference of Calcutta consists of ministers of the Church of England, the Established and the Free Churches of Scotland, the Baptist and the Independent Denominations. At the request of the members of this respectable body, who from multiplied personal experience had the best acquaintance with the departed, the following paper was prepared by the Rev Dr. Duff, and *unanimously* adopted by the conference as embodying a faithful expression of their feelings :—

"The Members of this conference have received with much sorrow the intelligence of the death of their oldest member, the Rev. W. Yates, D. D. Their esteemed father and friend having been called from his post of duty, in the midst of most important and useful labours, they desire unitedly to record their sense of the heavy loss thus sustained by the Missionary body in Calcutta, and by the cause of Christ in India. But they would at the same time desire to humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, and submit to this dispensation of his holy will, with thanksgiving and praise to the Father of Spirits, for all the grace given to his departed servant through the trying vicissitudes of life, and for the good hope of eternal glory through the alone merits of his Saviour which animated his last hours.

In order the better to realize the nature and extent of their loss, the members of the conference desire to record their united testimony to the rare worth of their departed friend and brother, viewed in his individual, social and professional character.

His individual character was sufficiently marked by many admirable qualities. He was a man of naturally masculine understanding; but it was an understanding little liable to be warped by partizanship or misled by prejudice. He was a man of acute discernment; but it was acuteness which never degenerated into illiberality or acrimony. He was a man of great and extensive learning; but it was learning without parade, singularity, or pedantry. He was a man of genuine philanthropy; but it was philanthropy without ostentation or vanity. He was a man of devout and fervent piety; but it was piety removed alike from the formalities of superstition and the rigors of asceticism.

His social character was distinguished by many estimable and attractive features. To his family he was endeared by his truly amiable tenderness, alike in the conjugal and parental relationship; to his immediate friends, by the gentleness of his temper, the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the suavity of his manners; and to the numerous circle of his general acquaintance, by his extreme readiness to oblige, the judiciousness of his counsels, the strictness of his integrity, and the sincerity and steadiness of his attachments. He could praise and he could reprove too, as occasion called for it; but his praise was without exaggeration and his reproof without asperity. His charity never allowed him to think the worst of any, but the best

of all. Deeply conscious of his own short-comings, he would not magnify the infirmities of others, but pity and pray over them; deeply sensible of his own obligation to the undeserved mercies of God, he would not envy the excellencies of others, but see in them fresh tokens of a Father's love Towards Christians of other denominations he was tolerant without latitudinarianism, and faithful and just without bigotry. He could discern and rejoice in an inward and substantial unity, amid much outward and circumstantial multiformity. His constant endeavour was practically to prove that, "in things necessary, there should be unity; in things not necessary, liberty; and in all things, charity."

His professional character had its own peculiar excellencies As a trainer of youth, a preacher to the heathen, and the pastor of a flock, he showed forth his works of faith and labours of love, with such meekness, patience, and forbearance that he never appeared as a lordly superior, but rather as a servant or helper, ministering comfort and edification to all around. But the sphere of usefulness which, from the first, he specially cultivated, and which, of late years, absorbed nearly the whole of his strength and energy, was that of Bible translation, In this department of Missionary labours, the mantle of the venerable Carey had worthily fallen on him In his varied attainments and achievements therein, he latterly stood alone; and his lamented decease has left a blank in it, which cannot be immediately supplied. In this, his own favorite and chosen vocation, his devotedness was intense and entire. In reference to it, he seemed to adopt and live out the saying, that he "must never think to put off his armour, till he was ready for others to put on his shroud." The unreserved consecration of his time, his talents, his learning, and all, to the furtherance of this noble branch of Evangelistic labour in the land of his adoption, he has himself unconsciously but finely embodied in words familiar, but immortal,—when, on hearing the decision of his medical attendants as to the necessity of a temporary removal to his native shores, he remarked, with faltering voice and tearful eyes, "they have condemned me to go home." That earthly home he was never destined to reach. Before he had advanced half way towards it, his heavenly Father was pleased to call him to another and better. All that was perishable of Dr. William Yates was consigned to the bosom of that "Red Sea," the wonders of which, on the ever memorable night of Israel's deliverance, he had so often helped to transfuse into the languages of myriads in these eastern climes; but his imperishable soul, sanctified and redeemed through the blood of the covenant, winged its flight to the promised land, the heavenly Canaan—there to mingle with the adoring throng that cease not day nor night to "sing a new song, the song of Moses and the Lamb." From that blissful realm, with its glorious society and rivers of pleasures, we would not recall him, if we could. Rather, regarding our loss as his incalculable gain, would we in the exercise of heroic faith, desire, in tranquil resignation to exclaim, "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord." Rather regarding his example as a bright pattern for us to copy, in so far as it was in imitation of Christ, would we pray to be endowed with similar grace "to fight the good fight," that, having run our race and finished our course on earth, we too may be privileged to die the death of the righteous, and our latter end may be like his

In conclusion, the conference beg to express their sincere sympathy with their Baptist brethren, who have had so excellent and amiable a member of their circle removed from them by the present afflictive dispensation They desire also sincerely to condole with the bereaved widow and surviving

children May he who is the Father of the fatherless, and Husband of the widow, be their stay and support, their sun and their shield in this life, and in the life to come their sure and everlasting portion."

It would be interesting in itself, and not altogether unsuitable to the pages of this Review, to pourtray more in detail the entire character of a man to whom India owes so much, but the limits assigned to this article forbid our attempting the task, and permit us only to take a survey of his labour in the field of Indian philology. He possessed a strong predilection for the study of languages, which must be regarded as one of the leading features of his intellectual nature; and the facility with which he mastered languages was proportionate to that predilection. He learnt Latin in his boyhood, principally through his own unaided efforts. About the same time he studied Greek, and shortly afterwards Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic. The kindness of a friend enabled him, whilst at college, to acquire the rudiments of French. There his attention was also directed to Amharic, but we do not believe that he prosecuted the study of that language long. On his arrival in India he applied himself to the study of the Bengali and Sanskrit languages, to which a few years later the Hindi, Urdu, and Persian were added. During the voyage back from his visit to England in 1828 he commenced the study of Chinese, simply for the purpose of encouraging a young lady, a fellow-passenger, who was proceeding to China with a view to missionary work.

The linguist may be viewed as a distinct genus of the human family; and that genus again comprises several species. Some linguists direct their attention principally to the structure of the language which they study. Their object may be called the anatomy of language. The inflection of nouns, pronouns and verbs; the rules of syntax; and the distribution of all the words among the different roots from which they are derived, afford to them a never failing source of interest. To such men the grammar and the dictionary are the principal study. They may travel over the whole field of literature which is occupied by any given language, but their one constant endeavour is, to collect from it, as they pass along, specimens to enrich the museum of their grammars and dictionaries. Such men, who may be called philologists by profession, are very useful in their way, by gathering together all the materials which other men, of more comprehensive minds, may turn to advantage for the purposes of antiquarian and historical or other scientific investigation.

The second species of linguists may be denominated that of readers. Their object is to read as many books as they can lay

hold of, no matter on what subject they treat. As they proceed in their reading, they endeavour to understand their authors, but still the reading itself is their principal aim. The complexion of their minds appears to be much the same as that of an English traveller (a specimen of a numerous class) whom we remember meeting at Venice. He considered it as his regular work to see a certain number of curiosities every day, simply that he might say that he had seen them. He would talk of "having gone through a great amount of work," because he had "done" St. Mark, the Ducal Palace, the Arsenal, &c. in a brief space of time. The reading linguist, however, is not a useless person. It is he alone that can give an account of the whole literature of a nation, and if he possess an ordinary share of judgment and of taste, he will be able to point out the works most deserving of notice, and most likely to prove to others a rich mine of valuable information.

The third species of linguists is that of writers. These make it a point so to acquire a language that they may be able to write it with correctness, facility, and elegance, either in prose or in verse. The languages studied by them are for the most part dead languages. After the revival of literature, the art of writing Latin was so highly prized, that numbers of scholars applied themselves to it with an ardour, and in many instances with a success, almost incredible. Bembo and Muretus wrote Latin with a facility and elegance which as far as we can judge, equalled that of Cicero or Cæsar. The Scottish historian, Buchanan, took a higher aim; language was not his principal object; but he must have devoted to it an immense amount of industry: witness his Latin translations of the Psalms, a work which will not suffer by a comparison with the finest odes of Horace. In more modern times Hemsterhuys and Ruhnken have been celebrated for their classical Latin, not to mention the countless host of men who have written Latin with the facility, though not with the elegance, of a Roman. In the present day diplomatists study the French, and merchants the Italian and other modern languages, principally for the purpose of acquiring the facility of writing them.

The fourth species of linguists is that of speakers. The object they seek to attain, is to be able to speak foreign languages. Their success depends in a great measure upon favourable circumstances. They must move in the society of persons belonging to the nation whose tongue they seek to acquire. They must also possess a nice ear, and very flexible organs of speech, to enable them both to seize and to imitate peculiar sounds. If these speaking linguists at the same time are diligent readers,

and also take pains to cultivate the art of writing, they can hardly fail to gain that most valuable advantage of really becoming masters of a foreign tongue. But if they neglect reading and composition, as many of them are apt to do, they only become talkers, never speakers; and their mastery of what they have studied, must always be confined within the ordinary limits of conversation.

Dr. Yates had not exactly a philological genius. Grammars and lexicons were to him not ends, but means. This is evident from the character of all the works of this class which he has written. His Hindústani and Bengali grammars are remarkably practical and quite free from philosophical inquiries into the structure of these languages. His Sanskrit grammar, although a more elaborate work, bears essentially the same character; and his Dictionary of that language is altogether devoid of etymological discussions. At the same time it must be confessed that he was not much of a speaker of foreign languages. We are not aware that he ever made any extensive use of his knowledge of Hindústani for the purpose of speaking in public. The only acquired language which he could speak with readiness, was the Bengali, and his pronunciation of that was harsh, whilst the expressions he employed, though quite correct, appeared stiff, because they belonged to a style far above that which is generally used in conversation.

His chief aim in the study of languages was two-fold; first, thoroughly to understand the Bible, and secondly, to become qualified for translating it into some of the languages of India, viz. Bengali, Hindi, Hindustani, and Sanskrit. So far, therefore, he may be classed among the writing linguists. But whilst principle prompted him to aim at this object, his natural inclination, had it not been checked and regulated by that noble principle, would have made of him a mere reading linguist. We are not acquainted with the extent of his reading in Latin; but we know that he read nearly all the Greek classics, that have escaped the wreck of time. In Arabic he likewise read through a very large number of volumes. Only a few years before his death we called on him one evening, when seeing a huge book noticed that lay on the table before him, he said, "I am having another tug at Arabic; I have begun reading this new edition (in 4 vols.) of the Arabian Nights." In about three months he had finished the task. In the same way he read with astonishing rapidity the whole of the Mahábhárat in Sanskrit.* These are facts for the correctness of which we can vouch; and there can be

* There can be no doubt that he read all the printed works in Sanskrit, which were procurable at Calcutta, besides many others in manuscript.

no doubt that he studied Bengali, Persian, Hindi, and Hindustani in the same manner. We believe that during the whole time of his stay in India he daily allotted a portion of his mornings to the study of the Old Testament in Hebrew, and of the New in Greek. Afterwards he would give some five hours to his translations or the preparation of his sermons, &c. and then, by way of recreation, he would spend the remainder of his time before dinner (which he took about five o'clock) in reading Sanskrit or Arabic, or any other language which he might, at the time, happen to have taken up. To his English reading he devoted the latter hours of the day.

No one who is at all acquainted with the immense amount of work that he accomplished, can fail to be astonished at it. The secret of his success lay in his economy of time. Each pursuit in which he was engaged had a daily or weekly portion of time allotted to it; and he never deviated from his scheme, unless compelled to do so either by sickness, to which he was much subject, or by some very extraordinary occurrence. Even a visit, which might deprive him of the hour assigned to one object, was not allowed to interfere with the preconcerted employment of the subsequent hours. He proceeded rapidly with every work he took in hand; and yet he never was in a hurry. In this way it may, to some extent, be explained, how he could read so much, yet steadily devote the best and the largest portion of his time to objects of greater direct importance and usefulness.

In the department of biblical translation, to which he intended that all his reading, as a linguist, should be subservient, he was permitted to accomplish a great work. He translated the whole Bible into the Bengali language; and this version, with all its imperfections, undoubtedly constitutes a noble monument to his talents, his learning, his diligence, and his piety. In preparing the first rough draft of it, free use was made, not by himself, but by the Pundit who assisted him, of that of his predecessor, Dr. Carey; but after the first draft had been prepared, Dr. Yates had it entirely re-written twice over, in order that it might become a faithful likeness of the original. The mechanical task of writing was executed by the Pundit, a man of more than ordinary intelligence and taste, whilst the translator dictated to him the renderings which were suggested to his mind as the best by a reference to the original text. Whilst the work was carried through the press, it again underwent a process of manifold revision and emendation, by being once more compared with the original, line for line and word for word, not only by himself, but also by a junior co-adjutor, whose suggestions he received with the greatest candour imaginable. He translated

the New Testament into the Hindi language, making the Bengali version the basis of this. He also published a revised Hindustani translation of the New Testament, of which Martyn's was the basis. The Psalms in Sanskrit appeared in 1839, the New Testament in 1842, about the same time with the Proverbs; next the book of Genesis with half of Exodus; and finally Isaiah in 1845, at the very time of his departure for England. Of all these works the Hindi Testament was the most imperfect; all the others possess great excellencies, not unmingled with defects. His aim was threefold: faithfulness of rendering; correctness and elegance of diction; and facility of comprehension. To a very great extent he succeeded; but it must be acknowledged that some of his renderings are comments rather than translations; and that every now and then some very startling blunder escaped his notice. This latter fact may in a great measure be accounted for by the indifferent health he enjoyed, and by the effects which an oppressive climate and powerful medicines produced on his mental faculties. It is also probable that had he translated more exclusively from the original, without leaning, so much as he did, upon the aid to be derived from previous translations in the same or in cognate languages (whether made by himself or by others) his versions would have become more accurate than they are. But with all their defects they unquestionably are remarkable productions; for the most part they express the sense of the original faithfully, briefly and plainly; and the idiomatic correctness of their diction, (excepting the Hindi) gives them a great charm; so that in the history of the Biblical literature of India, and of Bengal especially, they will always be conspicuous as the landmarks of a new era, even if they should ultimately be superseded by more perfect versions, of which at present there is little prospect.*

The Sanskrit studies, which Dr. Yates carried on without intermission during nearly thirty years, were considered by him principally as a preparation for that great work, the translation of the Bible into the Bengali language, which he looked upon as the chief object of his life. In his opinion it was impossible thoroughly to master Bengali and to become critically acquainted with it, without having previously become familiar with Sanskrit. In this judgment he was right. The Bengali language is more closely related to the Sanskrit, than the Italian is to the Latin. And if the Italian scholar, who can derive his knowledge of that language from a literature of immense

* We cannot refrain from expressing our hope that a separate article of this Review may, in due time, be devoted to Biblical translations.

extent and wonderful richness, which might be thought to render it unnecessary for him to have recourse to the fountain head, nevertheless feels that a thorough acquaintance with Latin confers upon him great advantages; how much more must the Bengali scholar,—who finds the literature of that language to be very limited, its poetry crude in the extreme, and its prose—excepting a few translations from other sources —confined to some scores of absurd stories and a meagre biography or two,—be impressed with the importance of studying the parent language which is the inexhaustible treasury from which the poor, though promising, daughter must of necessity draw all the additional stores which in process of time she will require? This importance is felt with double force by the scholar who wishes to translate the Bible, because all the religious terms he has to employ, must absolutely be taken from the Sanskrit; and although most of them may be in common use in Bengali, yet their suitableness or unsuitableness must be tested by a reference to the Sanskrit roots from which they are derived, and to the significations they bear in Sanskrit works.

At the time when Dr. Yates entered upon the study of the Sanskrit language, the task which he undertook, was much more formidable than it is at present. Dictionary there was none, for that title ought never to have been bestowed upon Colebrooke's edition of the Amara Kosha, invaluable though it be. Of grammars, only two complete ones had appeared in an English (or European) dress, viz. that of Dr. Carey and that of Dr. Wilkins,—both of them formed upon the native model, and therefore anything but calculated to afford facilities to the early student. No sooner had Dr. Yates mastered the general structure of the language, than it appeared to him practicable to simplify its grammar by casting it into the mould of the Greek and Latin grammars generally adopted in Europe. Consequently he set to work, and compiled a new grammar,—new simply in this respect that to a great extent the shackles of the native system were thrown off. The first edition appeared in 1820. Dr. Carey, far from entertaining any feelings of jealousy at an undertaking, which might have appeared to be destined to supersede his own labours, cheerfully undertook to read the sheets for the press, thereby giving another proof of the magnanimity of his character. Some Sanskrit scholars in Europe have expressed an unfavourable opinion of the first edition of Dr. Yates's grammar; and it must be granted that at the present day, compared with the productions of Bopp, Wilson, and others, a high rank cannot be assigned to it. It is, however, but just to state that the second edition, which appeared in

1845, about the time of the author's death, is a work very far superior to the first. And at the time of its appearance, even the first edition was allowed to possess considerable merit. This has been acknowledged by Professor H. H. Wilson, in a paper with which he kindly furnished his biographer.

"The first work," says Prof. Wilson, "by which Dr. Yates became known to oriental scholars, was a grammar of the Sanskrit language, published in 1820. It was compiled, as he acknowledges, from the works of his predecessors, Dr. Carey, Dr. Wilkins, Mr Colebrooke, and Mr. Foster, and from the manuscript authorities current in the Bengal school. In the plan of his work Mr. Yates deviated more widely than had previously been done from the systems of native grammarians, and sought to assimilate his grammar in some greater degree to the character of European grammars The peculiarities of Sanskrit, however, prevented him from pursuing any very wide deviation, and his work is not in any essential respects different from other similar compilations. Its chief advantages were its completeness and compactness. The grammars of Colebrooke and Foster were unfinished: that of Dr. Carey was complete, but of unwieldy and inconvenient bulk, and too closely modelled upon native forms. The grammar of Dr. Wilkins was of more convenient size, and of a luminous order, but it was a large and expensive volume, and imperfect in its syntax Mr. Yates materially improved the treatment of this subject, and added a useful section on the elaborate Prosody of Sanskrit verse. The octavo shape of his volume rendered it convenient in use, and it was obtainable at a moderate price—considerations which strongly recommended it to students of the language; and notwithstanding the competition it had to encounter from the grammars of English and continental authors, it reached to a second edition in 1845, in which very valuable additions have been made, particularly in the chapters on conjugation"*

The idea which Dr. Yates endeavoured to realize, of adapting to the Sanskrit language the method of European grammars, was excellent, but he failed to carry it out to its legitimate extent; nevertheless it enabled him to give to his work a lucidity of arrangement which the student, even at this day, will seek for in vain in other kindred works, however they may surpass his in general excellence. Bopp's grammar, although short and remarkably complete, and perhaps the best of all as far as it goes (for both syntax and prosody are excluded from it,) is a perfect labyrinth to the student who has not become familiar

* From the same source we derive also the following paragraphs:—"The publications of Mr. Yates in connexion with Sanskrit, were chiefly confined to the dissemination of facilities for acquiring the language; and the only purely literary work in which he allowed himself to engage was an edition of the text of the Nalodoya, a Sanskrit poem relating to the adventures of Nala, and remarkable for its alliterative construction. To the text he added a metrical translation, with a critical review of the system of alliteration adopted for the author, and a grammatical analysis. The Essay on the alliterative composition of the Hindus was previously published in the 20th volume of the Asiatic Researches. The original poem, although not destitute of poetical merit, is an abuse of the resources of the Sanskrit language, and perhaps scarcely deserved the labour which Mr. Yates bestowed upon it, but his translation and illustration exhibit a singular mastery of a difficult subject, unparalleled industry, and a thorough familiarity with the sacred language and literature of the Hindus."

with it by dint of long continued reference. Wilson's is even a worse labyrinth than Bopp's; nothing can be more bewildering; and yet we hesitate not to say that Wilson's grammar, as a whole, is greatly superior to that of Dr. Yates. The capital error which has led to all this confusion, is precisely the one which Dr. Yates endeavoured to avoid, viz. an undue dependence upon the native models.

Occidental Grammars are usually divided into four parts, orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody. The Sanskrit syntax, so far as it has hitherto been reduced to a system, which we believe Dr. Yates was the first to attempt, is extremely simple, and infinitely more easy than the Greek or Latin syntax. The chapter on prosody ought to form, not an integral part, but rather an appendix to a grammar. This also Dr. Yates was the first to embody in a grammar. Sanskrit orthography is difficult and will always remain so, owing to two causes; first, the compound consonants, which to the beginner appear to swell the number of letters in the alphabet to about two hundred; secondly, the rules of *sandhi*, or the changes which two letters undergo when brought together. Such rules are observed, to some extent, in all languages, and are tolerably puzzling even in some modern tongues, as e. g. in French, where they materially affect the pronunciation. But in Sanskrit they are reduced to a complete system, embracing orthography as well as the pronunciation. Thus in French the article *les* is spelt alike in *les hommes* and *les femmes*, but it is not pronounced alike in both cases. In Sanskrit the difference in the pronunciation would be marked by a corresponding difference in the spelling. This principle carried out into the minutest details makes the chapter on the rules of *sandhi* very uninviting and formidable. Now in a case like this the difficulty may be greatly increased by a bad arrangement of the rules, or greatly alleviated by a good one. And it is our decided opinion that all the essential rules of *sandhi* may be clearly stated and illustrated in eight pages of ordinary print, provided the grammarian be able to divest his mind of all the artificial methods resorted to by his predecessors, in imitation of native authorities.

Etymology, as a part of grammar, embraces two distinct departments; one, the inflection of the leading parts of speech; the other, the formation of words, either by derivation or composition. The latter department (the formation of words) is the *forte* of native grammars. In Dr. Yates's grammar, this part is the most unsatisfactory; he was here led astray by his desire to deviate from the native track.

The elucidation of the declensions and conjugations constitutes the backbone of most grammars; being almost invariably the longest, the driest, the most difficult, and the most important part of the whole. It certainly is so in Sanskrit, as a mere glance at any one grammar will show. Dr. Yates, we think, has succeeded in imparting to it a more lucid arrangement than any of his predecessors and followers; but there is a vast amount of confusion left even in his work. The chapter on the formation of the tenses of the verb is peculiarly perplexing, more so perhaps than it would have been, had he kept in the beaten path.

At the risk of being uninteresting, we must here briefly describe some of the peculiarities of the native system, especially with reference to the verbs. Native grammarians have extracted from every Sanskrit verb, the few letters which appear to form its root. Almost all these roots are monosyllables; they are all fictitious, and not a few of them are arbitrary. To illustrate the native mode of proceeding we may take an example from the Latin, say the verb *tangere*. The four leading tenses of this verb are *tango*, *tetigi*, *tactum*, *tangere*. According to the method adopted by native grammarians the root would be *tag*. To this they would append some one letter of the alphabet, say *z*, to show that it belongs to the third conjugation; next they would append the letter *i*, to indicate the change from *tag* to *tang*; then they would add an *s* to indicate the change from *tag* to *tig* in *tetigi*; and finally they would add an *a* to show that it is an active verb, and not a deponent. Thus instead of *tango*, *tetigi*, *tactum*, *tangĕre*, they would write *tag* (*z*, *i*, *s*, *a*,) or perhaps as one word, *tagzisa*. The appended letters, which are called *anubandhas*, have each their definite meaning, and if they were few in number, they might be an aid to the memory; but as there are some forty of these anubandhas, they create endless confusion, so that no two grammarians are perfectly agreed as to the meaning of some of them. We wish they had never been invented.

The division of verbs into ten conjugations is also based on a principle totally different to any adopted in Europe. It is not the difference in the inflection or formation of the different tenses that serves as a guide, but the difference in the mode of abstracting the root from the Present tense. Thus *facio*, *feci*, *factum*, *facĕre* (supposing the root to be *fac*) would not belong to the same conjugation with *tango*, because *fac* is obtained by rejecting *io*, whilst *tag* is obtained by rejecting the *n* and the *o* of *tango*.

We have purposely adopted a Latin example, in order to shew more clearly the total difference of the Sanskrit and the European systems. Who would look out, in a Latin grammar,

for the conjugation of the verbs *tag* and *fac?* Or who would suppose that they could be made to belong to two different conjugations? Yet such would be the case, if Latin grammars were written on the same plan as Sanskrit grammars.*

The roots of verbs, however, cannot be banished from the Sanskrit grammar. As in Greek we must suppose a root *lab*, if we would conjugate *lambano*, so we are compelled, by necessity, to suppose a root similarly formed in most Sanskrit verbs. But here the arbitrary character of many roots becomes very apparent. There is some difference, in Latin, in the conjugation of *dare, juvâre*, and *amâre;* but we should be surprized to find that in order to express this difference, the roots of these three verbs were assumed to be *do, juvâ*, and *amæ*, yet this is precisely what Sanskrit grammarians would have done. We say this, not with a view to propose a new system of abstracting the roots, but simply with a view to show that in arranging the Sanskrit conjugations, the native division ought decidedly and for ever to be abandoned.

The system which we are inclined to think would be the most useful, is closely connected with the nature of the various roots; and we hope we may be excused if we briefly state it:—

REGULAR CONJUGATION.

I. Of verbs, whose roots end in a consonant.
  1. The root remaining unchanged in the present tense.
    a. The radical vowel being long by nature, or position, as in *yách-ati.*
    b. The radical vowel consisting of short *a*, as in *lash-ati.*
    c. The radical vowel consisting of short, *i*, *u*, or *ri*, as in *mil-ati*, or *tud-ati.*
  2. The root being lengthened in the present tense.
    a. Without the addition of a new syllable, as in *bodhati*, or *budhyate*, root *budh.*
    b. By the addition of the syllable *ay*, as in *chorayati;* root *chur.*

II. Of verbs whose roots end in a vowel.
  1. In *ri*, long or short, as in *dharati*, root *dhri.*
  2. In *u*, long or short, as in *savati*, root *su;* or *plavate*, root *plu.*
  3. In *i*, long or short, as in *nayati*, root *ni.*
  4. In *o, e, á* and *ai*, as in *glâyati*, root *glai;* or *trâyate*, root *trai.*

This classification embraces all the verbs of the language; and consequently might be made to comprehend the irregular verbs

* We cannot help entertaining a suspicion that Sanskrit grammar was purposely made difficult by the Brahmans, in order to deter persons belonging to the inferior castes from attempting the study of it; just as the locks and keys of cash boxes are constructed on a peculiar plan, in order to baffle the ingenuity of thieves. But whilst we confess that we cherish such a suspicion concerning the grammar, we cannot for a single moment entertain the idea that the language itself was concocted by designing men. Its irregularities are too natural and too numerous for that; and after all it is a simpler language by far than the Greek.

also, the more so as their irregularities only extend to a few tenses. They should, however, be considered separately, in the following order :—

IRREGULAR CONJUGATION.

1. Verbs ending in *náti* and *níte*, as *krináti*.
2. Verbs ending in *noti* and *nute*, as *chinoti*.
3. Verbs in which *ti* and *te* are preceded by a radical vowel.
4. Verbs in which *ti* and *te* are preceded by a consonant.

This scheme gives nine regular and four irregular conjugations, instead of the four regular and six irregular conjugations now generally adopted. Consequently it appears, at first sight, to increase rather than to diminish the length of the chapter on conjugation. This, however, is a disadvantage amply compensated for by the introduction of luminous order into a dark chaos. We have no hesitation whatever in maintaining that the grammarian who shall adopt this scheme, giving full paradigms of the nine regular conjugations pointed out above, will reduce by one-half the difficulties which now appal the learner, and will succeed in making the study of the Sanskrit verb considerably more easy than that of the Greek or Latin verb.

In the declension of nouns, the expedients adopted by native grammarians have been more extensively abandoned ; but here also there is still room left for improvement. What the root is in verbs, that the *basis* or *crude* is in nouns, with this important exception that it is not generally a fictitious word. There is, however, just enough that is arbitrary in the formation of these *crudes* to have misled even European grammarians. Nothing can be more clear, for instance, than that the two nouns *swámin* and *vári* are declined alike; but as the native grammarians have, in their wisdom, chosen to make one of these crudes end in a consonant, and the other in a vowel, they are classed by all grammarians under two different declensions, a process, which, if adopted in Latin, would lead to the separation of *gravis* from *grave*. But generally speaking the *crude* or *basis* of a noun is formed in a manner which is practically useful. If a similar process were applied to the Latin language, *reg* would be the crude of *rex; milit* of *miles; nomin* of *nomen*, etc., and no one can fail to perceive at once the soundness and practical wisdom of this analysis. Whilst therefore we think that a few of these crudes, such as *vári* and *madhu*, are arbitrarily and erroneously formed, we grant that this defect proves a serious hindrance to the mere tyro only, and that as a general rule

the *crudes* ought not to be rejected. The declensions might be better arranged than they generally are, by the adoption of a scheme like the following :—

1. The principal declension. Example, *nara, phala.*
2. The consonant declension:
   - *a.* The *N* declension. Examples: *ātman, janman, swāmin, vāri, madhu.* Contracted: *rājan, nāman, asthi.*
   - *b.* The *S* declension. Examples: *chandramas, manas: āshish, chakshush.*
   - *c.* The *multiform* declension. Examples: *vāch, harit, &c.*
3. The feminine declension in *ā.* Example: *tārā.*
4. The feminine declension in long *i* or *u.* Examples: *nadi, badhu*
5. The masculine declension in short *i* or *u* Examples: *giri, guru*
6. The feminine declension in short *i* or *u.* Examples: *mati, dhenu.*
7. The *Ri* declension. Examples: *pitri, kartri.*

These seven declensions embrace all the regular nouns. And most of the irregular nouns will be found to combine, in their inflections, the peculiarities of two declensions, in a manner which can present very little additional difficulty. The declensions, if studied in this order, will become quite as easy as they are in Greek, and probably more so.

Dr. Yates's idea, then, of simplifying the Sanskrit grammar by applying to it the method usually observed in the grammars of the classical languages, was excellent; and if he was not so successful as could have been wished, his want of success must be attributed to his not having followed out his idea to its legitimate extent. No subsequent grammarian has accomplished this desirable task. They have all eschewed some particular absurdities of the native system, but not one of them has been able to extricate himself from its trammels: and THIS IS THE PRINCIPAL REASON WHY SANSKRIT APPEARS A DIFFICULT LANGUAGE. The time will come, and we hope it may come soon, when the Sanskrit grammar shall be found a much easier book to study and to master than the Greek grammar.

Sanskrit *lexicography*, in the ordinary sense of the word, is of more recent origin than Sanskrit grammar, but it has already attained to a very high degree of excellence. And here the meed of praise is pre-eminently due to Dr. Wilson, who in 1819 published the first, and in 1832 the second edition of his dictionary, a work which Sir Edward Ryan has justly characterized as :—

"A work which, while facilitating and accelerating the progress of all subsequent students, can hardly be appreciated, justly, by any who has not some experience of this gigantic species of labour.....When we consider the multifarious sources from which the compilation was to be made,

(none of which, with one brilliant exception, had been before subjected to the severe accuracy of European criticism)—the boundless extent of the language itself—the quantity of research often necessary for ascertaining the precise import of even inconsiderable vocables among the thousands here enumerated and explained;—this work, so lucid in its arrangement, its interpretations and etymologies, must ever be regarded as a magnificent monument of philological skill and industry. The edition of 1819, setting aside the consideration of those additions just now published, with which your subsequent labours have enriched and nearly doubled its value—that first edition alone would amply deserve this character. Under any circumstances, it would be an excellent and valuable Sanskrit Lexicon; considered as the first in any European language, it is admirable, and beyond all ordinary praise."

Dr. Yates had contributed a pretty large number of words to the first edition of Dr. Wilson's dictionary, and he contributed a larger number still to the second edition. He greatly admired the work, and had it always lying on his table. But deeply regretting that the *parva domi supellex* should prevent many an humble student from purchasing it, on account of the high price at which it was sold, he resolved to make an abridgment of it, which might be published at such a price as to bring it within the reach of poorer students. He communicated his intention to Dr. Wilson, who generously approved of it and encouraged him to undertake it without delay. Dr. Yates, who always was jealously careful to give the best of his time to the work of God, adopted a peculiar plan for carrying out his intention. When towards the end of 1826, it was determined that he should visit England, it occurred to him that he might sit down to the task of abridging Wilson's dictionary during the voyage, when he would not be able to engage in labours of a ministerial character. Consequently before his departure he had the Sanskrit words of Wilson's dictionary copied out by his Pundit in regular columns on the left hand of the pages of five blank books. These he took on board with him. During the voyage to England he could not undertake the work, being engaged in instructing his eldest son; but on the return voyage from England, in the latter part of 1828, he sat down to his task, and finished it before the ship arrived in the Bay of Bengal, at a time when he devoted a portion of every day to the study of Chinese. On his arrival at Calcutta the manuscript, though complete, was laid on the shelf for many a long year; probably at first because, hearing that Dr. Wilson was about to publish a second edition of his dictionary, he was anxious not to interfere with the sale of that; but afterwards, when the current price of Dr. Wilson's work had again risen to sixty rupees,

Dr. Yates still felt that he had more important duties to attend to than the publication of an abridged Sanskrit dictionary. In 1840 he requested a junior co-adjutor in the mission to undertake the task; and it was only when this attempt had failed, that he, at length, towards the end of 1841, put the manuscript to press; correcting, improving, condensing and enlarging the work page for page, as it was forwarded to the printer. But lest it should encroach upon the time he felt himself bound to devote to more important duties, he proceeded very slowly, so that, when he left India in 1845, not much more than two-thirds of it were printed; and the same friend who in 1840 had declined the task of editing the whole, now felt himself in duty bound to comply with his request to edit the remainder. Perceiving that the work, although containing more words than Wilson's dictionary, was yet, in the main, an abridgment of it, the new editor, after the author's death, felt that it ought not to be published without the renewed and written consent of Dr. Wilson. He therefore addressed a letter to that gentleman, enclosing a specimen page, and soliciting him to consent to the publication. The following paragraph from his reply affords a noble example of that courteous liberality which ought to characterize all scholars:—

"So many years have passed since I had the pleasure of communicating with the late Mr. Yates, that they have effaced from my recollection his purpose of printing a Sanskrit dictionary founded on mine. I have not the least doubt, however, that he did communicate his intention to me, and that I gave him full power to make what use he pleased of my materials I have too high a respect for his character to conceive it possible he would have stated any thing unadvisedly or without sufficient grounds; and my concurrence in his plan would be quite consistent with my own views and feelings on the subject. I have never looked for pecuniary advantage in any thing I have done to promote the study of Sanskrit; and of all books, I conceive a dictionary, once given to the public, becomes public property, at least to the intent of enlarging or curtailing it, or modifying its arrangement. I have therefore no objection whatever to the completion and publication of Mr. Yates's dictionary in the manner you propose, and I only lament that he was not spared to finish his work..... The dictionary will be of use in this country to the students of the East India College. I may perhaps print an edition of my dictionary in England; but it will be the work of some time, and in the interval such a help is greatly needed, I trust therefore you will make as much progress as you can in bringing it out."

The printing of the work was finished towards the end of 1846. The following extracts from Dr. Yates's preface clearly express the motive which had led him to compile it:—

"It has been justly said that necessity is the mother of invention. The ne-

cessity long felt of a Sanskrit dictionary, not too large for the hand to use, or the pocket to afford, led to the present undertaking. The author having a class of native youths to instruct, found it exceedingly inconvenient to teach, without being able to refer the young men to a dictionary; at the same time he knew that it was impossible for them to supply themselves with one, as all they possessed in the world, would not realize much, if any, more than fifty Rupees, the lowest price at which Wilson's dictionary is now selling. Nearly all the native youths who study the English and Sanskrit, are students of a similar description..... The main object of this work, therefore, was to bring the quarto of Wilson's dictionary to the octavo form, without diminishing the size of the type or the number of the words. This has been effected and a little more; for while the number of the words has been increased, the number of the pages has been a little reduced.

It is confidently hoped that the present performance will not in the smallest degree interfere with Professor Wilson's valuable dictionary; being intended simply to supply the wants of those who are not able to purchase it. That work is so much fuller in its interpretation of words, and so much more satisfactory in its account of their derivation, that every scholar who can afford it will wish to have it in his possession."

The number of additional words inserted by Dr. Yates somewhat exceeds two thousand; with this exception his work is, what it professes to be, an abridgment of Wilson's. The references to the grammar, however, are all based on his own grammar, a peculiarity which cannot surprize any one, although those who follow another system, may find it somewhat inconvenient.

If we may be permitted, now, to offer an opinion upon the present state of Sanskrit lexicography, we would at once express our unmeasured admiration of Dr. Wilson's work, not because we consider it as perfect, but because it appears incredible that he should have been able to produce one that answers the purpose so well. It may be characterized as an infant Hercules. The traces of youthful imperfection are numerous and obvious; but they are infinitely less, both in number and importance, than might have been expected.

The two principal native productions, which may be considered as preparations for a dictionary, are, the vocabulary of Amara Singha (which is commonly called the Amara Kosha), and the Dhatupátha, or list of verbal roots given, with certain variations, in the native grammars. The work of Amara Singha is, properly speaking, only one of a numerous class, but so superior to the rest as to have eclipsed them entirely. It contains no verbs whatsoever; and is in reality a metrical vocabulary, such as may be found (in prose) in most grammars of modern languages. It is divided into several parts; first the words are grouped together under different classes descriptive of their meaning; as, mythological names; geogra-

phical, statistical terms, &c. Next they are arranged with a reference to certain grammatical peculiarities, as their final letters, their gender, &c. In 1807 Mr. Colebrooke published a critical edition of this vocabulary, which at the time was very valuable, because in it the meanings of the words were briefly given in English, and important notes appended to the text. This work was subsequently honoured with the title of a Sanskrit dictionary, which is evidently a misnomer; for it is no dictionary at all, although it must be acknowledged to have been a useful substitute for one, and an important contribution towards the preparation of a real dictionary, containing, as it did, nearly twelve thousand words, explained by one who may justly be called the prince of Sanskrit scholars.

Among the native lists of verbal roots (dhátupáthas) there is none which can claim such decided pre-eminence, as belongs to the work of Amara Singha among vocabularies. But the substance of the best of them was given at length in the earlier Sanskrit grammars, as for instance in that of Dr. Carey, and it has recently been embodied in a noble work by a European scholar of distinguished eminence, Professor Westergaard of Copenhagen. His *Radices Linguæ Sanskritæ* are a list of verbal roots, arranged on the same principle as the native dhátupáthas; but in all other respects as superior to them as the diamond is to a common pebble. He has appended to each root an account of all its compounds, and endeavoured to arrange the meanings philosophically; proving each meaning by select examples from classical authors, many of which we have verified and found to be perfectly accurate. This book is a piece of first-rate workmanship; and will prove of infinite value to the future lexicographer. It is not without its imperfections, but its excellencies are truly astonishing. Unfortunately neither Professor Wilson nor Dr. Yates were able to avail themselves of it, as it only appeared a few years since, and in fact was not to be procured in this country till quite recently.

A dictionary based upon the *Amara Kosha* and the *Dhátupáthas* alone, merely combining the words given in both, would, thirty years ago, have been hailed as a noble accession to the previously existing means of studying Sanskrit. But Dr. Wilson's dictionary, which appeared about that time, must have surpassed the most sanguine expectations of all who were in any way acquainted with the infantile state of lexicography. It embodied all the information deposited in the different native vocabularies. Instead of some 20,000 words, it contained nearly double that number, and the explanations of them exceeded in

fulness all that could have been reasonably hoped for. The second edition, published in 1832, contains nearly 60,000 words, and is in all other respects a great improvement upon the first. The author, it is true, was aided by a staff of native assistants, who compiled verbal indexes to the most celebrated Sanskrit books ; but native pundits are so notoriously superficial and inaccurate, that it is always necessary to look very sharp after them in every thing which they profess to do; and the mere labour of this supervision, to so great an extent as must have been required, undoubtedly was immense. In short we cannot sufficiently admire the skill and industry, by which the author succeeded to produce, from such materials and with such aid, a work of so great merit as his dictionary is universally acknowledged to possess.

The achievement performed by Dr. Wilson in the field of Sanskrit lexicography commands the admiration of competent judges as much as the passage of the Alps effected by Hannibal commands that of military chieftains. Yet it must be acknowledged that the roads across the Alps, constructed by Napoleon, are vast improvements upon the track which Hannibal left behind him. In like manner it can be no disparagement to Professor Wilson (and certainly we do not mean it to be a disparagement,) if we express a hope that some future dictionary may become a great improvement upon his; for it has many imperfections, which should be avoided hereafter.

In point of *completeness*, as regards the number of words, it must be acknowledged that it leaves little more to be desired. It is true that Dr. Yates has added some two thousand new words, but not a few of them are compounds of such a description, that the omission of them would not have been a great loss. The facility with which compound words can be formed and explained, and the outrageous length of some of these *centipedalia* rather than *sesquipedalia verba*, make it a matter of absolute impossibility to supply a complete dictionary.

It is the *arrangement* of the words, both in Professor Wilson's and in Dr. Yates's dictionary, that is particularly unsatisfactory. There are two principles of arrangement which a lexicographer may adopt. He may give all the words in their alphabetical order, after the method usually adopted in dictionaries of modern languages, which offers great advantages to the ordinary student. Or the words may be arranged etymologically; only the radical or primary words following each other in alphabetical order, whilst under each primary word all its derivatives and compounds are enumerated. This latter principle was first adopt-

ed in Europe, we believe, by Stephen in his Greek Thesaurus, of which Scapula made a celebrated abridgment. It has been followed in the majority of dictionaries of the so called Semitic languages, viz., Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic. Now there are two descriptions of persons to whom a dictionary arranged on the etymological principle is far more acceptable than any other. The poor school-boy who has to commit to memory the vocabulary of an unknown tongue, finds it much more easy to remember words that are arranged etymologically than words that are arranged alphabetically. If therefore the "good old plan" of making boys learn a Latin or a Greek dictionary by rote, is not to fall into desuetude; or if incipient Sanskrit students are not to be debarred from this best of all methods of learning the language, it will be the dictate of kindness, or rather of justice, to furnish them with compendious dictionaries of a description which presents comparatively few difficulties. The other class of persons to whom an etymological dictionary is more satisfactory than any other, is that of thoughtful and mature scholars. Such an one was Henry Martyn, who described Golius's Arabic dictionary as "not only the best Arabic dictionary, but the best of all dictionaries," undoubtedly on account of its etymological arrangement. Now in the case of the two Sanskrit dictionaries referred to we blame them not, because they are alphabetically arranged. For Dr. Yates's purpose the alphabetical arrangement was the best; and it would have been impossible for Dr. Wilson to have given to his work an etymological arrangement, without delaying its appearance for many years. We blame both these dictionaries, because their arrangement is neither alphabetical nor etymological, but a medley of both. The verbs are all arranged on the etymological principle, and all the other parts of speech on the alphabetical principle. If our Latin dictionaries were similarly arranged, we should have to seek for *collectio, diligens, elegans, intellectus, negligentia, selectio, &c.* in their usual places under their initial letters; but in order to find *colligo, diligo, eligo, intelligo, negligo, seligo,* we should have to look out for *lego,* where our information concerning these compound verbs would have to be fished out from an article like the following:—

"*Lego, legi, lectum,* 3. To pick up or out, to pick one's way along; to read. With *con,* to collect; with *de,* to make a choice; with *di* or *dis,* to love; with *ex,* to choose; with *inter,* to understand; with *ne (negligo),* to neglect; with *se,* to select"

This is precisely the manner in which derivative and compound verbs are explained by Sanskrit lexicographers; and

no one will deny that it would be unsatisfactory, even if the arrangement were wholly based upon the etymological principle, and that it is much more so in dictionaries professedly alphabetical. The lexicographer who shall attempt to introduce a new plan here, will meet with some difficulties, and will have to exercise considerable courage. Many of the difficulties, however, have been removed by the industry of Westergaard; and although he has followed the usual arrangement, yet it will not be found impossible to exchange it for a better one. In an alphabetical dictionary it would be desirable to introduce the verb itself, in the 3d person sing. of the Present, rather than the fictitious root. The latter need not be wholly omitted; it might be simply inserted with a brief reference to the real verb appended to it; thus, *hri*, see *harati*. This expedient would obviate every possible objection, whilst the learner would in most cases find it as easy to abstract the Present tense as the root, from any given form of a verb which he might meet with in reading. And whilst it might appear strange to introduce a word *sanhri*, it could not appear out of place to introduce *sanharati*.

We believe it is Professor Wilson's intention, if his life be spared, to publish a dictionary on the etymological plan. The appearance of such a work will be hailed with delight by every Sanskrit scholar; and if an alphabetical index should be added to it, it will prove an invaluable auxiliary to the student of any modern Indian language. For whether the Sanskrit be viewed as the mother tongue* of most of the Indian languages (excepting Urdu) now spoken to the north of Madras, or as the most cultivated sister of all the languages spoken from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin (including Ceylon), the great fact that it is closely related to them all and throws light upon them all, remains equally certain and equally important. If therefore such a dictionary were once published, it might serve for the basis of a polyglot lexicon, such as Dr. Carey once projected, of the principal modern tongues of India, the Bengali, the Hindi, the Mahratta, the Telinga, &c. Supposing every page of this polyglot lexicon displayed five columns, one on the left for the Sanskrit, the next for the Bengali, another for the Hindi, &c. in which all the words which correspond with each other were placed side by side, so as to show at once the

* This is the view we take of it, most decidedly. We cannot comprehend how any one who really has studied Sanskrit, especially its Epic poems, can believe it to be a *made* language, which was never spoken.

same word (or its representative) naturalized in the five different languages, the whole would not merely be interesting as a literary curiosity, but eminently useful for practical purposes. The modern languages would throw light upon the Sanskrit,* whilst the surest or rather the only sensible method of enriching them with new indigenous words would become manifest at a single glance.

In such an etymological lexicon it would also be desirable to point out the great similarity which exists between many Sanskrit words and their equivalents in the Greek, Latin, German, Hebrew, and other languages. In many Hebrew words the similarity to Sanskrit is self-evident. And the number of Sanskrit words which appear again, with slight modifications, in Greek, Latin, and German, is very large indeed, as the merest tyro may perceive. Now it would be interesting to point out all these analogies in an etymological lexicon; and we trust the time may come when the attempt shall be made. Is it presumptuous to offer the suggestion that the preparation of such a lexicon might with great propriety be undertaken by the Asiatic Society of Bengal? Would not such a work be a suitable monument to the memory of its illustrious founder?

In the preface to the second edition of his dictionary, Professor Wilson himself acknowledges that in the first the meanings of words were arranged in a very unsatisfactory manner, and expresses a hope that this great defect has to a certain extent been remedied in the second. The improvement is, indeed, very great; quite as great as could have been expected; but much yet remains to be done in this department. It is with regret that we feel bound to state, that in this part of his work Dr. Yates has not even kept pace with his predecessor. His endeavour to be brief has often led him to string the meanings together in an unphilosophical manner, where they had been better arranged by Wilson. Every one who has occasion frequently to consult a dictionary, especially one of a dead language, knows that a judicious arrangement of the various meanings constitutes the real value of a lexicon. Perhaps no lexicographer has ever been so distinguished in this respect as Gesenius in his Hebrew dictionaries. One cannot turn up

* The modern Greek language throws considerable light on several passages in the New Testament, which, otherwise would have remained somewhat obscure. Thus the phrase rendered: *The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence*, becomes clear when rendered, according to the modern Greek idiom, *The kingdom of heaven is pressing on* or *hastening on*.

in them any word of importance, without being struck with the beauty of the philosophical order in which the meanings are arranged by that prince of lexicographers. It must be acknowledged that his task was easier than that of the Sanskrit lexicographer. The Biblical Hebrew is a language which does not even contain 10,000 words, and one volume of moderate size embraces the whole of the literature which requires to be illustrated; whereas the words of the Sanskrit language are countless, and the field of its literature is interminable. But there can be no doubt whatever that if Gesenius had undertaken the task of writing a Sanskrit dictionary, he would never have allowed it to see the light of day, until he should have introduced something like philosophical order in all his interpretations of words. In Dr. Wilson's dictionary, and still more in Dr. Yates's, the apparent order is frequently a mere jumble. As an example we may adduce the following from Wilson:—

Samaya Time. Oath, affirmation by oath or ordeal. Established moral or ceremonial custom. Demonstrated conclusion Agreement, covenant, contract, bargain. Engagement, appointment. Order, instruction. Sign, hint, indication. Religious obligation or observance Leisure, interval, opportunity. Season, fit or proper time for anything Speech, declaration. Limit, boundary. End of trouble or distress.

This really is a mere jumble of meanings. Let us now attempt to arrange them philosophically. We do so with great diffidence, but we venture to express the hope that the following series will be acknowledged to exhibit a better order:—

Samaya. (Literally: coming together) Coming to an agreement; covenant, contract, bargain, indication, hint, sign, instruction, declaration, speech; demonstrated conclusion; oath, affirmation by oath or ordeal. Appointed or fixed time; time in general, leisure, interval, opportunity, season, fit or proper time for anything. Appointed act, observance, custom, ceremony. Term; end of trouble; limit, boundary; conjuncture.

The word Samaya, which we have chosen, is one of frequent occurrence, and presents no extraordinary difficulty. It is therefore a fair specimen, by which to illustrate the defect we are desirous of seeing remedied in future dictionaries.

Not unfrequently two different words are introduced only once, because they happen to be spelt alike. An example of this is the following, also taken from Wilson:—

Sajjana. Of good family, well born. Respectable, reputable, good, virtuous. Arming, putting on armour. Dressing, preparing *Neut.* A guard, sentry, picquet. A ferry. *Fem.* Caparisoning an elephant. Dress, decoration. Arming, accoutring

This should be exchanged for the following:

(1) *Sajjana.* Of good family, well born. Respectable, reputable, good, virtuous

(2) *Sajjana.* Accoutring, arming; putting on armour; dressing, preparing. *Neut.* A guard, sentry, picquet, ferry. *Fem.* Accoutring, caparisoning an elephant, dress, decoration.

The two words are no more the same in Sanskrit, than the word *fuller* is the same in the two following phrases: *A fuller account*, and, *The fuller's field.*

We feel also compelled to state that in a good Sanskrit dictionary, adjectives and substantives should be kept more distinct than they now are. We know that it is not always possible to keep them apart, but it might be done to a very great extent with ease and advantage, provided the lexicographer could be prevailed upon to divest himself of the system of native grammarians which scarcely recognises a difference between substantives and adjectives. If Latin dictionaries were written after the fashion of Sanskrit dictionaries, we should find articles like the following:—

Fœdus, a, um, adj. Ugly, nasty. *neut. (eris)* An alliance.
Pugnus, i, 2. *s. m.* A fist. *f.* A fight, battle.
Bellus a, um, adj. Fine, witty. *n.* War.

This is not a caricature, but a fair exhibition of defects which exist in both the Sanskrit dictionaries which have hitherto been published. And we honestly affirm that we make these statements solely in order to show the necessity of improving them.

We hope that in process of time some future lexicographer will do for the other parts of speech what Westergaard has done for the verbs. He has not only arranged their meanings philosophically, but also given examples of their use and construction in the shape of quotations from various authors. It is true that his meanings are often expressed somewhat vaguely, because in Latin, and that they are rather too meagre; and his quotations do not take so wide a range as could be desired. But his work is nevertheless most admirable, and will prove of great advantage to all who may succeed him. Our wishes cannot be fulfilled in a short period of time. Dammius made a concordance of Homer; and Passow prepared pretty complete verbal indexes of several Greek classics, in their chronological order; but death surprised him before he had accomplished one-half of the work which he had chalked out for himself; and we are not aware that there exists even at the present day a Greek lexicon,

such as it was his intention to present to the world. Consequently we may expect a very long period to elapse before we shall have such a Sanskrit lexicon as scholars would wish to possess. For who will take the trouble of preparing a complete verbal index to the Mahábhárata or the Rámáyana, similar to Dammius' concordance to Homer, or even similar to the Index Virgilianus which fills the 4th volume of Heyne's edition? But although such expectations may never be fully realized, yet it may prove useful to keep in view the desirableness of great improvements. The critical study of the modern Indian languages must necessarily prove a Sisyphus's task, laborious in the extreme, and yet always ending in disappointment, until we shall possess a good Sanskrit grammar and a good Sanskrit lexicon, both of which we must yet number among the *desiderata*. Scholars living in Europe who study Sanskrit simply for its own sake, may not feel very keenly the inconveniences arising from the want of these two works. But scholars living in India, who wish to use the Sanskrit language as the key to Hinduism and to the modern Indian languages, are sorely discouraged by the great difficulties which still unnecessarily obstruct their path.

In the meanwhile it would be sheer ingratitude not to admire the surpassing merits of Professor Wilson, and the humbler, though not less useful achievements of Dr. Yates,—men who have not only themselves surmounted the greatest obstacles, but also removed them for ever out of the way of others. If their immediate successors should be able to accomplish one-half of what they have done, the next generation will find the study of Sanskrit nearly as easy as that of Latin. And although Sanskrit literature, as a whole, may justly be called a splendid monument of human folly rather than of human wisdom, yet the study of it must always be considered as important by all who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with the languages, the opinions, the habits, the character, and the religion of the hundred millions who inhabit India.

ART. V.—*General principles and scheme of instruction and of discipline to be adopted in Brighton College, by the Rev. Principal, Arthur J. Macleane. Brighton*, 1847.

AMONGST the admitted inconveniences of a protracted residence in the East, separation and the disunion of domestic ties with most of our readers, will be regarded with the deepest horror. We can all readily bear witness to the manifold ills and vexations of India, great and small, connected with the heat and glare, the dust and confinement, the petty annoyances of the insect race, the destructive moisture, the obtrusive reptiles, and worst of all, the slow, midnight, wasting fever, and the quick, mysterious pestilence that walks in the noon day, and defies the power of science. But if we escape the heavier of these visitations or know them but as transient and occasional evils in our path, we can, after practice, afford to laugh at the remainder. Habit reconciles us to almost all the minor calamities: to the discordant cries of the feathered or four-footed races: to the unceasing murmur of the native bazar, the barbarous attempts at music, and the irritating bite of the pertinacious musquito. We find a remedy for almost everything in patience. But "there is no remedy," says the Hindu poet, "for a soul wounded by the sharp sword of separation," and many Indian residents are forced to acquiesce in the truth of this moral, during some period or other of their stay in the East. The advantages of improved communication have, however, done wonders for us. The days are past when Shore could twice leave his wife behind him, from a sheer dislike to expose her to the discomforts of the voyage. Our ladies and our merchants avail themselves of our monthly steamers with less hesitation than, three generations ago, they would have undertaken a voyage from Leith to Blackwall. The Bay of Biscay, is probably the worst feature in the journey. The Nile packet and the canal boat are fraught with troubles of no greater magnitude than many must have endured in a crowded Rhine steamer, or in a lumbering French diligence: and the fancied perils of the desert are transformed into the unpleasant reality of a jolting of some eighteen hours' duration, in the inside of a regular London-built van. There is neither romance nor danger in the overland trip, and Indian wives and children, return home, re-embark, and are landed at Garden Reach, or Bombay Harbour, with far more regularity and with less of hope disappointed on the part of the expectants, than a hun-

dred years ago would have been the case in a voyage from Edinburgh or from Exeter to the great Metropolis.

The parting of husband and wife, allayed as it is by the certainty of a quick passage, and the prospect of regular mutual correspondence every fifteen days, loses something of its bitterness. The sting has been deprived of one-half its force. But no improvements in steamers, no zeal or energy on the part of Lieut. Waghorn, no liberality on the part of any government, can obviate the necessity of educating our children in England and of thus losing sight of them for not the least important period of their lives. Possibly amidst the numerous improvements of the march of time, schools may eventually be established in the almost English climate and Alpine scenery of the hills, where the children of fathers toiling in the hot plains, shall be grounded in all the elements of a liberal English education. It may be that in the course of the next thirty years, our communication with Hill stations shall be so rapid and direct, that the train arriving at Agra or Calcutta, shall set down for the Christmas vacation the sons of soldiers, civilians, or merchants at their father's houses, with well nigh the same precision of the train from Slough or Harrow, which conveys an host of emancipated youths to the stations at Paddington or at Euston Square. But these benefits will be the lot of the generation that succeed us, and we are not quite sure, whether any institution, though established on the most approved principles, or removed from every noxious influence, could ever, to our satisfaction, fill the place of the time-honoured schools of England with their grey cloisters and their noble avenues of trees. To our minds there is an effect produced by the training of an English public school, combining all the tried and approved British principles, with, it may be, a few national prejudices, which in the end goes further to form the character in the mould of manliness, than any system of private tuition, however excellent, or than any practical Hofwyl, however admirably ruled by the presiding genius of a Fellenberg.

So then our sons must be educated, and for the present, they must be educated in England. In the belief that this subject will come home to the heart of every parent in India, we intend to devote a few of our pages to the exposition of the system, under which boys are brought up, the fruits they will probably bear, and the expense to which their fathers will be put.

What, we may first ask, is the common course with the children of European parents resident in India? The greater number are sent home between the ages of four and six, at the very time when the peculiarities of their character are being

developed, and the parent's guiding influence can least be spared. There is not much reason to apprehend that the climate's enervating influence has the effect of weakening the infantine mind, or of diminishing its quickness of perception. As far as we have the power of judging, English children in this country are almost as lively, and quite as intelligent and quick-sighted, as those born and bred at home. The love of motion and buoyancy seems often to defy the skyey influences and rules well nigh as forcibly in the closed house and under the waving punkah, as it would, if expatiating freely in the green fields and wooded avenues of an English country seat. Children, too, are not sent home as formerly, their only language, Hindustani, their sole accomplishment the power of giving abuse in a tongue whose capabilities in this respect are more than on a par with the dialects of the West. Many Indian born children are now *dubashes*, or two-voiced, in a literal sense. If they can give orders to the native servants with readiness, they are not debarred from a free use of their mother tongue, and the spelling, arithmetical and hymn books are at an early period, familiar to them in the Indian nursery, where

> each little voice in turn
> Some glorious truth proclaims,
> Which sages would have died to learn,
> Now taught by cottage dames.

But here the primitive education comes to a stand-still Interruption is caused by the illness or disinclination of the teacher, or by the voyage home, and we are afraid that many Indian-born children, by the side of their English school-fellows, will be seen to disadvantage at the first outset.

For this however there is no present cure. In the generality of cases the matter is as follows. The child of five years old is sent home when the climate's warning voice has spoken out in plain language. Under the sea breeze and with England in prospect, his constitution quickly throws off any traces of the wasting heat and damp of Bengal. One parent, it may be, accompanies the child. The other remains toiling at the desk, or rolling the ceaseless stone of regimental duty. But the husband and wife must not remain separate above one or at most two years, and the children must be consigned to the care of a relation. However excellent and watchful the substitute may be, the school must be soon encountered. At the very time when the parent's influence is most needed: when the pure and softening genius of the family hearth might counteract in some measure the impetuous and turbulent spirit engendered in the school: when, in short, the knowledge of good

and evil must be imparted, sometimes by slow but sure degrees, and sometimes in a few weeks or days—the youthful mind is left to fight its own battle, unaided, and we well know what the issue will eventually be. As certainly must evil triumph over good at first, as the well-aimed and vigorous lance of the Templar must overthrow in the first onset, the jaded steed of Ivanhoe, recovering from his wasting sickness, and worn out by his rapid journey.

Such however must be the course of things under the immutable law of our nature, and we can only hope that the period of trial and temptation may be shortened. But the private school once passed, a larger field may be opened: and it requires no lengthened argument to prove that the whole tenor of public schools has in the last 30 years undergone a change, which resembles not so much a partial transformation, as it does a whole and entire metamorphose. Those great and crying evils which drew forth the invectives of the shy and melancholy author of the Tirocinium, would now hardly be recognised in the precincts of that very Westminster, which had prompted his out-pourings. Licensed fagging and the ten-fold tyrannical oppression of unlicensed authority, have been divested of much that was undoubtedly hateful. The horrible traditions told in connection with the latter are not realised in this scrutinising age, and the exercise of the power, while regulated, does not exist to a greater extent than is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of discipline or for the very existence of the institution. There are well authenticated instances of tyranny at institutions where fagging is not licensed, which their most inveterate calumniator would never have laid at the door of public schools, and low, mean, and contemptible habits are engendered in the former places, such as Cowper himself would not have ranked in the prevalent evil influences of that nucleus of remarkable men, who were the cotemporaries of his school days at Westminster.

There are in fact two separate systems now gaining general in England. The one, a purified and reformed education at those old training stables, the public schools: the other, a course of study in a sort of preparatory college, such as that at Cheltenham and the Brighton one, of which we treat. The one is to comprehend all the advantages which may result from free intercourse in a republic of kings, governing themselves, but subject to the revision of a power as severe and watchful as the Ephori of Sparta, or the Justiza of Castile. The other aims at the attainment of a similar manliness of tone and healthiness of feeling, but with a more modified system of self-government: with less

left to the scholars themselves and more looked for on the part of the master. The one grapples directly with the very evils most dreaded, and perhaps inherent on its composition. The other endeavours to avoid them altogether. The one will attempt to give boys the utmost freedom combined with discipline of which boy nature is capable. The other would metamorphose them into students. The one would create a strong government, by historical associations, the example of former generations, and that modified conservatism which works so strongly on the sympathies. The other appeals to the march of time and public opinion, and resting neither on ancient structures, nor on old objects of veneration, erects a college building in the most frequented watering place in England, bestows a cap and gown on its students, and invites their attendance eventually to a lecture room and a lecturer.

But there is plenty of room in the length and breadth of England, and in the great demand for education, for half a dozen more places of a similar kind. They may thrive without clashing with any of the older institutions. They may have their acknowledged partisan who will not refuse to admit the peculiar merits and advantages of other time-honoured places, and they may pursue a system which, though unavoidably modified by some innovations indispensable to their assumed character, will in the main look to the great aim of all training —the discipline of the intellect, the formation of a sound judgment and a correct taste, such as will fit their possessor to play his part manfully in any profession in the world.

A cursory view, such as the Principal, Mr. Macleane, gives us in his Prospectus, may probably not be unacceptable to our readers. Classics and some mathematics are of course the great props of the institution, as we shall presently show. One modern language—that which the Emperor Charles the fifth emphatically termed the language of men—will be taught in all classes from the highest to the lowest; while that in which the same monarch would have held converse with his horses, will very properly be reserved for those boys in the higher departments, whom we may suppose possessed of energy to master its admitted difficulties. English literature will be made "rather the voluntary resource of well-disciplined minds, than a prominent feature in the regular studies of the College," and under a correct idea that youth is very rarely qualified for the early study of metaphysical reading or of mental philosophy, there is no corner reserved for any of the great writers on this important subject. To this exception however we accord our most willing assent.

As a general outline the above is tolerably correct. The study of the two great languages of antiquity is however here and elsewhere divided into two obvious portions—accurate translation from, and ready composition in, the originals. On the first, as one which should perform a double duty, Mr. Macleane has expressed himself with remarkable soundness and perspicuity; and we may be excused therefore for lingering a little here. Translation has clearly two offices to perform. It makes the scholar aware of the extent of his conversancy with the dead language, and it teaches him his own. By translation of course we do not mean the hobbling, halting, servile adherence to the original, word for word, which prevails in some schools, but the pure stream of English prose, such as Mr. Jourdain would have recognised at once, full and free, though restrained within due bounds, and subject to the subsequent severe scrutiny in points of scholarship, which any one with even moderate experience in the act of teaching can so readily exercise. Of course this experiment can only be tried with the higher forms and with boys of the age of fifteen and upwards. But it is remarkable how very soon boys can discern the beauties of a classical author, and how in consequence they will endeavour to render him his dues. They have their favourite authors too, as surely as they have their favourite pursuits. When then a boy has once begun to think, there are few exercises like translation for expanding and training his thoughts. He very soon and from mere shame perceives, that if he cannot render them adequately and to the full, still he must not make the master minds of antiquity talk unintelligible nonsense, or express themselves in harsh inversions and with inelegant stiffness. Virgil should be as manly and majestic as Dryden, and the dignified simplicity of Homer borrow some of its expressions from the minstrelsy of the border or the luminous octosyllabics of Scott. Demosthenes will not be allowed to rant before an Athenian audience, when defending his crown, any more than an honourable member would be tolerated for a moment if speaking ungrammatically on his defence before the House. A boy soon detects the difficulties of his task and sets himself to work at overcoming them in downright earnest. While he learns where Latin and Greek are most powerful, and in what particular combinations, or rapidity of changes, or happiness of construction, or minute shadings—lies their chief strength: he also finds out the excellencies of his mother tongue, as well as its comparative deficiency, and discerns where the translation may be faithfully rendered in the closest strictness, word for word, or where he must draw back from his equality,

re-cast the sentence, and search about for the corresponding though feebler idiom. Doubtless it is a great and laudable triumph when the translation has reached such a pitch of excellence that each Greek or Latin author are rendered in the idiom and style of corresponding standard works in English literature. When Herodotus talks in the quaint but impressive language of our old chroniclers and seems like Froissart restored to life: when the Attic orators are heard pleading in the clear language of Brougham or Erskine: when Cicero in his private correspondence with his brother or with Atticus runs on with the ease and unrestraint of Chesterfield with his son, or Horace Walpole with his intimates: when the florid rhetoric of Livy is transformed into the dignified periods of Robertson, and Thucydides enunciates his lessons of political wisdom, in the almost inimitable style of Hume: when Sophocles talks like Massinger, Ovid like Moore, and Aristotle like Butler—it is then, we submit, that scholarship has fulfilled her mission, and that a classical education has indeed reached one of its greatest aims. That such excellence is mainly ideal, or that it can only be reached in part, and by the finished graduate, we readily allow, but something of an assortment of styles—more Saxon with this author and less with that—may be easily introduced in school translation, and on this point we must allow Mr. Macleane to speak for himself:

"The great principle of translation, (I am now referring to construing in English) that of rendering idiom for idiom, is one I should anxiously enforce from the earliest age possible. A crude and servile method of construing can hardly be necessary at any stage, though it is usually practised and often recommended. It must generate in early life a disgust, not to say a contempt, for the dead languages, as having no sympathy with our own, and being only calculated to convey ideas in an uncouth and unnatural form. With every determination therefore to make the precise force of individual words apparent to the students' mind, I shall avoid and induce all the masters to avoid the objectionable system I have mentioned. Many inappropriate English words have crept into use amongst school-boys as equivalents for rational Latin and Greek. These shall be dismissed; and a chaste poetical style of phraseology shall be encouraged in the rendering of poetry. In this way I shall hope to see the acquisition of good English going on *pari passu* with the knowledge of Latin and Greek, the latter being auxiliary to the former. I should say generally that the differences and analogies of idiom in the Greek, Latin, and English languages will be impressed by the above and other means,

'among which I reckon the translation and re-translation of 'short sentences, from dictation, both into Greek and Latin, 'which system will be freely employed in the Upper depart-'ment, and in the Lower as far as it can be done with effect."

Under the influence of these principles Mr. Macleane has made his routine rather more classical than mathematical, and may possibly therefore be liable to the reproach brought with some justice against our public schools—that they pay too little attention to mathematics. But the classics embrace the common run of standard authors, and in the upper division ranges as high as the Tragedians, Tacitus, Thucydides, the best Latin poets, and occasionally Plato and Aristotle. There is no special department set aside for a separate training in the naval, military, or any other profession. It is rightly judged that such objects are best attained in colleges reserved for such purposes. But many scholars will eventually, it may be supposed, enter the church, and a provision is made for imparting a knowledge of one language, the absence of which in the education of a clergyman has been lamented by some of the greatest pillars of the church. We allude, of course, to the Hebrew. The tongue in which the hymns of David and the Proverbs of Solomon were originally written, should form a considerable item in the course of study for every one who aspires to the character of an orthodox divine.

It will be allowed then that in the above scheme there is not much which differs essentially from the regular routine of a large public school. We have endeavoured to set the efficacy of translation in its proper light Let us now examine the merits of composition. In a zeal for Greek and Latin verse, the highest triumph as well as the most pleasing reward of scholarship, Mr. Macleane goes "the full length." To catch the spirit of the Latin Poets "would be to catch the spirit of poetry, but their spirit can only be caught through their language, and their language can only be caught by close study and imitation—as a young painter seeks to catch the spirit of a master in the art, by copying his works. To catch the words without the spirit is of course unsatisfactory and indicative of a servile or at least an unpoetical mind. But even this is not without its use, as conducing at least to a knowledge of idiom and grammar, though it goes no further. The superiority of Latin versification over English (on which I set comparatively little value as an instrument of education, believing it to be rather an effect itself, than a means to that end) is, that the empirical element enters into it much more largely, and a considerable amount of empiricism I believe to be essential to the

'strengthening of the young mind. Set a boy to study English 'poetry, and if he has the vis poetica in him, *he may and pro-* '*bably will run wild in this direction.* But let him seek to 'form his taste through a Latin medium, and the severity of the 'study will be a sufficient drag upon his imagination, while the 'beauties of the model are always sufficient to keep it alive."

We trust that the above will be considered as no unsuccessful reply to the well known denunciations on the inutility of Latin and Greek verses. A boy's taste must be formed and his imagination must be duly awakened, and then regulated within bounds. It was on studies of this kind that Wellesley's talents were first exercised, and after governing a Great Empire and displaying all the attributes of a statesman, it was to these early studies that his mind returned with undiminished pleasure, and vigour unimpaired.

The internal discipline of the institution, and the moral training, are the points where the Brighton College must necessarily differ from a large Public School. Mr. Macleane vigorously attacks the widely circulated belief that by an irresistible necessity, the concentration of a number of boys in one place is nothing but a concentration of evil passions, and that "the heart must lie fallow, while the intellect is being cultivated." He proposes to deal with the evil, when it arises, by unrestrained intercourse, by the force of personal example, and by an uniformity of action amongst the masters, all of which shall be brought to bear on the scholars individually and collectively. On this subject we are more than ever bound to allow a Reformer to speak for himself:

"Another important element of our strength is to be found in each boy's home. It is at home that those private duties are exercised, neglecting which no man or boy can be religious, but no general exhortations are sufficient to secure the observance of them: facilities must be afforded, the duty encouraged, and obstructions removed, at home. Again, the close and silent observation of individual character and habits, the timely precept, the judicious check, the private remonstrance, the mild representation of Christian principles and the illustration of them in domestic life, these are the desiderata of public schools; and these functions of the parental office ought never to be suspended. It will be hardly impertinent to say that the Church strongly recognises this principle in that view of the sponsorial office, whereby the sponsor is placed in loco parentis to the child in spiritual things, if the Providence of God should ever deprive it of its natural instructor. With this impression, I am very anxious that every

'endeavour should be used to secure the youths who board 'with us such homes as may afford them the advantages I have 'described. It may not always be practicable to the full extent 'we could wish, but I desire that the object may be cordially 'recognised and looked upon as a fundamental feature in our 'system."

We wish the author of the above paragraph every success in his arduous task, but it has not escaped us that schools without their regular scheme of graduated authority, and quasi colleges void of the true collegiate dignity, have hitherto proved failures. Neither have we failed to remark that there will be two separate departments in the institution. The lower, from which boys after fifteen will be summarily excluded, remains entirely isolated. The younger and older students are not to mix. The good which the former might be expected to impart, is barred, and what adequate provision is made for order and discipline in this division, beyond the mere restraint imposed by the masters, we are rather at a loss to conceive.

But the great education question to persons of moderate incomes in India, is not this or that favourite system, but this greater or less expense. Now the yearly expense of educating one son at any large public school varies from the fair average of 110£ or 120£ to 150£, 160£, or even 170£. For the above sum every reasonable advantage may be procured, and the expense naturally increases with the period of residence and the advancing years of the youth. At first books are scanty and cheap. As the student progresses, he requires larger editions and more expensive works. His ideas relative to the τό πρέπον and the *honestum* dilate as he progresses to Cicero and Aristotle, and the tailor and the book-seller assume a proportionate degree of importance in the half-yearly disbursements. On a fair calculation, in which we have been guided by statistics of proved accuracy, we cannot promise any Indian parent that he can send his son to a public school, keep him there for five years, observing the bounds of economy, and yet withholding no reasonable advantage enjoyed by his cotemporaries, and then prepare to launch him forth, either into the university, a home profession, or an Indian career, for much less than six hundred and fifty pounds. This sum is calculated on an average of 130£ a-year, for five years, and should the subsequent destination be, either of the Universities, the East India College, or a cadetship in the Indian army, the additional expense must be calculated at a sum varying from three hundred, to six or even seven hundred pounds. In what profession either at home or in India can the above demand be met by other than strict

economy, or in many instances, by aught save the most patient self-denial on the part of either parent?

In the question of expense at the Brighton College we are fortunately enabled to state from the prospectus the exact sum at which education can be procured. The College like that at Cheltenham is proprietary: the number of presentations is limited to 600, and the price of each at the opening of the College in 1847 was 40£. Of the above 10£ will be paid on each presentation when granted, and the remainder at such time as the Council may decide. On emergencies the price may be raised, and the funds collected will at first be devoted to the very necessary expense of erecting buildings for the College. We infer from a passage in the scheme of instruction that as this fund increases, scholarships and exhibitions will be founded, and the institution thus enjoy those pecuniary advantages which have so long distinguished many of our public schools. Meanwhile no proprietor can hold more than *four* presentations: all proprietors are admitted through the council (which is set off by array of names of worth and respectability): presentations can be either transferred or bequeathed, and ladies may vote by proxy at all meetings of the Proprietors.

On the basis of the above simple sum of 40£, is raised, however, a superstructure, and at the very lowest calculation of expenses for boarding, tuition, &c., we cannot discern that the yearly sum total will fall short of 120£, while it may possibly average about 20£ more. In the matter of outlay the Brighton College will not enjoy advantages superior to those of any public school, and it is for parents in India who wish their sons to be well educated, and who stint themselves for that end, to determine in which kind of institution the youthful character is likely to be best moulded.

In one feature the training is exactly the same in both. It pursues with unswerving fidelity, those studies by which the mind is formed, and leaves to after life the particular professional or technical pursuits in which the mind, so formed, may be employed with success. Unless we keep the above distinction carefully in remembrance, we are sure to misunderstand the true aim of education. We take a youthful mind, ready to receive any impression from without and we subject it to a discipline calculated to strengthen, while it purifies. We require critical accuracy from scholars, because without it no language ancient or modern will be mastered, and because the exercise of itself is invigorating and healthy. An accurate scholar, will, we are bound to say, carry his love of correctness into any profession, and be as minute and careful in his

accounts, his reports, or his judicial decisions, as he was when poring over the vagaries of Greek irregular verbs, or the metrical changes of a chorus in Æschylus. We teach ancient history in conjunction with modern, because history is philosophy teaching by examples, and to know man's nature thoroughly, we must study him as he appears under every form of Government, and subjected to all the modifications imposed by climate, local situation, difference of creed, or political institutions. Finally we require a young scholar to express his thoughts on the prose and the verse of dead languages, because such attempts can best concentrate the powers of a youthful mind, which, like the householder, literally enjoys access to a store of things new and old, and while it draws its ideas from daily converse with the great minds of antiquity, luxuriates also in the fresh flow of feelings, excited by the climate and rural scenery of England, and by the liberal spirit of her scholastic institutions.

To those who are at all sceptical on the English system of education, we strongly recommend a perusal of two most able pamphlets by the present master of Trinity College, Cambridge, the system of our University education—the coping stone of that followed at school—the reasons on which it is based, and the goal to which it tends, are there set forth with a clearness and a force which should carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. The difference between those pursuits which form, and those which employ the mind, is demonstrated with a perspicuity of style and an almost mathematical accuracy of proof well worthy of the subject and the gifted writer. We are shewn why the one cannot supplant the other and how the mind, well trained in studies of the first kind, may then most fitly be left to expatiate in any one out of the wide range of the latter.

From this we may derive a hint which bears on the peculiar topic of education for any Indian service. For success in this country a knowledge of Oriental languages has been deemed necessary, if not indispensable, and on more than one occasion we have heard the note of lamentation raised, when some youth, hitherto employed on Homer and Cicero to the utter exclusion of the Gulistan and the Bagh-o-Bahar, had at a late hour been presented with an Indian appointment. No doubt, we desire for many departments of the Indian services, a knowledge of Indian history drawn from the very fountain head, a quick ear for languages, and a hearty sympathy with the antiquities of this country. But some of the above are connected with pursuits which may very well employ, the mind they never

can form. It is not necessary that a young soldier or civilian should, according to the spirit of the Eastern Proverb, look on Leila with the eyes of Majnun: that he should view an Indian landscape as Kalidasa would have viewed it, borrow his notions of majesty from the Shahnamah, or his pathos from the Mahabharat. Let us have a set of young men trained by the standard of English institutions, and we fearlessly prophesy, that if destined afterwards to baffle the wiles of diplomacy in Central Asia, or to distribute justice from the bench on the Eastern frontier of Bengal, or to add to our knowledge in Indian Botany or Zoology, or to restore the defaced inscriptions of cave and monument, if in short, devoted to any pursuit, either essential to their duty, or purely extrinsic and miscellaneous—they will bring their previous un-Indian training to bear successfully on their undertakings, although ignorant, when in England, of the five principal kulin Brahmans, the five Hindu schools of law, or of the exact number of the Puranas, and the Upa Puranas.

A training of the true kind will be attained in our public schools, and in the Brighton College also. Neither in the one nor the other are modern languages neglected. We have shown that French and German are not voluntary, but parts of the usual routine at the latter place: and while the same two languages are equally taught at Rugby, the Albert and other prizes at Eton for French and Italian must by this time be familiar to almost every one of our readers. We have said hitherto but little on the vices which must inevitably arise in places of this kind. It is distasteful, and on the present instance might appear invidious, to dilate on feelings inherent in their nature, which the utmost vigilance or personal example can only quell in part. That in places where boys are congregated, there will be at times a spirit of opposition to law and discipline—a considerable deal of profane talking—a spirit of wilfulness and of wantoning in evil for its own sake—that of the above there will be more or less, but always something, in every succeeding generation—we are not prepared to deny. But on the other hand we are convinced that the majority of boys so situated may be taught to hate meanness—to strive in honorable emulation and rivalry without one particle of hate or jealousy—to think a lie "in prose or verse" equally detestable—to be generous without extravagance, and to be manly without coarseness.

While the success which has attended a similar proprietary College at Cheltenham, leads us to hope for equally pleasing results at Brighton, we are still free to confess our predilection for the system pursued in any great public school. A perusal of Mr.

Macleane's pamphlet, leaves no doubt on our mind that, even if success be fully commensurate with the hopes, our schools will still continue to send out their sound grammarians and elegant versifiers who one year with another will carry off the fairest portion of the great university honours. We retain what an elegant novelist terms an amiable fireside prejudice in favour of the ancient buildings, where the country air is breathed in all its purity, and whose precincts are hallowed by numerous interesting associations. Our hearts are entirely with Coningsby, when he declares in his own emphatic language, a desire to see the boy "who did not like Eton." But beyond this, we wish the Brighton College every possible success. Writing in India, where every thing around us recalls motives and maxims of a stamp so different from the European, we have no wish to exalt one English system on the ruins of another. We should as little think in a land rife with superstition of insisting on the distinction between Christian and Christian, as we should, in laying before Indian parents the ways and means of educating their children, think of lauding the old school, with a view to stifle the rising energies of the new. Before the great object of all education, minor distinctions entirely melt away. Let us have the training of an institution conducted on liberal principles, call it school or call it college, and we cannot but feel certain that youths so trained, will not disappoint the anxious hopes of their fathers, whom a separation of fifteen years has rendered mainly ignorant of their character and bias. So trained, they will in after life, maintain in any colony, that aptitude for business and that promptitude of action in emergencies, which combined with sound, sterling, English, common sense, has hitherto rendered the English character conspicuous amongst nations.

NOTE.—It has not escaped us that in the above we have said little about mathematics. This has not arisen from a doubt of their utility, but because we think that their practical benefits would be more readily allowed by most parents—while that of the classics would be oftener assailed. Our object is mainly to vindicate the latter and to show that the accomplishments of modern languages and history are not now neglected by their side. The universities contain at this moment some of the best German scholars in England, whose acquaintance with this language commenced at school. We have also, in the *present* article, purposely refrained from any allusion to the systems pursued in the educational institutions of Scotland and Ireland.

ART. VI.—1. *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack. By A. Stirling, Esq*

2. *The History of Púrí: with an Account of Jagannáth; also a Succint Description of the Southern Division of Zillah Cuttack. By Brij Kishore Ghose, Head Clerk. Cuttack,* 1848.

3. *Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission—for the year* 1846.

4. *India's Cries to British Humanity, &c. By J. Peggs, late Missionary at Cuttack, Orissa. London,* 1830.

5. *Sketches chiefly relating to the History, Religion, Learning and Manners of the Hindus, &c. By Q. Craufurd. London,* 1792.

6. *Heeren's Historical Researches. Translated from the German. Vol. III. Asiatic Nations. Indians. Oxford,* 1833.

7. *The Hindu Pantheon. By Edward Moor, F. R. S. London,* 1810.

8. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science. No.* 32, *January—June,* 1847.

9. *Elphinstone's History of India. London,* 1841.

10. *The Despatches, &c. of the Marquess Wellesley, K. G.*

11. *Regulations of Government.*

12. *Various Official Documents and Correspondence, (hitherto unpublished.)*

IN the "Advertisement" to the first Number of this *Review*, all the able and willing were invited to come forward and "declare what they know." It was the original design of the work to apply its pages "to the purposes of a vast commission." We come forward, then, to do our best in adding to the records of that high trust, by descriptions of places, temples, and matters over which we have dwelt with some degree of attention. In addition to the full consideration of the chief subject of this paper, it is not our intention here to advance any new theories, or enter into lengthy arguments for the support or downfal of old ones, on the history, religion, and architecture of Orissa. From the grounds afforded by us we shall leave the reader to form an opinion of his own. It is our principal object to present, in a popular form, a great mass of information on subjects not generally known; but with which every resident

in India—particularly every public officer—should be acquainted. The rise of one religion and the decline of another are not matters of ordinary importance in the political management of a country. The archæology of Hindustan is now disclosing subjects of intense interest to many; and the Hindu mythology was not thought unworthy to form a considerable portion of the bounteous labours of one who was named by a contemporary sage "the most enlightened of the sons of men."*

Frequent have been the hopes expressed in this Journal for an improved condition of the Hindu mind, and many have been the expositions set forth in its pages of the foul contagion with which that mind is saturated,—aided by declarations of various means of cleansing it; but, hitherto, in the attempt to purify the Indian intellect, by exposing the errors of its ways and the darkness by which it is surrounded, India's greatest monster of iniquity has escaped being dragged to the front:—need we name the temple of JAGANNATH?†

The reasons for the omission on our part have been various; but that which preponderated was the all-sufficient one, that, until lately, we had little or no new *material* to work upon.

About the middle of the year 1846, the Bengal journals—among whom we may mention the *Friend of India*, the *Hurkaru*, and the *Englishman*—discussed, at considerable length, and with great force and clearness, the question of British connexion with the temple of Jagannáth. This discussion was brought about by the appearance of a "Blue-Book" from England, containing "correspondence and minutes relative to the superintendence of Native Religious Institutions."‡ We

* Sir William Jones was so styled by Dr. Samuel Johnson.

† Since the commencement of our labours no subject has given us more varied or endless trouble than the representation of Oriental terms in Roman characters. While many follow Gilchrist's system, and many, Jones' system, with perhaps sundry arbitrary modifications, there are not a few who appear to follow no known system at all—their own ear being seemingly their only guide, and, in the course of the same paper, favouring us with three or four variations in the orthography of the same word. Having ourselves a decided predilection, on principle, for Sir William Jones' system, as beyond all question, on philological considerations, the most exact—and as the system steadily pursued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and with slight variations by the most learned Orientalists, throughout the world—we have endeavoured, though by no means with uniform success, to introduce the system into most of the articles which have appeared in this work. The term "Jagannáth" we have, in the course of our reading, seen written in at least a dozen different ways. Now there is no dubiety as to the word itself in the Sanskrit and its dialects. The only letters there are *j, g, n, nath;* each consonant having in it, the inherent *short* sound of *a*. According, therefore, to Sir William Jones' system, the word should be written *Jagannáth*. It is compounded of two words, *jagad*, (in composition, *jagan*) *world*, and *náth*, lord; meaning "Lord of the world."

‡ We have made no use whatever of the Blue-Book in the present article—although, doubtless, much that we have brought forward to suit our purpose is contained therein.

well recollect wading through that mass of papers and letters on a very intricate, yet, from local acquaintance, to us a highly interesting subject.

But we sought for something more than could be extracted from documents and official correspondence, in which there was little information concerning the town of Púrí and the temple, as they are and were.

To supply this deficiency of narrative, we certainly, among a few other writers, had Stirling, the great authority on Orissan matters. And we have had no hesitation in placing the historian's valuable "Account" at the head of this article, as nothing better than it can be consulted for information on the past state of Orissa;—and it abounds with interesting details concerning the "mighty Pagoda or Pagod, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry"—Jagannáth—as, in many respects, it is now and was in days gone by.

Through the enlightened liberality of Lord Dalhousie's government, the whole of the official documents and correspondence concerning Jagannáth have been allowed us for the present occasion.

We had likewise the good fortune to hear of an intelligent Hindu, by name, Brij Kishore Ghose, who had, for a considerable time, been collecting and condensing materials for "A History of Púrí," &c. These materials are now before us in the shape of a work, or rather pamphlet—which, considering the limited means of the establishment, does the Orissan Mission Press considerable credit—a[redacted] the appearance of which is an event of some importance in the annals of Indian literature. Here is the round, unvarnished truth told by a native—himself not a Christian—regarding a vast abyss of corruption, near which he has resided for four and twenty years;—and the work of this "tell-tale" Hindu will, we feel confident—if it meets with the circulation it deserves—do more good than the most powerful invectives against the immoralities and impurities attendant upon idolatry. The heresies of Jagannáth, we now fully believe to be sincerely exposed to view by this extraordinary authority, who, regardless of the dissentient voice of his Hindu brethren, has lifted the veil,—drawn up the curtain and represented a drama of evil spirits,—and calculated to a fraction the iniquity and misery pertaining to the worship of the delusive "Lord of the World." Thankful, then, ought we to be to the author—for India's sake—that he has given us good reason to exclaim, in the emphatic language of the "Tempest"—

"Hell is empty
And all the devils are here!"

We shall have occasion to notice a considerable portion of this new work as we proceed with our article—which, as the reader doubtless expects, will savour rather more of narrative than criticism.

Orissa may be compared to a huge cauldron, which has been boiling for many hundreds of years,—into which ignorance, stupidity, and bigotry, have cast so many poisonous ingredients, that it is difficult to say when the contents will become purified and good.

Its early history is perhaps more wrapped in obscurity than that of any other province. Ignorance, oppression, and superstition, garnished with the deceitful trappings of romance, either by, or through the means of, self-interested potentates, have, for many ages, gilded the misery which has been endured by its poor deluded inhabitants. Filth and every abomination of the earth have been converted by the Heathen poets into sacred streams, and fragrant flowers, and fruits of exquisite flavour. Idolatry has sanctioned these descriptions as well suited to her purpose. And yonder!—leaning against the threshold of the small temple over which he presides—behold the bigoted Brahman, with a countenance seeming to glory, as it were, in his fallen state. If you ask him concerning any of the beautiful and wonderful remains of the former greatness of his country, he knows nothing about them, save what consists in a few words, like the reply to the question respecting ruins in the *Antiquary*—"they were made by the monks lang syne."

It is related by the Annalist of Orissa, that, "when the famous Sivai Jay Singh, the General of Akbar, marched with an army into the country in 1580, A. D., he was struck with amazement at the sight of its sacred river the Mahánuddi,—its vast crowds of Brahmans, its lofty temples of stone, and all the wonders of the ancient capital Bhuvaneswar,—and exclaimed, 'This country is not a fit subject for conquest, and schemes of human ambition. It belongs wholly to the Gods, and is one entire Tirth.'* He accordingly interfered little in its affairs, and soon returned to Hindustan." We imagine, from this burst of admiration, that the "General of Akbar" proceeded no further than Bhobanéser—as we shall term it, according to the modern pronunciation—which certainly is, even at the present day, a wondrous sight to see. Imagine a vast space of some two or three miles in extent, abounding with beautiful temples, some entire, some in ruins—the former, as it were, representing, the Brahmanical scientific genius and vivid imagination of former

* *Tirth*—a sacred place of pilgrimage.

ages,—the latter emblematic of these gifts now fallen to decay. But more of this ancient "city" hereafter:—a powerful illustration of the freedom of Hindu intellect checked by a pitiful fanaticism, and the stern resolution of millions to pass a useless life.

Orissa is entirely indebted for celebrity to its temples, places of pilgrimage, and its Brahmanical institutions. But, among these, the Hindus look upon the name—*Jagannáth*—the Lord of the World—as the inspiring soul of all;—and the town of Púrí, or Púrí Jagannáth, owes its importance entirely to its connexion with the temple. This Mecca of Hindustan is resorted to by pilgrims from every quarter of India. It is, as is well known, the chief seat, in Eastern India, of Brahmanical power, and the principal stronghold of Hindu superstition. Connected with Púrí Jagannáth, there is much that is interesting and amusing in the fabulous records of the early sovereigns of Orissa.

The four ages of the Hindus are the Satya Yûg, the Treta Yûg, the Dwapar Yûg, and the Kali Yûg—or present age—these ages corresponding in their natures to the golden, siver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks. The history of Orissa begins with princes connected with the—"Mahá Bhárat"—or the *great war*, about the opening of the Kali Yûg or evil age, according to Hindu chronology, 3001 B. C. Krishna—who in his youth was a shepherd, and is likened in this capacity, as Gopala the herdsman, to the pastoral Apollo—in various Hindu works, is said to be the most remarkable incarnation of Vishnu. Jagannáth again is said to be one of the many names of Vishnu, in the manifestation of Krishna. About the commencement of the Orissan annals, the Brahmans, with their accustomed ingenuity, cause thirteen of their traditionary Rajahs to reign for 3,173 years.

Thirteen *bona fide* kings only may have reigned during the above enormous space of time; "but," says Stirling, "in relating the succession of reigns, no distinction is drawn between those personages who were local or dependant princes, and these whom it is intended to represent as the monarchs of a large part of India."

As we may with justice suppose the feudal system to have been a popular one in Orissa's ancient times, it is not improbable that the minor feudal chiefs may have played their cards like so many Robespierres of the great French Revolution:—for ever on the alert to kill a *king*.

During the reign of the fifth of these few ancient monarchs of Orissa, considerably before the Christian era, the province extended from Húgly, in lower Bengal, to the Godavery at

Rajahmundry; which capital is said to have been founded by Mahendra Deo.

Of course, to establish a sort of antiquity for their beloved idol, some of these sovereigns are painted as most devout in their offerings to Jagannáth; among whom is particularly cited the Rajah Shewak Deo—the eighth in the line.

Some three or four hundred years before the Christian era, the *Yavanas*, "foreigners," frequently invaded Orissa; but the invaders are reported to have been, at that period, invariably repelled. It is a disputed point whether these Yavanas were Persians, or Affghans, or Tartars. Stirling states that, in the original Uryia the word is written *Jaban*, or *Javan* —interpreted by the translators of his authorities, "Mogul."

Dr. Buchanan remarks—"The word Yavana properly signifies an European, but as the Hindus speak with great confusion concerning the northern and western nations, it is often confounded with the Turks, Arabs, and Tartars, and all these terms are frequently applied to the Mussulman." Moor, in the *Hindu Pantheon*, thinks that Yavana might have meant—simply *a mixed people*, and gives a root—*yu* to mix, like *misra*. Elphinstone seems to think it absurd—and we think so too—to suppose with the natives, that even the invading "Yávans," some centuries later, were Mussulmans. This historian, in a note, alludes to the "Yávans of Telingána"—the neighbouring country to Orissa—"who, by the bye, have all Sanskrit names."

We think the easiest—if not the most satisfactory—solution to the word *Yavana*, is that given by Captain Congreve:—"By Yavana," says he, "I apprehend, is meant the children of Yavana or Javan, the great ancestor of the Greeks, though by slight alteration it might be read *Yu*vana or *Eu*vana, that is the country of Europeans or Europe." In other words, Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, was the father of the Javanians or *Jaones* of the Greeks, and the *Yavanas* of the Hindus. The prophet Daniel in the original Hebrew calls Greece itself *Javan;* and Homer styles the people *Jaones*. The early Yavanas, therefore, may have been Bactrian Greeks—the remnant of the Asiatic glory of Alexander.

But who the early Orissan invaders really were is a mystery, which few will consider of sufficient importance to unravel; although it would be interesting to learn who were the antagonists of the *Uryias*, with whom so many bloody battles were fought, always to the advantage of the latter, in ages long past away. What are called effeminate, stupid people now, might have been comparatively *giants* in those days. At least, it is certain that their name and language were formerly carried

over "a vast extent of territory, both on the sea-shore and in the hills," including, besides Orissa,* a part of Bengal and Telingana.

Among the legendary annals of the ancient Rajahs of Orissa, there is a story not without a seeming colouring of truth related by Stirling, of an extraordinary occurrence, which took place A. D. 318. A Yavana, or foreigner, *Rakta Bahu*, (the Red-armed), is by curious means, discovered with a fleet containing a large army, about to approach the shores of Púrí, and take the town by surprise. The Rajah, Subhan Deo—a timid prince—apparently becomes more alarmed for the safety of the idol, Jagannáth, than for that of his own subjects,—and, in consequence, flies and hides the image, with all its jewels and trappings, in the west of the province. The Rajah at length hears of the doings of the invaders, who had landed and plundered the town and temple. His fears increase—he buries the image in the ground,—and seeks refuge in the jungles—where he eventually dies. The Yavanas, meanwhile, have drawn out their force "to chastise the ocean," for making known to the Rajah the proposed invasion, and giving him time for flight. The sea retreats nearly two miles, and the invaders take up position upon the vast sands: they rush on—the tide suddenly rushes in, swallows up a great portion of the army and inundates a great part of the country. Such is the "extraordinary occurrence;"—and the beautiful and picturesque Chilka lake, which at the present day, charms the Indian traveller, is said to be formed "by the irruption of the waters of the ocean," at the above eventful inundation!

Regarding this tradition of the Yavana, Rakta Bahu, Stirling thinks it may have some connexion with "the religious disputes which raged between the worshippers of Brahma and Buddha" about the same period—which ended in the expulsion of many of the disciples of the latter from India.

From these hostilities between the Buddhists and Brahmans, which existed at the beginning of the fourth century, it is highly probable that the above legend derives its origin; and so having advanced thus far we may perhaps be allowed to enter into a slight analogical investigation, if only to please the curious.

Was Foé or Fo, Buddha? If not, who was, then, the much

* That is Orissa, (*Or Desa*, or *Oresa*, the old original seat of the *Or* or Odra tribe,) *properly* so called—the country of the Uryia nation, the capital of which is Cuttack:—*Katak*, in Sanskrit, a seat of empire. The four modern Zillahs of Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the Jungle Mehals, &c., formed the chief portion of the grand Orissa of old;—and even, says Stirling at no very remote period. In talking of Orissa at the present day—Orissa Proper or the Cuttack Province—we merely include Cuttack, Balasore, and Púrí.

disputed Fo, whose doctrines were promulgated throughout China and other parts of the Eastern hemisphere? If Buddha, he is simply what Krishna, the origin of Jagannáth, is said to be—one of the incarnations of the popular Hindu Vishnu.* If the Buddhism of India, which became the Lamaism of Thibet, at the commencement of the Christian era, extended through Tartary as far as Persia—and there is every reason to believe it did three or four centuries after, may not some Tartar or Persian proselytes have sent an expedition to put down Brahmanical influence in India. And, while the Brahmans were persecuting the Buddhists and stirring up the Hindu people against them—styling them Atheists, which they were not—haters of science, and art, and religion, which they were not,—is it not at least probable that the first object of the invaders' revenge would be the Brahmanical stronghold, Púrí Jagannáth?

We are not speaking of the most ancient of the Buddha sects; for, in primitive Buddhism, the *being* of a God is said to have been entirely denied. From the commencement of the Christian era, the Buddhists had reversed their belief; and, in the fourth century—the time of which we write—it is probable that in Buddhism there was a purer belief in the Supreme Being than then existed in Brahmanism.

"Fo is considered by Jones, Klaproth and Remusat to be the same person as Buddha,—Fo being Buddha according to Chinese orthograghy."† The Chinese having no B in their alphabet—called him Fo, or Fo—hi.

It is written that Fo was the son of a prince of India;—that he was born there, about 1200 years before the Christian era; and that "he was called *Cheka*, or Xaca, to the age of thirty, when he took the name of Foé"‡

Craufurd likewise states—"I think there is little doubt that the *Samana Kantama* of Pegu, the *Samana Codum* of Siam, and the Foé, or *Xaca* of China and Japan, is the same person, and probably the Hindu Vishnu in one of his pretended incarnations."

In an attempt to trace out a connexion between Brahmanism and Buddhism, we little thought we should find, in "Stillingfleet's defence"—(A. D. 1676)—such a remarkable passage as the following:—"Among the Saints of the Brahmans, *Ram* is

* "Such Hindus as admit Buddha to be an incarnation of Vishnu, agree in his being the last important appearance of the deity on earth; but many among the Brahmans, and other tribes, deny their identity."—*Moor's Hindu Pantheon*," *p.* 220.

† See the 8th number of this Journal—"Indian Buddhism—its Origin and Diffusion."

‡ Craufurd.

'in very great estimation, being the restorer of their *religion*, and 'a great *patron* of their Brahmans; Kircher supposeth him 'to be the same with him whom the *Japanese* call *Xaca*, and 'the *Chinese Ken Kian*, saith Kircher, *Xacia* or *Thic-ca*, saith 'Marini, and those of *Tunquin*, *Chiaga*.....in all which parts 'he is in very great *veneration;* him they look on as the great 'propagator of their religion in the *Eastern* parts, and they say 'he had 80,000 disciples, but he chose ten out of them all to 'disperse his opinions. From whence it is supposed that the 'religion of the *Brahmans* hath spread itself not only over *In-'dosthan*, but *Camboia*, *Tunquin*, *Cochin-china*, nay *China* 'itself, and Japan too; where it is an usual thing for persons '*to drown, burn or famish themselves for the honour of Xaca.* 'This *Sect* was brought into China sixty-five years after Christ 'from Indosthan;"—which Sect, in short, is generally believed to have been formed of the Indian Buddhists.

Some violent speculators might at once deduce from the above extract, from Dr. Stillingfleet,—one of the most celebrated of our English divines, who, in addition to numerous other authorities, cites Xavier, Bernier, and Bartoli, for the account of his "two sects in the East Indies,"—that Brahmanism and Buddhism were originally one and the same thing,—that Buddhism—so called—is only a sect produced by a division among the upholders of Brahmanism. It is the *Ram* or *Rama* in the passage—which hero is often made synonymous with Krishna—that might lead to such a conjecture. But we shall not rush to any violent conclusions of this kind. As we proceed, the reader, it is hoped, will be able to form his own judgment on the matter. Nearest to the date or computation of the era of Buddha, as above given by Craufurd, is Abul Fazel, in the Ayin Akbery, who places it 1366 B. C. The Chinese assign his birth to 1036 B. C.; the Tibetians to 957—differing by a few years from the majority of their countrymen. The dates of the Siamese, Japanese, and Ceylonese, are 544 and 542—the first two agreeing in date; and Monsieur Bailly and Sir W. Jones nearly agree with the Chinese in assigning to the era of Buddha the dates of 1031 and about 1000 B. C. There must, it has been supposed, have been two Buddhas—one, perhaps, the Incarnation of Vishnu; the other, the original Buddha, or Budha, probably a king of India—to have produced that decided difference of opinion, which has so long existed, and which now exists more than ever, regarding the era of the founder of the Buddhists.

It is well known that one of the chief doctrines of Buddha was the abolition of *caste*. In favour of the supposition that

the Hindu Vishnu has ought to do with Fo—which personage we shall assume to be the same as Buddha—it may be cited that the people of many castes, at the pagoda of Jagannáth, mingle and eat together.* This peculiarity is said to be in commemoration of Krishna, "who always recommended kindness and affection for each other." This advice of the Hindu philospher is more Buddhistical than Brahmanical.

Allowing that the two religions sprang from one common origin—and this is one of the great points of dispute—there is, with all its error, a seeming purity, an honesty, a sincerity of purpose, about Buddhism, which we search for in vain in Brahmanism. There is in it less of that selfishness, that barbarous despotism, that bestiality, which at present characterizes, and has so long tainted the latter religion. There is about Buddhism a grand freedom, which never could have, at least to such a degree, corrupted the moral sense, debased the human intellect,—and deadened the best affections of the human heart. The Brahmans appear before us in dark colours as a set of despots, shorn of all their scientific glory, whose chief delight is to fetter the human intellect by domineering over the inferior masses of mankind.

Among the Buddhists of later centuries—including those of the present time—the adoration of a *Great Supreme, unseen*, is more apparent than among the Brahmans. The present Brahmanical system, which has so long existed, is founded on outward display, licentiousness and mammon. Yet, true it is, that this neglect of the Spirit pervading all things, is forbidden in the principal Shástras, and by various *Brahmanical* authors —when it is stated that "It is for the ignorant to view God in wood and stone; the wise behold him in Spirit alone."

Let us now turn from this digression and proceed with our historical and general sketch.

About the middle of the fourth century A. D., a Yavana dynasty is said to have held the government of Orissa, which extended over a space of 146 years. But these foreigners are of no importance in the Orissan Annals; and Stirling is disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province, from the accession of the Rajahs, styled the Kesari *Pat* or Vansa, A. D. 473. The Kesari, or Kesur family, though nothing is known of their origin and pedigree, play a most conspicuous part in early Orissan history. The founder of the new dynasty Yáyáti Kesari, cleared his dominions of the Yavanas; restored

* We have heard it asserted the *people of every caste*. Some of the very low castes are not admitted to the temple.

the confidence of the officiating priests of Jagannáth; discovered the images, which were said to have been hid since the time of Raktá Báhu; and revived the worship of the idol "in all its ancient splendour." We now beg the reader's attention to the following interesting particulars from Stirling, as, in some respect, the Head Clerk of Púrí differs from the high authority. To the revival of the worship "the formation of a new image being considered an indispensible preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper *daru* or piece of timber, and having found one with all the requisite qualities indicated by the shastras, they brought it to the Rajah, who, filled with pious zeal, clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Púrí. *A new temple was then erected* on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and overwhelmed with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their sinhason or throne with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Kakara (Cancer) the thirteenth year of the Rajah's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, sasans founded, and the whole country around Púrí assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Rajah received by general acclamation the title of the second Indradyumna."*

To Rajah Yayáti Kesari, then, according to Stirling, the worship of Jagannáth is indebted for its lasting celebrity; or, at least, with this Rajah, the temple appears to have been brought out of fable into light. The Head Clerk of Púrí says—"During 'Satya Yug, or golden age, the temple at Púrí was erected by 'Maharajah Indradyumna, who placed within it the three idols, '*Jagannáth* his brother *Bulbhudra*, and his sister *Súbhudra*." —*(History of Púrí, page* 10.*)* A fabulous story of the famed Maharajah's proceeding to heaven to invite Brahma to consecrate Jagannáth, follows the above extracts—which is similar to one related by Stirling—who in no way connects it with history, but merely alludes to it as a fable or one of the many ingenious speculations which have been hazarded upon "the origin and meaning of the worship of Jagannáth." Both authorities have their great monarch or Indradyumna, in the "Satya Yug;"—but Stirling has two, an ancient and a modern—or at least, the latter prince was honoured with the title of Indradyumna—which, as it were, qualifies the whole business. It must be to the latter of these that the Head Clerk alludes:

* Stirling's Account of Orissa, pp. 103-4.

then will come with some propriety his assertion that, "sub-
' sequently, the temple was entirely covered with sand, in
' which it remained buried for a long time. This circum-
' stance was brought to the notice of Rajah Unung Bhím
' Deb, who immediately set out to discover it, and happened
' to find the spot, where it had sunk; he then *removed the*
' *sand*, and the temple was restored A. D. 1198." Here it is asserted that Anang, or Unung Bhím Deb, or Deo, only removed the sand and restored the temple—while Stirling says* the great temple was *erected* by the above Rajah's orders. But Stirling has *erected a new temple* on the site of some old temple or other, in the reign of Yayati Kesari—the particulars of which form our last quotation from that authority. We may then justly say there have been *two* temples of Jagannáth erected in the Christian era.

The Head Clerk of Púrí gives a new period—and, it is most probable, a period of his own—for the reigning of the Rajahs of the Kesari line. This authority builds the temple of Bhobanéser in 1128, A. D. "The temple was erected by Rajah Lulat Kesur." (Page 69.) Now Rajah Lulat Kesur, according to Stirling, began to reign A. D. 617; and built the temple of Bhobanéser, in 657: and this we may believe to be the more correct date.

The Kesari family, it is said, became extinct at the commencement of the twelfth century. The Head Clerk writes that the famous temple of the Sun, or "the Black Pagoda," was *erected* by one of the Kesari Rajahs, or "Kesoree," as he terms it, in 1273. (Page 71.) This edifice, says Stirling, "it is well known was built by Rajah Langora Narsinh Deo, A. D. 1241, under the superintendence of his minister Shibai Sautra.†" The Black Pagoda was completed, according to the same authority in 1277. If Anang Bhím Deb did not build the entire present temple of Jagannáth, to him is attributed the erection of the grand tower. He probably likewise built the whole of the minor temples within the enclosure,—while he was engaged, at an enormous expense, in flooding Púrí with a barbarous magnificence—which has lasted even to the present day. It is known that the architecture of the Hindus originated with the pyramid—that is the ancient temple architecture—in which form the ancient pagodas in the South of India are invariably built. We may here be allowed to remark that the monuments of Hindu architecture, are, with great propriety, divided into three classes,—the first comprising subterraneous

* See "Account," p. 154. † Stirling, p. 185.

temples or caves hewn out of the rock,—the second, similar to these, but having only a portion of the sanctuary subterraneous; the third includes all buildings, commonly called temples or pagodas. It is the opinion of Professor Heeren—the correctness of which has been generally admitted—that the above order of the enumeration of these classes appears to agree with the progressive eras of their construction.

Stirling assigns in one place the date 1196, to the completion of the temple of Jagannáth, as it at present stands; and in another, he says that the present edifice was completed A. D. 1198. The latter date is that generally quoted. We know it to be the opinion of authorities in Orissa, that the three temples of Jagannáth, Bhobanéser, and the Black Pagoda, as they are at present, were all built within a century or less of each other. And, on this belief, the Head Clerk of Púrí has probably been content to rest some of his dates—without taking the trouble of further investigation.

Among the last great actions of the Kesari family, are chronicled the planting of a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about 989 A. D.; and the construction of a stone revetment on the Mahanuddi and Cajori—"probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen."

It would appear that, at the above period, the large and populous city of Bhobanéser—the city with its forty-two streets, and clusters of magnificent temples—first became desolate. What had formed the seat of government of the Kesari princes became the victim of ruin on the accession of a new dynasty. But we think that this desertion of the city can partly be accounted for. We are informed that the change of dynasty was brought about by "a person named Chúrany or Chor Ganga"—a native of the Carnatic—who was invited by a rebel against the Orissan Court and government to invade the province. This personage probably considered, not unwisely, that Cuttack was the best place of defence against invading powers—particularly against any rivals in the Carnatic—who might feel inclined to wrench from him his treacherously acquired sovereignty. Or, the cause of Bhobanéser's becoming desolate might have been a fancied hatred to anything which owed its greatness to the Kesari family,—and a wish of the usurper to assume as his own bantling the rising city of Cuttack, and thereby gratify a noble ambition by making Cuttack in commerce what Bhobanéser had once been in religion.

The descendants of this chief reigned four centuries "a period fertile in great names and events of importance, and which forms unquestionably the most brilliant and interesting

portion of Orissan history. The Ganga Vansa princes are distinguished for their liberality in the erection of public works; and next to Anang Bhím Deo, in point of lasting celebrity, may be placed Rajah Langora Narsinh Deo, who built the Black Pagoda. There is also honourable mention made of another of the Ganga Vansas-Gajapatis,* who, in the year 1300, built "the fine bridge at the entrance of Púrí."

Nothing of any great importance appears to have been done for the next 150 years. Orissa seems, during that period, to have enjoyed a sort of repose. But there was no such repose in other quarters. The irruption of the Mahommedans, at the very commencement of the eleventh century—the greatest scourge that ever befel the Hindu nation—had produced a race of men, fierce, bigoted, and cruel; whose enjoyment was cruelty, and part of whose mission was to destroy by force the worship of the Hindú trinity. But the greatest scourge of them all was Tammerlane—that terrific angry meteor—through whose agency priests were tortured, temples thrown down; and into those sacred places, where the footsteps of invaders had probably never before been heard, entered fearlessly to their worship the followers of the conqueror of Arabia.

It was not until the year 1451, that the Mahommedans turned their attention towards Orissa; and their power did not fairly extend over any part of the province till about the middle of the sixteenth century. The overthrow of the independent sovereignty of Orissa is dated A. D. 1558. Towards the close of that century, the Mahommedans took entire possession, and did every thing in their power to annoy the pious Hindus; and we now begin to picture in imagination a most ludicrous, though it was to them a most serious business,—namely, that of the high priest of Jagannáth, with other zealous assistants, stealing away, in a covered cart with three carefully wrapped-up images, to conceal their hideous treasures in the hills adjacent to the Chilka lake—until a favourable opportunity for again setting them upon their throne in the temple. From this petty warfare, the much talked-of but little understood pilgrim-tax derived its origin. The following remarks concerning it, from the compilation of the indefatigable Mr. Peggs, will interest the reader:—"This religious warfare was at last 'set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims; which, 'if we may credit the author of the work translated by Gladwin

* From *Gaja*, an elephant, and *pati* (potens,) a master or potentate. Rajah Anang Bhim Deo was the first to undertake the measurement of the whole of the land comprised within the dominions of the Gajapatis, which are said to have included more than 40,000 square miles.

'under the title of "History of Bengal," yielded the Mogul 'Government a revenue of 900,000 rupees. The Mahrattas, 'who succeeded the Mussulmans in the Government of Orissa, 'levied the tax, and the British followed the example of their 'predecessors. Before this place (Jagannáth) fell into the 'hands of the English, the king, a Mahratta chief, exacted 'tolls from the pilgrims passing through his territories to Ja-'gannáth. At one place the toll was not less than £1. 9*s.* for 'each foot passenger, if he had so much property with him. 'When a Bengalí Rajah used to go, he was accompanied by 'one or two thousand people, for every one of whom he was 'obliged to pay toll. The Hon'ble Company's Government 'levied a tax of from one to six rupees on each passenger."* The pilgrim-tax is supposed to have been established at Gya and Allahabad, by the Moguls, about the same time as that at Jagannáth.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign (1563) we read that all taxes on pilgrims were abolished.†

During the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, in which the followers of Mahommed delighted to revel, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Brahmanical science in Orissa, (as in many other provinces), which had been long withering, perished. The learning, which was in the sole possession of the priests, fled before tyranny and persecution;—and those gorgeous pagodas of Hindustan, to which science had at least lent some grandeur, though but a vestige of what the annals of antiquity ascribe to the Brahmans, became only vile nests of iniquity—which they are at the present day.

The downfall of the Affghans in Bengal took place about 1564, under the auspices of Akbar.

His generals first drove them out of Behar; when Patna is said to have become the capital of that province. In 1592, the Affghans were, by order of Akbar, driven out of Orissa by Rajah Man Singh, the imperial Lieutenant of Bengal. Eventually, those fierce barbarians, the Mahrattas, entered the province (1743), and plundered, massacred, and oppressed the people. The veteran-Aliverdy Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, Behar and Orissa—a sworn enemy to this race of free-booters—delivered up the province to their entire government, in 1755. It is said that this gallant old soldier and statesman, "struggled for ten years to keep the Mahrattas from conquering Bengal."‡

It will always be difficult to know which of the two powers—

* Stirling—Peggs—Ward. † See Elphinstone's India, vol. 2, page 326.

‡ "Outline of the History of Bengal," p. 132.

the Mahommedan or Mahratta—did the most mischief in Orissa. We are inclined to think, for the time they reigned, that the Mahrattas bear away the palm. The Mahommedans, at first, harrassed priests and broke up idols, with a zeal in some degree excusable in men seeking to uphold a falling yet popular religion; but, doubtless, this treatment of the Uryias was in a great measure put a stop to when the Mogul government discovered that the Hindu pilgrimage to Jagannáth brought them a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees.

The Mahrattas had no new religion to uphold. To get money was their aim, to supply the court which governed them; —and the free-booters did not scruple to barter the ruin and misery of the people of Orissa, for heaps of gold and silver. The magic kettle-drum of the Affghan conqueror, "at the sound of which the ears and feet of the idols would drop off for many coss all round," while it lasted, could hardly have struck more terror into the poor Uryias, than did the oppressive and wrenching system of the Mahrattas. Four years after their possession of the province, the Mahratta power was at its zenith. The Mogul empire in India was on the eve of being extinguished. The expense for the maintenance and equipment of the Mahratta armies became enormous. It had an army of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry "in the direct service of the state," and 10,000 disciplined infantry, superior to any ever before raised and commanded by native chiefs in India. The Mahrattas had also a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls.*

It is not difficult to imagine the cruel measures which would be resorted to, in the getting of money, by this upstart people, when they were about to take the field against the Mahommedan confederacy. The grand army of the Mahrattas was, notwithstanding, defeated.†

Yet, this people, in the gradual sunset of their glory, even with all their rapacity and violence, must have commanded a considerable portion of Hindu veneration. They adhered strictly to the religion of Brahma. This, in the eyes of the people of Orissa, must have covered a multitude of sins. They were famous for mutual harmony, and a marked hospitality to strangers. These qualities were particularly apparent among them in their original country on the Coast of Malabar. The excesses they committed, therefore, cannot justly be ascribed to a natural ferocity of character; they may have been "dictated by policy or inspired by revenge." They may sometimes have

* Elphinstone.

† Battle of Paniput—the Mahrattas defeated by Ahmed Shah, A. D. 1760.

wished to obtain that by the dread of their invasions, which otherwise would only have been effected by a tedious war; or they may have been provoked to retaliate on the Mahommedans the cruelties they had so long exercised on their countrymen.*

During the administration of the Mahrattas in Orissa, we have not been able to discover that they treated pilgrims to Jagannáth otherwise than with a degree of consideration and attention. Like the Moguls eventually, it was of course their interest to do so. To take particular care about the collection of the pilgrim tax—to entice as many pilgrims to come as possible—to afford them the protection of the state while they enjoyed their devotions in the "Holy Land"—as the ground about Jagannáth is called—was a portion of their policy. And the pilgrim-hunters of the latter half of the eighteenth century must have found little difficulty in causing multitudes to undertake the pilgrimage, especially when the Mahratta power and name extended from the Himalayas to nearly the extremity of the peninsula.

From an old document before us we learn that the forefathers of a certain class of Brahmans, from time immemorial, visited Jagannáth; and they were permitted to perform their ceremonies without "impediment, delay, or molestation," by the successive Rajahs or chieftains of the district. The descendants of these Brahmans, and their relations, at different times, visited the temple, while it was under the Mahratta jurisdiction, and were invariably treated with every attention and assistance by the Pundahs, or Priests. These people term Jagannáth "A venerable Fane of Hindu reverence." In their opinion, a pilgrimage to Púrí is one of the most important acts of observance, enjoined to a Hindu, in the ritual of his religion. "At this resting place," say the deluded creatures, "the mind receives its last solace—when all prospects in life are commonly drawing to a close." Before carrying the reader to the town and temple, it may be as well to state that the title of Maharajah of Orissa of the Zemindari race of sovereigns, was first enjoyed by a distant connexion of an ancient royal house of the province—Ranai Raotra—who was raised to that rank and dignity, A. D. 1580, under the title of Ramchander Deo. This popular Zemindar, who commenced the line of the Rajahs of Khurdah, and from whom the present Rajah or superintendent of the temple is a descendant, was confirmed in the appointment by Sivai

* Craufurd—*Sketches of the Hindus*, vol. 2, p. 308.

Jay Singh, the General of Akbar, who, as we have before mentioned, was struck with admiration and astonishment at the "magnificent" temples of Orissa.

The office of the old Maharajahs, at Jagannáth, was that of *Chandal* (sweeper) at the Ruth Jatra,—and the superintendent is to be seen with his broom performing his annual duty at the present day.

And now let us turn our attention to the town of Púrí and the temple.

The district, or Southern Division of Cuttack, in which Púrí is situated, is fully described by the Head Clerk in his "History." It may interest the reader to give the boundaries of the district of Orissa, from a statistical account, addressed to "His Excellency Sir George Nugent, Bart., the Hon'ble Vice President in Council," 1814.

In figure, Orissa is nearly that of a bow, of which the Bay of Bengal, on one side, forms the chord, and "the districts of the Mahratta frontier," on the other, the arc. The British territories of Balasore, Hidgellí, Midnapore, and Mohurbunge, border it on the north-east; Chota Nagpore and the "Mahratta districts" of Burhey and Bhandah, on the north; the Berar Frontier of Kole, Atmullick, Boad, and Goomsur, on the west; Ganjam borders it on the south-west, and the Bay of Bengal washes the south and east.

The greater portion of the history and all the character of the Uryia nation is combined in this space of country. The area at the time the above boundaries were written, was said to be 22,500 square miles. This area includes a large portion of the Tributary Mehals.

The district which contains Púrí has, it is said,* an area of 8,800 square miles.

Its length is stated to be about 110 miles, and its breadth eighty.

This includes four "Tributary Mehals," three of which (Runpore, Nyagurh and Khundiapara,) we mentioned in a former article. "The other Murrichpore, is subject to law, and the proprietor is not styled a Rajah."†

* See the "History of Púrí," &c. p. 62.

† Since writing the above, so little being known about Orissa, we have endeavoured to gain some *correct* statistical information—which we here give in the form of a Note. The area of Southern Cuttack, as given above, is greatly exaggerated—8,800 square miles being nearer the area of the entire province than of only a part of it: Exclusive of the four Mehals—for which we will allow 2,300 miles as the area—the southern division of Cuttack or the Púrí district contains only 2,700 square miles. There is no data, on which accurately to calculate the population of the province. In Stirling's time it was said to be 12,96,365. This includes the village inhabitants and the population of the towns of Cuttack, Púrí, and Balasore. The population, during the last

"It is affirmed that Púrí was, in former ages, under the sands," and that "a great part of it was overrun by forest trees, underwood, and grass: these dense thickets were the theatres of the austerities and actions of many gods and ascetics."*

Such, according to the Hindu mythology, was ancient Púrí. And, from the present aspect of the place, with even a slight knowledge of the locality, we think that the antiquary might be able to form some probable account out of the legend. Approaching Púrí, the landscape is naked and cheerless; there is nothing to satisfy or please the eye. It is just what Claude Lorraine would have avoided, as wanting the slightest natural grandeur for any sort of painting. Had he attempted to place a land-storm over it, with all the accompaniment of angry clouds and storms howling on the canvas, he still would have produced a poor painting;—for a picture the country is so flat, dry, "stale and unprofitable." In the sandy precincts of the town, a human skull, occasionally, may arrest the wandering eye of the traveller. He must hail as a companion this emblem of mortality; for he may find no other.

Storms and hurricanes of a world gone by, it would seem, have torn up the wild sands of Púrí, so that you perceive, on reaching the houses of the English residents, no equality of surface. At the present time, according to the Hindus, forty miles south of Madras, at Mavalipuram, where are the temples and ruins styled "the seven Pagodas," the surf rolls and roars over the ancient city of the great Bali. The old ruins and temples there are chiefly dedicated to Vishnu. Perhaps then, the submerging of ancient Púrí, and that of the city of Bali, are Hindu legends of the same date and of the same origin,—the sea having receded in the one case, while it encroached on the land in the other. The traveller must retire nearly three quarters of a mile from the sea before he can consider himself fairly in modern Púrí.

twenty years, has very considerably encreased. From the best authority we have the following statement of the area of each of the three divisions of the province:

Central Cuttack	3,061 S. M.
Southern Division	2,700
Northern Division	1,875
Total	7,636

The Revenue Boards' Report to Government for 1846-47 gives the Revenue of the four districts of Midnapore, Cuttack, Púrí, and Balasore, at Rs. 19,65,019; 8,21,239; 4,70,128; and 3,88,125—respectively. Total Rs. 36,44,841.

* "History of Púrí," p. 34.

The wonderful city of Dwarka, too, is said to have been swallowed up by the sea—Dwarka from which Vishnu is said to have marched in one of his freaks to Mavalipuram.

The city of Dwarka, celebrated in the poem of "Ramayana," is said to have been built, by command of Krishna, on the seashore, in the province of *Gujarat*. Púrí, as it was some five and twenty years ago, and with the exception of an increased number of houses, consequent upon the increased population, as it is now, is thus graphically described by Stirling:—

"The town of Púrí Jagannáth contains 5,741 houses. Every span of it is holy ground, and the whole of the land is held free of rent, on the tenure of performing certain services, in and about the temple. The principal street is composed almost entirely of the religious establishments called Maths, built of masonry, having low pillared verandas in front, and plantations of trees interspersed. Being very wide, with the temple rising majestically at the southern end, it presents by no means an unpicturesque appearance; but the filth and stench, the swarms of religious mendicants and other nauseous objects, which offend one's senses in every part of the town, quite dispel any illusion which the scene might otherwise possess. Fine luxuriant gardens and groves enclose the town on the land side, and produce the best fruit in the province. The stately and beautiful Callophyllum Inophyllum, called by Dr. Ainslie the Alexandrian Laurel, grows here in great abundance, and the Cashew-nut thrives with peculiar luxuriance. The environs exhibit some fine tanks, as the Indra Daman, Chandan, Márkandeswar Talao, &c. which are supposed to be very ancient; and the inquisitive stranger who may be disposed to explore amidst the sand hills situated between the sea and the S. W. face of the town, will find many ancient and curious looking religious edifices, nearly overwhelmed with sand, to excite and reward attention."*

The climate of Púrí, during the hot months, is considered highly salubrious.

At the time of which Stirling writes, the population of Púrí was considerably under 40,000:—that is including besides the regular inhabitants of the town, all those who made only a temporary residence there, or who, having come from afar to visit their friends and relations as well as to pay their devotions to Jagannáth, made a longer stay than the usual influx of pilgrims either did or were allowed to do.

Brij Kishore Ghose writes thus in his "History of Púrí:"—"It is a celebrated place of Hindu worship, situated on the 'western coast of the Bay of Bengal,† in the province of 'Orissa, forty-two miles,‡ south of Cuttack and 298 miles 'from Calcutta. It is also called Jagannáth, which name is 'derived from that of the prodigious idol which is venerated

* Account of Orissa, p. 31. † Long. 85°54′ E., lat. 19°49′ N.

‡ 49, according to English calculation.

'by the Hindus. In this place is a celebrated temple, and three 'cars for the ancient festival.....The population of the town 'is estimated at 80,000, of which four thousand are priests or 'attendants upon Jagannáth."*

The most striking features about Púrí, it would seem, are, the numerous divisions of the town, and the establishment of games on a small scale—reminding us a little of the Grecian Olympia of old.

At these are carried on wrestling matches and various gymnastic exercises—the general excitement heightened by means of harsh music and debauchery.

The pernicious and destructive effects produced by these establishments are alluded to by the Head Clerk of Púrí, from whom many of the Hindu nation may gain a valuable lesson.

He thus describes the commerce of the town :—

* "There are no markets in Púrí. A common fair is daily held in front of the *Singdurwazah*, where vegetables, such as greens, pumpkins, radishes .....&c., are procurable. Shops are erected on both sides of the road, where rice.....salt, wood, spices, nuts, and medicinal herbs are sold. Cotton cloths, imported from the Madras presidency, are sold by men from the south, and also by Púrí merchants. Cottons, imported from Bengal, are sold by men from the Upper Provinces.....During the festivals, Cuttack shop-keepers, called *munwarris*, assemble here with their wares.....Nothing is cheap at this place, except rice, which is grown in the district. Wheat is brought from Ganjam and Sumbulpore."—*History*, *p.* 3.

There is likewise a small traffic in stone and timber.

Perhaps no place in the world excels Púrí in the various ways of obtaining a livelihood. The child of four or five years old may be seen lending a hand in the casting of a net; traders in chunam,† young and old, may be observed gathering shells on the beach. Or should you enter the town, you may behold groups of religious mendicants either going to be cheated or to cheat; or you may see a solitary fâqir making a livelihood by roasting himself and calling on his gods: the passers by throwing him pice out of admiration at his mad fanaticism.

Let us now act the part of the "inquisitive stranger," and explore a little amidst the sand-hills between the sea and the south-west face of the town.

It is sunset, and the sun has just brightened the dingy hue of Jagannáth's temple—while the sea sends forth its never intermitting roar.

* History, &c. p. 1.

† The Chunan trade at Púrî is a monopoly, enjoyed by fifteen families, who, it is stated, sell about fifteen thousand rupees worth annually.

About half a mile from the town, on the sea-shore, is a place of note, styled "Surgdwar"—Swerga-dwara—the gate of heaven. Here the relatives of deceased Hindus bury or burn the corpses —when they are believed sure of an immediate entrance into paradise, body as well as soul.

Swerga is the paradise of Indra, the god of the elements. The reader probably remembers the lines in the Kehama, where Indra says,

> "No child of man, Ereenia, in the bowers
> Of bliss may sojourn, till he hath put off
> His mortal part; for on mortality
> Time and Infirmity and Death attend."

There is a terrible reality about the last line in the present instance; for, sure enough, "Infirmity and Death" do attend, in their blackest colours the many fanatics who year after year visit the Swerga-dwara of Púrí.

About two miles to the south-west of the town is a small temple, dedicated to Siva, the temple of Lokenath—concerning which minute details will be found in the "History."

Lokenath is merely one of the numerous representations of Siva—the destructive and generative energy of the Hindu Pantheon.

There are several other small temples near the sea shore, among which we may mention that of Belessur, to the north-east, dedicated to Bal Iswar, or Baliswara, one of the names of Siva. To satisfy Parvati, the wife of Siva, (Devi,) Mahadeva (Siva) was born again, in the character of Baleswara, or Iswara, *the infant;* "but suddenly became a man under the title of Sileswara, or Iswara, *who gives delight.*"*

Near the Belessur temple is the Púrí burial-ground—a small magazine of mortality, not unworthy of a visit.

Here will be found in a small space enclosed by a brick wall, tombs of three of the most important classes in India—the military man, the civilian, and the missionary.† According to a "Report" before us, the above missionary was one of the earliest in the field of Orissa. Upwards of forty-two years ago, Dr. Buchanan pitched his tent on the banks of the Chilka lake, when he had a distant view of the lofty tower of Jagannáth, from which he had just returned, after beholding the great Rùth festival. Through the vehement writing of this zealous man, and the expression of an ardent desire for the establishment of "some Christian institution" near the temple, about 1816, a society was formed among the General Baptists of England; and under the

* Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 389. † Mr. Bampton.

guidance of the late Mr. Ward of Serampore, nearly thirty years ago, Cuttack became the seat of missionary labour.*

In 1837, the Cuttack missionaries were assisted in the district by some others from America. Mr. Ward, it is well known, was one of the triumvirate, Carey, Marshman and Ward, who, almost half a century ago made Serampore famous by its "Mission;" and the fruits of whose labours are even now spreading with a salutary effect over the lands of the heathen.

Without cherishing any undue prejudice in favour of any particular profession, we may truly say, that, considering the difficulties those earnest in the missionary cause have to contend with—considering how some of them go on year after year, toiling and persevering, labouring often "in the front of severest obloquy"—they deserve the greatest praise even for the seeming little they may accomplish; and human justice demands that they should have their share of fame and glory; for the most prejudiced among us must confess that, in the vocation of a *sincere* and *zealous* Missionary in India, the struggle for success is hard.

In Orissa, at least, there can be no doubt that he has before him a dreary and disheartening prospect.

Before leaving the burial-ground at Púrí, we may be allowed to mention one tenant more, the late Mr. Acland, a clergyman, whose book, on the "Manners and Customs of the Hindus" was noticed in a recent number of this journal.

We shall now ask the reader to accompany us westward to Jagannáth's temple,—that familiar beacon to the navigators of the Bay of Bengal,—which is said to have been built at an expense of from forty to fifty lakhs of rupees.

Taking a telescopic view of the temple, from an elevation one mile and a half north-east of the town, we behold the Bar Dewal, nearly 190 feet high, towering majestically above the dark and gloomy landscape below. The entire height of the tower from the ground is about 210 feet.

Adjoining to Bar Dewal, and rising to a height of some seven feet, two square pyramidal-roofed buildings strike the eye: they appear elaborately carved, with a nearly flat apex, from which, like that of the great tower, rises a small irregular cone, apparently composed of circular stones,—the topstone surmounted by a sort of urn. Numerous temples of various shapes and sizes are to be seen in the enclosure, to the right and left of the Bar Dewal. The great tower and adjoining buildings bear on their summits the *Chakra*—a sort of wheel—a symbol of Vishnu.

* The Orissa Baptist Mission has at present its head-quarters at Cuttack, and is under the superintendence of an old, a zealous, and a faithful servant—Mr. Lacey.

Stirling compares the shape of the towers or temples of Orissa—and they are all in a degree similar to the Bar Dewal of Jagannáth—to a phial with the stopper inserted. We think it better to compare them to old-fashioned pepper-boxes—multilateral, and of nearly equal diameter, until approaching the top: the remainder of the box is very similar to the upper portion of the towers of Orissa; but, perhaps, the likeness is more remarkable at Bhobanéser than at Jagannáth.

The eye of the traveller must now be content, until having left the eminence from which we have been attempting a description, and proceeding on our tour of research, we at length enter the town of Púrí,—and passing along through the silent streets, by houses with raised foundations—some of the domiciles composed of mud, others of masonry—we speedily find ourselves before the *Sinh Durwazeh*, the lion or eastern and principal entrance to the great Pagoda.

Regarding the dimensions of the lofty stone wall enclosing Jagannáth's temple—in each side of which there is a large gateway—and the general measurement of the sacred buildings, every author differs: and this is not strange when we consider that neither Christian nor Mussulman is allowed to cross the threshold.

We have read somewhere of one solitary case in which a Major Carter managed to enter along with the pilgrims the famous shrine of Jagannáth.

Taking a *medium* we might make some of the dimensions as follows: The stone-wall enclosing the Bar Dewul and the edifices connected with it, is about thirty feet high. The area forms nearly a square, or rectangle, 660 feet by 650. Within this area are upwards of 100 temples—apparently from seventy to eighty feet in height—dedicated to the principal deities of the Hindu Pantheon. Sinh Durwazeh is flanked by huge griffins; and a little in front of it, in the street, stands a beautiful column of black marble—we are not sure of the height*—of an architecture something between the Doric and the Corinthian.

The pillar, or "polygonal column," as it is called, stands upon a richly curved pedestal,—and according to Stirling and the author of the "History of Púrí," was brought from the temple of the Sun at Kanaruk—a small portion of the massive marble remains of the gorgeous "Black Pagoda."

Formerly the summit of the column was surmounted by an image of the monkey-god, Hanuman. A broad flight of steps

* Probably not more than 40 feet.

leads from the Sinh Durwazeh to a terrace twenty feet in height —"enclosed by a second wall four hundred and forty-five feet square, on which occurs first the apartment of the *Bhog Mandap*"—where food is served out for the idol and other purposes. In a line, and connected with it, is a low building on stone pillars, styled *Jugmohun*, where the Garú, or Garúr—bird-god is kept. Next to this is the *Unsurpinda*,* which adjoins or opens into the great tower:—in all there are four principal structures connected by passages and doors. The Unsurpinda and Bhog Mandap—each, we believe, sixty feet square—over the pyramidal building we observed in our late telescopic view.

The ground-plan of the great tower is said to be a square of thirty-five feet "in which there is a large platform of marble, which is styled *Ruttunsinghasun*, or throne." The three idols Jagannáth, his brother and sister, occupy the tower and throne.

The roofs of the buildings—particularly that of the Bar Dewal —are said to be singularly ornamented with various representations of monsters, and the walls abound with carvings of demons and giants of every description. In niches on the outer walls are various well-executed illustrations of Hindu obscenity.

The Head Clerk of Púrí informs us that Gurúr, in the Jugmohun, has his hands "joined together in token of supplication toward the idol Jagannáth."

In the temples of Vishnu, the *Garúr* is an image of great importance. Vishnu is worshipped under the form of the human figure, having a circle of heads and four hands, emblematic of an all-seeing and all-provident being. The figure of the *Garúr* is said to be the representation of a large brown kite, with a white head, on which the god may be either seen mounted, or the bird may be found immediately in front of the image.†

The *preserving* power—the nearest approach in the Hindu mythology to omnipotence and goodness—has given Vishnu a greater number of adorers than any other deity or attribute. "If indeed," says Moor, "we take the sect of Vaishnava in its most comprehensive sense, including, as we are warranted in doing, the schism of Buddha, he has more than all the others collectively."

Vishnu is sometimes represented reposing on a many-headed serpent, which floats upon the surface of the ocean. In this

* Where the idols are worshipped during their illness—after the Snanjatra or Bathing festival.

† Craufurd—"Sketches," p. 181, vol. 1.

position he is supposed to be contemplating and willing the creation of the world.

From his navel springs a *lotus* plant, in the calyx of which Brahma appears seated, ready to accomplish the work of creation. The lotus is an emblem of the world. The only peculiarity in the general figure of Vishnu is his having the four hands—which hold respectively the mace, the lotus-flower, the *chank*, or conchshell, and the *chakra*. In a beautiful engraving in the "Hindu Pantheon," he is to be seen riding on a machine—something between an eagle and a man—with a bow in one hand, ascending to paradise with his consort Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of beauty.*

Other nations may perhaps have been indebted to this group for their pictures of Gods, and the apotheoses of men, ascending to the skies on the eagle.

We have been led into these few particulars regarding Vishnu —notwithstanding many must have known them before—as we have been attempting a description of a temple which is said to have been built in honour of that deity.

And it is necessary to our present purpose that we should supply some more mythological information, with which, however, the intelligent reader may not be so well acquainted.

We have lately alluded to the numerous sect of Vaishnava. We have frequently read that the worshippers of Siva are believed to be more numerous than those of Vishnu. This we doubt very much; and, as we have already seen, is contrary to the opinion of Moor.

There is certainly one popular mysterious symbol, peculiar to the worship of Siva, which we can easily imagine to find most favour among the women of Hindustan; and that is the idol of Lingam, or Linga.

It is perhaps the chief desire of a Hindu, in his present state of existence, that, for a provision after death, his wife would in this life bear him children to pray his soul out of purgatory, or mitigate the punishments that may be awarded him in a future state. *Yoni* is the female nature—*Lingam* the male; and, in addition to the numerous worshippers of the latter, many women are exclusive adorers of the *Yoni* of Bhavani—the female energy of Siva.

The *Lingam*, or principal type of the Regenerator, Siva, is nothing more than a conical stone—generally smooth and black. This symbol is to be seen at Bhobaneser in conjunction with the *Argha*, a sort of dish from whence it proceeds—the *Yoni*

* Some pictures of Lakshmi, are very much like the old Grecian and Roman figures of Ceres.

forming the rim. There is no apparent indecency about these symbols, which leads Moor to remark :—"Unlike the abomina-'ble realities of *Egypt* and *Greece*, we see the *phallic* emblem 'in the Hindu Pantheon without offence; and know not, until 'the information be extorted, that we are contemplating a 'symbol whose prototype is indelicate."

But, although these symbols of Siva naturally produce many followers of his religion, it is impossible, from the numerous castes, and subdivisions of sects, to arrive at any correct *general* conclusion on the subject of superiority of numbers in either sect. We believe that little doubt exists concerning the visible decline of the religion of Siva in Orissa, and some parts of Southern India: the reader's researches may probably extend further than ours on that point.

We have before us a document, which we picked up in Southern Arcot, in which the followers of the "Siva religion" are put down as "Telúgú Brahmans"—eighteen castes,—and "Malabar Brahmans"—eight castes: then follows nearly sixty different classes of the followers of the Siva and Vishnu creeds indiscriminately jumbled together:—such as *Chetties, Cometies, Pillays, Dasesthúlú, Rajaput, &c. &c.*

From some slight knowledge of the inhabitants to the south of the Peninsula, we may be allowed to venture an opinion that the sect of Vishnu there is the most numerous.

"With respect to the origin of the several Hindú sects," writes Professor Heeren, "we are not at all in a condition of 'giving any correct historical account of them, or of assigning 'the respective dates to each. Those of Siva and Vishnu are 'at present the most generally prevailing ones, but they are 'not alone; by their side flourish that of Ganesa and many 'others." (The learned Professor takes as his authority for this the great Sanskrit scholar, Colebrooke.) "The intrinsic 'character and objects of worship peculiar to the sect of Siva, 'which adores the Lingam, afford a reasonable presumption in 'favour of its being the most ancient, and probably the original 'creed of the common people; whereas that of Vishnu, on the 'contrary, worshipped under the name of Krishna, owes its origin 'merely to a reformation, undertaken for the purpose of refin-'ing the grossly sensual worship of the former."*

An admirable refiner, indeed, when we find such a place as Jagannáth the crowning piece of Hindú superstition.

It is impossible to assign a date to the ascendancy of the worship of Vishnu in Orissa and Behar, or the decline of that

* Historical Researches, vol. III. pp. 139 40.

of Siva in these provinces;—but there is a fable drawn from the Mahabharat—good authority on such matters—that Bali-Rama and Krishna, brothers, and renowned conquerors, vanquished a famous king of Behar,* forced on the people the worship of Vishnu, and nearly extinguished "the ancient adoration of Siva." The effects of this conquest extended over various parts of Hindustan, probably from the extreme north to Cape Comorin. We may now imagine that millions of vain believers sought to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the renowned warriors,—and hence the origin of the popularity of Jagannáth as a place of worship.

We have before alluded to Indradyumna, who is said to have first given a celebrity to Jagannáth. But we did not then state that this sovereign was a Maharajah of Malwa or Ujein.

If he really founded the celebrity of the temple, we may date the commencement of the worship of Vishnu, under the title, *Jagannáth*,—not earlier than half a century before the Christian era.

Alluding to the kingdom of Malwa, Elphinstone writes that the era still current through all the countries north of the Nerbudda is that of Vikramaditya—the Hárún al Rashid of Hindu tales—who reigned at Ujein at the date of its commencement, which was fifty-six years before Christ.†

No portion of the Hindu mythology is more confused than what treats of the Ramas. Relating to Vishnu, the best way, perhaps, is to consider only the two principal incarnations—the seventh and eighth—Rama and Krishna; although there are three distinguished personages—all Ramas—the sixth and seventh incarnations being Parasu Rama, and Rama Chandra—the latter, a moiety of Vishnu, styled the same, and being the same as Jagannáth—"the lord of the world." In Orissa, Jagannáth is invariably styled Ram Chandra.

"Ráma," says Elphinstone, was a King of Oude, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindu traditions, whose actions have something of a historical character." His queen Sítá, who

* In Montgomery Martin's work on "The History, Antiquities, &c. of Eastern India." the earliest religion of Behar is said to be the doctrine of the Buddhists, "from Buddha first King of India." Buddha is here brought originally from Assyria, Jarasandha descended from Buddha, "according to legend, being of a monstrous size, was wont to stand upon two hills of this district, having a foot on each, and to look at the 1000 wives of his kinsman Krishna, who lived near Gujarat, as they bathed in the sea. Not contended with this indecency, which might perhaps have been overlooked, he pelted the naked beauties with bricks, on which they complained to Krishna, who sent Bhim, the supposed son of Pandu, to punish Jarasandha, and this prince was killed in a valley near his own house. This happened towards the end of the third age (Dwapar Yug) of the world; and according to Mr. Bentley (Asiatic Researches, vol. 8), the fourth age commenced in the 11th century before the birth of Christ."—Vol. I. p. 22.

† Elphinstone's India, vol. I. p. 398.

was carried off by the giant Rávana—which caused the far-famed monkey expedition to Ceylon, under General Hanuman—we believe to be the original of the present Subhudra, the sister of Jagannáth. This heroic deliverer was Bali Rama, the elder brother; so, then we have the three idols—*Jagannath, Bulbhudra,* and *Subhudra,* corresponding respectively with Rama Chandra, Bali Rama, and Sitá. We remarked near the commencement of this article that Rama was often confounded with Krishna.

In the celebrated heroic poem, "Ramayana," the characters are both mixed in the plot. Each is said to have won a wife by bending an unyielding bow—"not indeed," says Moor, "very unlike the story of Ulysses."

The Head Clerk of Púrí thus describes the celebrated idols of the shrine :—

"They are bulky, hideous, wooden busts. The elder brother Bulbhudder, is six feet in height, the younger, Jagannáth, five feet; and their sister, Subhudra, four feet. They are fashioned into a curious resemblance of the human head, resting on a sort of pedestal. The eyes of Jagannáth are round, and those of Bulbhudder and Subhudra, oval." The images "are painted black, white, and yellow respectively; their faces are exceedingly large, and their bodies are decorated with a dress of different coloured cloths. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form."—*History of Púri, pp.* 19-20.

Turning to page 18, we find the following additional particulars borrowed from Mr. Peggs, who quotes them from "Col. Phipps' account of Jagannáth.—Asi. Jour. March, 1824." Alluding to the idol, Jagannáth, he says :—

"In lieu of arms there are two stumps, 'on which the priests occasionally fasten hands of gold.' The forming of a new idol of Jagannáth is termed *Nooah Kullebur;* it occurs after a lapse of many years."—Col. Phipps says about once in seventeen years,—"when two moons occur in Assur (part of June and July.")

We shall now present our readers with both versions of the extraordinary preparation and *renewal* :—

COLONEL PHIPPS.

"A nim tree *(melia azodarata)* is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird was ever perched; it is known to the initiated by certain signs! This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the old idol a small box, containing the spirit, which is conveyed inside the new: *the man who does this is always removed from this world before the end of the year.*"*

* Peggs' India's Cries, &c. p. 216.

THE HEAD CLERK OF PURI

"Nim tree (Melia-aza-dirachta) is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or other carrion bird has ever perched: it is known to the initiated by certain marks. The idol is prepared by the carpenters, and then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery.

The priests and other ignorant people endeavour to account for the deformity of the idol by a very strange tale. A boy from a Putti's family is selected to take out from the breast of the old idol a small box containing quicksilver, said to be the spirit, which he conveys inside the new. *The boy who does this, is always removed from the world before the end of the year.*" —*History, page* 18.

We are sorry to notice that, in this instance, Brij Kishore Ghose has fallen into a grievous literary error—one, we are afraid, too common among rising Hindu candidates for a knowledge of the English language. Let one and all of them remember that to make a candid acknowledgment of the author from whom considerable assistance has been derived, is due to the literary community at large, and will tend certainly to enhance, when, by silence, it will on discovery injure, the borrower's reputation.

We do freely pardon all the Head Clerk's "inaccuracies in style," or "other errors he may have fallen into:"* we look upon his work as an excellent example of a native's literary industry, and, as we have before remarked, we think it will do a great deal of good. But we cannot pardon such a palpable display of plagiarism as that afforded by the above extracts.

The case of murder, referred to in these, is evidently a matter of doubt; nevertheless, we think that it deserves some enquiry. It is probably one of the legends of the Jagannáth worship, by which the pundahs endeavour to brighten believers into a continual adoration of the idol. Stirling says that some conjecture the sacred deposit in the "belly of the image" to be a bone of Krishna. However, the process of renewing the body of the idol taking place only after the lapse of many years, and the superintendent being now of too economical a nature to spend money on a renewal,† the ceremony may not again take place. It would appear that the small box of quicksilver, said to contain the spirit, is a precious relic, held in similar veneration to the tooth of Buddha.

Bishop Heber, describing this tusk in his "journal," while in Ceylon, remarks, that "it is kept in a golden case, set with precious stones, and this is enclosed within four others, all

* See Preface.

† The process formerly cost no less than from 5 to 6,000 Rs.

of gold and increasing in size, and all studded with jewels; no relic was ever more sumptuously enshrined, or more devoutly worshipped."*

Let us now say a very few words regarding the great annual festival at Púrí, or the *Ruth Játra.*

Historians have often remarked the surprising resemblance which exists in the external worship of India and Egypt. In the religions of both countries, bloody and unbloody sacrifices; the strict observance of pilgrimage, causing a numerous assembly of people at festivals; penances; bathing in supposed holy waters, and if drowned, the act supposed to confer eternal bliss; their gods conveyed from one temple to another on enormous stages, erected upon huge cars. These latter customs, related by Herodotus—(forming part of a long comparison between the Hindus and Egyptians admirably set forth in Heeren's "Researches")—are particularly applicable to Jagannáth.

At Púrí, about the middle of every year, three large cars are built for the Ruth Játra—at which festival the images take an "airing" as far as the Gondicha Nour, or God's country-house —a mile and a half distant: "the cars are dragged by Kallabethias, or coolies, and by thousands of other people." But apparently, it must be the peculiar duty and privilege of these people to draw the cars.

The images are placed in their respective positions by the Dytas, or charioteers of Jagannáth.

THE CARS.

"The car of Jagannáth is forty-five feet in height; it has sixteen wheels of seven feet diameter, and a platform thirty-five feet square. The ruth of Bulbhudra is forty-four feet high: it has fourteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter, and a platform thirty-four feet square. The car of Subhudra is forty-two feet high: it has twelve wheels of six feet diameter, and a platform thirty-three feet square. A small rail about eight inches in height nearly surrounds the platform of each ruth: an opening is left of a few feet in front of the idol."—*History of Puri, page* 39.

For all details concerning the great Púrí festival, we must refer our readers to Stirling and the "History," &c.

The entire scene of the Ruth Játra savours, to an incredible extent, of the ludicrous, the barbarous, and the awful. The eager expectation, the unceasing din of a great multitude— —the acclamations of "welcome to Jagannáth!" which rend the ear when the images are brought forth in an erect posture, or rather *rolled* forth by means of iron handles fastened in their backs, and exposed to the stupid gaze of the delighted people.

* Bishop Heber's *Indian Journal*—Colonial and Home Library—vol. II. p. 165.

There you may picture to yourself Christianity shuddering; there, morality weeping. Momus is not to be found there—the god of mirth has slunk away trembling; as for intellect, she slumbers in silence, awaiting the dawn of a better day.

The ponderous machines are set in motion—they creak while the creatures strain the cables in the midst of their joy and madness. Then they are

> —— "All around, behind, before
> With frantic shout, and deafening roar;
> And the double double peals of the drum are there,
> And the startling burst of the trumpet's blare;
> And the gong, that seems, with its thunders dread
> To stun the living, and waken the dead."*

But all their enthusiasm has soon subsided,—and, on the termination of the festival many of that once delighted multitude either retire to die, or reach their deserted homes the victims of ignorance, poverty and wretchedness.

It is perhaps useless to state here that human sacrifice under the wheels of the car has been long abolished.

All the land within ten miles of Jagannáth is considered holy: when formerly Bhobaneser was in its greatness, the whole of Utkala—as Orissa is styled in the Puranas—must have been held sacred. But we hope yet to see her come forth in a state of grandeur far surpassing in real value any thing she has ever before seen: we hope yet to see Orissa a princess among the provinces—the people leaving their senseless blocks of wood and stone, seeking to learn the blessings of that divine religion, which, it is intended, shall reign supreme. Let us then endeavour to work out that glory to the utmost, and spare no expense in the diffusion of education and enlightenment throughout the land. It is by these means, and by these alone, that we can hope for any advance in Hindú civilization, and the consequent introduction of a new and better order of things.

It was originally our intention to have carried our readers to visit the archæological wonders of the "Black Pagoda," Bhobaneser, and the caves of Khandgiri; however, on glancing around our *studio* at the numerous documents contained therein, we find that we must visit these wonders—which will form a continuation of the slight archæological and mythological information† contained in this paper—in a future article. Let us again, then, return to Púrí and the temple.

* Southey's Kehama.

† The *Madras Crescent* of July 22d, has an extract from the *Calcutta Star*, in which we find the following useful suggestion:—"It would conduce much to the progress of research among our local savans if the Journal of the Asiatic Society

One of the most interesting and most important features of Púrí is the vast number of *muths* or monasteries it contains. These establishments are said to have been originally founded in India by a sect, styled *Gosais* or *Gosains*. Each muth is governed by a *Mohunt*, who, with his disciples, forcibly reminds one of the abbot and friars of European history and romance. In Orissa, an assistant, styled "*Adhi-Kari*," transacts part of the business of the Mohunt,—and, if he be "a proper man," eventually succeeds to the management.

It is affirmed that the principal disciples of the founder of this sect were of the Siva religion; at Púrí the thriving members of the order are all of the religion of Vishnu.

"If any member of a *muth*," says a writer on the subject, "be particularly distinguished by his acts of hospitality, veneration for his ancestors, and a life of morality, he receives from the Dusname* the honorary title of Mohunt."

The Head Clerk of Púrí gives a list of about thirty principal muths, or "richest muths," as he terms them, with the amount of annual rent, and estimated value, of land pertaining to each. Of these endowments of the temple of Jagannáth, he informs us that the produce of the lands "is realized by the *Muthdaris* or abbots, who, by this means, though professing themselves mendicants, have become the richest merchants in India, and are now enjoying every comfort."

The writer proceeds to expose these pilferings, so clandestinely made by the religious imposters:—"This is strictly prohibited by 'the Hindu law. These endowments have been made by rich Hin-'dus and Rajahs. The Mahrattas also gave talúks, villages, and 'putnas, placing them under the muths, with a view to the Muth-'daris, appropriating the incomes derived therefrom to the perfor-'mance of ceremonies and offerings to Jagannáth, besides the dis-'tribution of *Mahapurshad*, or holy food, to byraghis, kangalis, '&c.; but the intentions and wishes of the donors are seldom 'carried out. On the contrary, the Muthdaris appropriate the 'produce of such endowments to illegal purposes. *It is suppos-'ed that the amount of rent realized from estates so held, is not 'less than two lakhs and ten thousand rupees:* the lands may be

contained a couple or a quartett of pages every month, devoted to a summary of the latest European speculations, memoirs or discoveries connected with oriental studies." We would also recommend this cheap mode of giving scientific satisfaction to residents in India to the Editors of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

* This is a sort of managing committee for the internal administration of muths. For an interesting paper on this subject, we beg to refer the reader to one, by John Warden, Esq. Bo. C. S., in the 32d number of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

' valued at eight lakhs, and would realize that sum if sold."—*History of Púri, page* 8.

This is most valuable information ;—and we believe it to be perfectly correct. The Muthdaris, annually, obtain a sufficient *spare sum* to defray every expense attending worship at Jagannáth.

The Head Clerk informs us that he " has frequently conversed with certain Muthdaris on the subject"—that is of each one bearing his share of the stated allowance, at present granted by Government—" and he thinks that they will not be averse to such an arrangement, should Government think fit to withdraw the support at present afforded." The whole history of Jagannáth, from nearly the beginning of the present century, is neither more nor less than one huge calendar of crime. But, before arriving at any decided conclusions regarding the propriety and policy of the entire withdrawal of the British annual donation of Rs. 23,000, in money, from the Government treasury, it is necessary that we should present the reader with some account, from the commencement, of BRITISH CONNEXION WITH THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH. We may be excused for making a slight retrospect, as far as the battle of Pániput—which, for a time, crushed Mahratta power in India. But that power gradually rose again ; and, in the year 1784, there was a considerable Mahratta empire—chiefly in the centre of India ; —and, among the names of the provincial chiefs, conspicuously shone those of Scindia and Holkar. Orissa, since its occupation by the new masters, had been governed by a line of " Mahratta Subahdars,"* most of whom were famous for nothing but violence and oppression, without the slightest controul over their own soldiery.

Towards the end of the century, Zemindars were robbed, or ejected from their estates ; ryots were head-deep in misery. Revenue collectors, and the high priest and purchas of Jagannáth became fat and rich. And affairs continued nearly in this state until the middle of 1803. To restore order, and bring the Mahratta states under our rule, we fortunately had in India a statesman of great ability and sound judgment—the Earl of Mornington. In 1800, he wrote : " The distractions of the Mahratta empire must continue to increase, until they shall be checked by foreign interference. No power in India excepting the British now possesses sufficient strength to interpose with effect in these dissensions."†

* The Mogul and Mahratta Subahdars generally resided at the Laul Bagh Palace in Cuttack.

† Despatches, &c., vol. 2, p. 226.

On the 3rd of August, 1803, the Marquess Wellesley wrote to Lieut. Colonel Campbell, commanding the Northern Division of the Army, furnishing orders for the occupation of the province of Cuttack. A force of not less than fifteen hundred native infantry, to be increased, if practicable and politic, was to assemble at Ganjam—which was shortly to be joined by another force from Bengal. With the force assembled under these orders, "and with the detachment from Bengal," wrote the Marquess, "you will enter the province of Cuttack and proceed to Jagannáth." Strict orders were given, in passing the frontier of the Mahratta territory, to use every means to conciliate the inhabitants. A proclamation, similar to that issued by General Harris when entering Mysore, was to be made known to the defenceless natives of the country:—protection and perfect security under the British Government. The remainder of the orders abound with political wisdom and caution:—

"The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jagannáth will require your particular attention, you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness.

7. On your arrival at Jagannáth, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the Pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmans and Pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmans with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonials, and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance.

8. The Brahmans are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on pilgrims, it will not, therefore, be advisable at the present moment to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Brahmans, would necessarily tend to exasperate the persons whom it must be our object to conciliate. You will, therefore, signify to the Brahmans that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the Pagoda. *At the same time you will be careful not to contract with the Brahmans any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government to make such arrangements with respect to that Pagoda, or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations as may hereafter be deemed advisable.*

9. You will assure the Brahmans at the Pagoda of Jagannáth, that they will not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government than that which they may have been in the habit of paying to the Mahratta Government, and that they will be protected in the exercise of their religious duties.

10. In every transaction relative to the Pagoda of Jagannáth, you will consult the civil commissioner, whom I have named for the settlement of the province of Cuttack.

11. You will understand that no part of the property, treasure, or valuable articles of any kind, contained in the Pagoda of Jagannáth, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the Priests and Brahmans, or persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institu-

tions is to be considered as prize to the army. All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use, by the customs or prejudices of the Hindus. No account is to be taken of any such property, nor is any person not be allowed to enter the Pagodas or sacred buildings without the express desire of Brahmans.

12. You will leave a sufficient force in the vicinity of Jagannáth, under the command of an officer, whom you will particularly select, and in whom you can place perfect reliance, for the due execution of the directions contained in these instructions."*

Here, as yet, is simply *conciliation* and *protection*—with the strictest injunctions to enter into no binding arrangements. And it is this plan of religious toleration, while a new conquest has not yet made our acquaintance, that has secured, probably for ages, the British supremacy in Hindustan.

The Moguls had formerly been roused by the flush of conquest to burn the idol. And, under the same circumstances, we can imagine the French imprisoning the Brahmans, and hunting the high-priest, like an antelope to the banks of the Chilka. Such was not a part of the admirable policy of Lord Wellesley. In less than six weeks after the foregoing orders, Lieut. Colonel Harcourt, with a considerable brigade of infantry and two eighteen-pounders, was on the march towards Jagannáth. On the 18th of September, he took possession of Púrí. In a letter to the Actg. Military Secretary, he writes :—

"Upon application from the chief Brahmans of the Pagoda, I have afforded them guards (of Hindus) and a most satisfactory confidence is shown by the brahmans, priests, and officers of the Pagoda, and by the inhabitants of Jagannáth, both in their present situation, and in the future protection of the British Government.

From the general good conduct of the troops under my command, and from the strict attention which has been paid to my orders for preventing all interference with the inhabitants and natives, framed under the express injunctions of his Excellency the most noble the Governor-General, not a single complaint has been made to me; though I have, by every practicable means, invited a direct communication of the least deviation from this important duty."†

The British army arrived at the town of Cuttack on the 10th of October, and, on the 14th, the fort of Barrabutti fell by assault. The town was immediately occupied by the British troops.

A small force of Infantry had been previously sent round by sea to occupy Balasore. Lord Wellesley wrote to General Lake at the end of September : "You will receive details of our success." "If we retain Cuttack, we must furnish troops, (and a strong force it must be) for the defence of that valuable and most important possession."

* Despatches, &c., vol. 3, pp. 269-70. † Despatches, vol. 3. p. 321.

At the end of October he stated, in a Despatch to the Court of Directors, that the inhabitants of the province "expressed the utmost satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily relieved from the oppressions to which they had uniformly been subjected by the Mahratta Government, and of being placed under the protection of the British power." Mr. Melville had been appointed Commissioner of the province. Thus, with little opposition, was entire possession taken of the Cuttack district—which, eventually, was formally ceded to the Honorable Company by the Rajah of Berar. The importance of this territory to the Government chiefly consists in its Geographical position: connecting the two presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George—and placing the whole range of coast on this side of the bay under our immediate controul.

Such is a very slight sketch of the conquest of the province—in which the peaceful occupation of the town of Púrí forms the first stage of our being mixed up with the affairs of Jagannáth. The question now came to be—how was this vast and expensive stronghold of Hindu superstition to be supported? It will be seen from the Marques Wellesley's instructions that the system of levying duties on pilgrims was not immediately to be interfered with. But the rapacity of the Brahmans became so great, and the disturbances consequent on their villainies so prejudicial to the peace of the district, that, after a few months, the British Government abolished the tax. The wily Brahmans now came forward and requested us to disburse, as had been done by former governments, "the usual sums required for the expenditure of the ceremonies." It was determined by the Government to do as the Mahrattas had done. But here came the difficulty to know *how the Mahrattas had done*, in the way of presenting annual gifts or sums of money to the temple. The Rajah of Berar, Scindia, and the various Mahratta chieftains sent large donations to Jagannáth, on the occasion of any great success in their fortunes. The Muthdarís in Púrí, we have every reason to believe, were obliged to give every established *cowri** for the service of the idol, according to the will of the testators. These sums, annually, added to the lands assigned to the use of the temple from its foundation, and an annual offering, of no fixed amount, from the Subahdar at Cuttack, we believe to have formed the only sums admissible by the Mahratta government for the entire service of Jagannáth. Sums of money were given by our Government, according to the request of the priests, for

* A small shell, of which sixty make a farthing, or the sixth part of an *anna*.

the expenditure of the ceremonies. But, naturally enough, not wishing the acquisition of the Cuttack province to be lessened in value by the use of part of its revenue for the support of an establishment like Jagannáth, the Government wrote, in May 1804—"that it will be, in every point of view, advisable to establish moderate rates of duty or collection on the pilgrims proceeding to perform their devotions at Jagannáth." Accordingly, Mr. Hunter—of the judicial department at Purneah—was called upon by the Board of Revenue to officiate, "for the present," in the capacity of "Collector of the Tax on Pilgrims at Jagannáth." The letter forming this new office is dated from the Council Chamber, 21st November, 1805—Mr. Hunter was furnished with an extract from the Regulation for the collection of the tax—which in 1806 was passed into a law—and "for the maintenance of good order, regularity, and tranquillity in the interior of the temple and in the town of Jagannáthpúrí and its dependencies." After some delay and thought concerning the "mode of reaching Jagannáth"—whether by dâk, or in one of the Hon'ble Company's Pilot Schooners—Mr. Hunter at length fairly commenced the duties of his new office, on the 22d of January, 1806;—and this functionary appears, from all we have read, to have been most indefatigable in his vocation, than which it would be no easy task to conceive any more difficult or harrassing. It would have required a mental Hercules to have cleansed the vast breeding den of iniquity from even a part of its loathsomeness and corruption. Mr. Hunter's salary was fixed at 500 Rs. per month, and he was allowed a commission at the rate of one and a half per cent. on the gross amount of the collections arising from the tax. This establishment of the pilgrim tax forms the second stage of British connexion with Jagannáth.

Let us now proceed to consider the sums paid by us for the support of the temple before the year 1806. On the 8th of November of that year, Mr. Hunter writes to the Board of Revenue, that, in addition to khunjas and sums received by the temple, "he has paid in cash nearly Sicca Rupees 35,000, as was done *in each former year, since the capture of the province.*" So, then, a large sum of money was paid in each former year, chiefly because the priests of the temple said the Mahrattas had paid it—the principal of these priests, at the time, being a Mahratta, and probably the most accomplished *priest* among them. We certainly paid annual sums of money to the temple, as expedient and politic to preserve peace and order in the province *at the time*. But any binding

arrangement would have been a direct disobedience of Lord Wellesley's orders in 1803.

On the 15th of September, 1804, the Board of Commissioners who had been appointed to settle the affairs of the conquered district, issued a "Proclamation," from Cuttack, regarding *the settlement of the landed revenue of the province.*

We have no room to quote the sixteen sections of this Proclamation, which was included, and placed with various "qualifications and explanations," in Regulation XII. of 1805:—passed by the Vice-President in Council, on the 5th of September. In the sixteen paragraphs just alluded to, we are unable to find the slightest reference to an *established donation* for the support of the temple of Jagannáth.

But, in the eighth section of the Regulation, it states we think consistently enough:—

"Nothing contained in this regulation shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the rents of any lands assigned under grants from the Rajah of Berar, or from any *zemindar talúkdar*, or any actual proprietor of land in the zillah of Cattack as endowments of the temple of *Jagannath*, or of *muths* in the vicinity of that temple, or for similar purposes; provided however that any fixed quit rent which the holders of such lands are bound to pay by the conditions of their grants, shall continue to be paid agreeably to former usage."*

This seems a fair latitude of *qualification* and *explanation* of an hypothesis—the proclamation—apparently, to us, entirely and solely connected with the settlement of the land revenue. How startled, then, are we to find, in the 30th section of Regulation XII., the assertion "*that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the established donation for the support of the temple of Jagannath.*" The intention of Government to settle a fixed allowance for the Pagodas had not yet arrived at maturity. How, then, could there be an established donation? But we will let the reader satisfy himself on this point. And the best way to do that is to furnish him with a portion of the early correspondence.

The following is the greater part of a letter from G. Dowdeswell, Esq., Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, dated from the Council Chamber, the 20th March, 1806:—

TO THE COLLECTOR OF THE TAX AT JAGANNATH.

"The Governor-General in Council sanctions the advances of cash which you have made for the support of the temple. With respect to the Ruths† the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the preparation of them ought to be entrusted to the native officers of the temple, and the expense

* Regulations of Government, vol. 5, 1804-8. † Cars for the festivals.

defrayed from the funds which have been or may be assigned for its support; and that it is not advisable that the Collector should interfere in details of that nature.

You are desired to specify the amount claimed by the officers of the temple, on account of the expense of the Ruths in the last year: at the same time, reporting whether according to established usage that expense should be defrayed by Government, or from the produce of the lands or other funds already assigned for the support of the temple.

You are desired as soon after the receipt of this letter as may be practicable, to prepare and submit to Government, a statement of the produce of the lands appropriated to the support of the temple, and to the maintenance of its ministers and officers, and of any other funds appropriated to those purposes.

XI. You will at the same time prepare and submit to Government, a statement of the sums annually required for the support of the temple (including as far as practicable, contingencies of every description) and for the maintenance of the ministers and officers attached to it, in order that such amount as may be required in addition to the present endowments of the temple, may be assigned for those purposes."

Mr. Hunter's answer to the above—of which the following is the chief portion, is dated 29th March, 1806:—

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

"I have the honor to enclose a list of the lands appertaining to the Pagoda, as furnished by Sewaji Pundit; but independent of these, there are other lands, under charge of various persons (and also fixed sums paid by Zemindars) which are applied to sundry expenses of the Pagoda.

Some of these appear in the Jumma Khurch of the Pagoda, a few are numbered under the head of charity at Cuttack, and I am unable to discover, who has any accompt of the remainder.

At least 5-6th of the expense of the Pagoda consists of articles, such as rice, ghee. &c. the quantity of which is fixed, and not the price; in consequence it is almost impossible for me to acquaint you, what yearly sum will be necessary for the expenses of the Pagoda, in addition to its endowments, as required in the 11th paragraph of your letter.

In the mean time however, from the information which I have already collected, it does not appear that it will exceed forty-five thousand Rupees.

This is exclusive of the repairs of the building, &c. which when required, were formerly paid for, by levying a per centage on the country, under the title of *Kurumberha.*

It appears to be the intention of Government to settle a fixed allowance for the Pagoda; in this case I feel my duty to state, that independent of the objections which arise from the above statement of its Jumma Khurch, the Purchas are servants of Government, who were formerly removable at pleasure, and who, I am firmly persuaded, have no farther interest in the welfare of the Pagoda, than in as far as they may enrich themselves, and are Hindus."*

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* The list enclosed in the above letter we have thought proper to give in the form of a Note—as we imagine it may interest a few readers:—

"*List of Villages, &c. appropriated to the expenses of the Pagoda, with their*

Previous to the arrival of Mr. Hunter at Jagannáth, the officers of the temple, as we have before seen, were clamorous for cash. They had been amply provided, on the *antecedent* principle, before the Collector of tax assumed his unenviable office.

Two months previous to the last correspondence, the Vice President in Council had authorized Mr. Hunter to make such advances of cash as appeared to him necessary for the support of the temple and for the maintenance of its ministers and officers, as "may be conformable to *former established usages*." But we do not believe there were any "established usages" among the Mahrattas, regarding the payment of large sums of money out of the revenue of the province for the support of Jagannáth. When the Court at Nagpore and ambitious chieftains were pressing on all sides for money, a very small portion of the pilgrim tax went to the temple. From this tax we know that the Mahrattas derived a considerable revenue. And so did we eventually. But, supposing the Mahrattas had had no tax,

produce for the year 1212," 1805-6) "*as furnished by Sewaji Pundit, 3d Deu.al Purcha.*"

VILLAGES.	Acct. Rs.	As.	Gds.	Ks.
Kuplesurpur	1,815	4	2	2
Balgaon	698	4	0	0
Sumgra	621	10	4	0
Oottur Kuna	645	2	12	0
Birpurtabpur	781	9	4	0
Alsrung	269	1	0	0
Swalo, under charge of Gurmukhdas	562	6	4	0
Mohra, under charge of ditto	280	12	1	0
26 batis 4 man of Birgobindpur (fixed jummabundi)	51	9	16	0
Alpur 10 batis ..... (Ditto)	15	5	1	0
Birboie 7 ditto..... (Ditto)	42	4	2	0
Puchpal 5 ditto ..... (Ditto)	30	15	10	0
Kuspur and Sunpur 8 ditto..... (Ditto)	25	12	18	0
Purhitpoor	8	11	7	2
Pergh. Kodhar in charge of Jyram Das, who furnishes a *fixed* daily offering to Jagannáth under the head of Mohun Bhog...	5,161	4	12	2
Fixed Khunja, received from sundry Zemindars	8,710	4	14	0
Paid from sundry Saers	3,920	13	15	1
Sale of Mahaprasad or holy food, &c..	7,392	10	10	2
Fees of 4th Purcha (whose appointment is vacant)	25	2	11	2
Ditto of ditto on Dhuja or offerings of cloth, &c	80	0	0	0
Total..	31,139	0	9	3
The particulars of the collections of only seven of the villages have been furnished, in which the jumma is	6,553	9	6	0
Brought to account	5,028	14	15	2
Remainder	1,524	10	10	2

Which are the expenses of Collection.

(Errors Excepted.)

(Signed) J. HUNTER, *Collector of Tax.*

would they have paid one farthing from the land revenues towards the support of the idol? Assuredly not. It would merely have been supported by its endowments and the voluntary offerings of those who were even the supporters of the Brahmanical priest-hood, and in whose religion Jagannáth of course was a principal! We have paid money to Jagannáth both before the re-establishment of the tax, and after its entire abolition by Lord Auckland. The partial remedy of the philanthropic Governor-General for the discontinuance of British "Connexion" with the temple only makes our present position more inconsistent. But we have neglected to furnish the reader with any information regarding the pilgrim tax. The following twelve sections are from Regulation IV. of 1806*—passed by the Governor-General in Council, on the 3rd April, 1806—Bengal era, 1212:—

"Whereas it is provided by section 31, Regulation XII. 1805, that a tax shall be levied from pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannáth: and whereas it is essentially necessary that provision should be made for the protection of the pilgrims from undue exactions on the part of the officers of Government or of the temple, and also for the preservation of order, tranquillity, and regularity in the town of Jagannáthpúrí, and its dependencies, and for the trial of civil suits of inconsiderable amount or value within those limits; the following rules have been passed, to be in force from the time of their promulgation.

II. A tax shall be levied on the part of Government (as was heretofore done under the late Marhatta government) on pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannáth. The collection of the tax shall be entrusted to an officer, (being a covenanted servant of the Company,) with the official designation of the collector of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannáth. The general superintendence of the collections, and the control of the officers employed in the performance of that duty, shall be vested in the Board of Revenue at Fort William.

III. The avenues for the admission of pilgrims to the temple of Jagannáth shall be confined to two: viz. Ghat Attarah Nullah on the North, and Ghat Lokenath on the South of the town of Jagannáthpúrí.

IV. The tax to the levied at Ghat Attarah Nullah, shall be fixed at ten rupees; and the tax to be levied to Ghat Lokenauth, shall be fixed at six rupees, on each person of the class of pilgrims, commonly called *lal Jatrís;* whether such appellation shall have been assumed by the pilgrims themselves, or whether they shall be so denominatad by their conductors.

V. The tax on all other pilgrims indiscriminately shall be levied at the rate of two rupees from each person.

VI. The abovementioned rates of tax on pilgrims, are to be considered to include the usual fees of the officers of the temple; and these fees shall in future be paid to them out of the funds which have been, or may be assigned for the support of the temple. Provided, however, that this rule shall not be considered applicable to the officers denominated Purharis and Pundahs, who shall be entitled to receive, in conformity to established

* The whole of this Regulation is rescinded by Regulation IV. of 1809.

usage, a fee from the pilgrims, according to a table of rates which shall be kept fixed at the temple of Jagannáth, and in places adjacent to the temple, for general information. The officers attached to the temple, are accordingly strictly prohibited from making any demands for money, exclusive of the tax and fees specified in this and the preceding sections. This restriction, however, shall not be construed to preclude the said officers from receiving presents or gifts; the same being voluntarily made. Any deviation from these rules will subject the officer, by whom such offence shall be committed, on proof thereof made to the satisfaction of the Board of Revenue, or of the Governor-General in Council, (if the nature of the case shall require a reference to Government under the general provisions contained in Regulation V. 1804,) to be dismissed from his employment.

VII. It shall be the duty of the collector of the tax on pilgrims to establish, with the approbation of the Board of Revenue, such rules, as may be necessary for the due collection of the tax; for keeping regular and clear accounts of the receipts; for the prevention of embezzlement by the native officers; and for guarding against any evasion of the established tax by the pilgrims.

VIII. It shall likewise be the duty of the collector to establish, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, and aided by the officer of police such rules for the admission of pilgrims into the town of Jagannáthpúrí through the prescribed avenues of Ghat Attarah Nallah and Ghat Lokenauth, as may be necessary to guard against accidents and confusion, and to preserve regularity and good order among the great concourse of people resorting to the temple.

IX. In conformity to long and established usage, the following descriptions of persons shall be considered to be exempt from the payment of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannáth, viz. byraghis; persons employed in carrying the water of the Ganges to the temple of Jagannáth, or to any other Hindu temples; persons residing between the Byturni Nullah and the Ganjam river; persons resorting to the town of Jagannáthpúrí for trade or for any other purpose, excepting on pilgrimage. Pilgrims likewise in an actual state of poverty shall be exempted from the payment of the established tax, on declaring, under such form or ceremony as shall be prescribed by the native officers entrusted with the management of the temple, that they cannot contribute the prescribed tax of two rupees, and that they have not in their immediate possession more money than is absolutely necessary to defray their expenses on their return from the pilgrimage.

X If it should appear that any other class of people was heretofore exempted from the payment of the duty levied on pilgrims under the late Marhatta Government, the collector of the tax shall report the circumstance to the Board of Revenue. That Board shall submit the case, with their sentiments on the subject, to the Governor-General in Council, who will order such class of people to be in future exempted from the payment of the tax, or not, as may appear to him to be proper. The Governor-General in Council likewise reserves to himself from the power of granting any temporary and special exemptions from the tax in favor of individuals which he may consider to be proper.

XI. The superintendence of the temple of Jagannáth and its interior economy; the conduct and management of its affairs; and the entire control over the priests, officers, and servants, attached to the idol and to the temple, shall be vested in an assembly of pundits or learned Brahmans, who on all occasions shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by long and established usage.

XII. The assembly of pundits shall consist of three members, to be recommended by the collector of the tax on pilgrims, through the Board of Revenue to the Governor-General in Council."*

The other regulations, or sections of them, concerning the temple of Jaganhâth, are repealed by Act X. of 1840—by which the *entire* superintendence of the temple officers, is vested in the Rajah of Khurdah.

In the extract of a letter from the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, dated the 4th June 1807, we find that "In consequence of the unsatisfactory accounts, rendered 'by the Collector of the tax on pilgrims, of the receipts 'and disbursements of the temple of Jagannâth; and *the very 'imperfect information obtained*, at the expiration of this long 'period of time, of the resources of the temple, the Governor-'General in Council is of opinion, that an alteration is indis-'pensably necessary with respect to the constitution of that 'office."

"The Governor-General in Council is accordingly pleased to 'vest the superintendence of the collection of the tax on pilgrims, 'and of the temple, (so far as the European officers of Govern-'ment are authorized under the existing regulations to inter-'fere with that institution) in the Collector of Cuttack, subject 'of course to your general control (that of the Rev. Dep.) 'leaving Mr. Hunter to collect the tax on the spot, under the 'orders of the Collector."

Mr. Webb was accordingly instructed to "bring up the amounts of the receipts and disbursements of the temple," also to make a full enquiry respecting the lands assigned for its support, &c.

Among the various frauds which were resorted to by pilgrims, to elude the payment of the tax, we can find none more curious than the following, and none more easy of detection:—The officers employed in the collection of the tax discovered that frauds had been frequently committed by persons professing themselves to be carriers of the water of the Ganges. The head *Purharri* of the temple, and the officer who was employed under the Mahratta Government, at the Attarah Nullah Ghat, were consequently called upon to state whether the carriers of the water of the Ganges were exempted from the payment of any tax under the Mahrattas. Both stated in writing that none were exempted, excepting such as had obtained an order to that effect. This was the same as in our Regulations. But, in order to prevent fraud, the Collector proposed that the carriers

* Regulations of Government, vol. 5, 1804-8.

of the water should first be obliged to go to Lokenath to pour the water over the idol at that place. "This," writes the Collector, "I conceive will effectually guard against the frauds, as no Hindu would pour water over the idol, which is not actually the water of the Ganges, and as the distance is not so much as a quarter of a mile from the temple, there will be no great hardship in the measure." We have abridged some information regarding the tax paid by pilgrims:—

"The paying pilgrims were divided unto four classes, the *lal jatris*, *nim lals*, *bhurrungs*, and *punj tirthis*.

The rates of payment were eventually raised, with higher privileges to the pilgrims. A lal jatri received a pass of free access to the temple, for sixteen days, on the payment of sicca rupees ten. A pilgrim of the second class had access for seven days, on the payment of five rupees: of the third class, for four days, on the payment of rupees two: the fourth class received the pass "to perform the customary ceremonies without the gates of the temple," during sixteen days, on the payment of rupees twenty. A pilgrim of the first class was also allowed free access to the temple for thirty days, attended by a pundah. On the payment of ten rupees he was exempted from the latter's attendance—and, by surrendering his pass, was allowed to remain in the town as long as he pleased.

The Collector of Cuttack, writing to the Board of Revenue in August, 1808, says "A total exclusion of pilgrims from a future residence in the town of Jagannáthpúrí, would be liable to great objection, and would infringe upon the religious prejudice of Hindu."

Let us now say a few words concerning the *Purharris*, *Purchas*, and *Pundahs*,—classes which play most conspicuous parts in the town of Púrí.

The *Purharris* are a set of people who reside within the "holy land" of the temple, at Purshuttom. They are the servants of the god Jagannáth; and their duty consists in guarding the seven inner doors of the Pagoda. They are said to attend there during the day, and to watch over the temple during the night. They conduct the pilgrims through it and present them to Jagannáth, "from which last act they derive their appellation *(Prutti harri)*. In 1838, we read of them defraying the expense, attending the purification of the temple. They were governed by four sirdars—one of whom was their *gomashta*;* and under this personage were many inferior gomashtas who travelled all over India in search of pilgrims. The Purharris derived their emolument principally from that portion of the tax which was bestowed on the servants of the temple by Government, "in conformity to ancient practice." In 1838 their number exceeded

* Agent.—Formerly to ensure their protection on the arrival of a Gomashta with a batch of pilgrims, the Purharri—or head of the department—was allowed to take a fee from them.

four hundred. For their miserable and cruel treatment of the natives, and mode of enticing them to leave their quiet homes and undertake a wretched pilgrimage, we must refer the reader to Mr. Peggs' "Cry" and the "History of Púrí." The pilgrim-hunting system, it would appear, is still, in a degree, flourishing;—and, in the latter production, the picture of the Purharri, as he is at present, is not painted too severely true.*

The *Purchas* were the head priests of the temple. Previous to 1840, they saw that the worship was conducted "in an orderly and proper manner," under the controul of the Rajah of Khurdah. They superintended the collection and disbursement of the revenues of Jagannáth, and received the Government allowance. They determined "all questions arising from the perquisites occasioned by the expenditure of the sums." In short, they were a band of Neckars—of whom the present superintendent now forms the sole representative—who undertook the management of finance in troublous times without much of the skill or any of the honesty of the great Frenchman.

The *Pundahs* are servants of Jagannáth, and their duty is principally in the pagoda. Formerly, they also did the same duties as the Purharris, during the collection of the tax:—that is they took money when they could get any.

Fortunately, "the vile Pundahs of Púrí!" is a phrase in the mouth of nearly every respectable native in Orissa; so the race, it would appear, is beginning to work out its own extinction.

Of the unsettled state of affairs towards the end of the year 1806, the Collector of Tax says, in a letter to the Board of Revenue—dated 8th November, that the lands of the temple "are managed in a very improper manner;" and he doubts the resources of the whole of them—or even a fair part of them—being brought to credit. He likewise states that besides the known lands, "there are many others under charge of the Muthdaris, &c., which do not appear in the accounts of the temple, though they certainly appear to form part of its revenue." By all accounts the temple of Jagannáth appears to have had many resources in land, Mr. Hunter had reason to believe "to an immense amount, in other districts." These were all in addition to the annual sum paid by Government. The Purchas demand more money, and the head Purcha is accused of embezzlement:—

"The acting Chief Hereditary Priest strongly accuses the Purcha of embezzling great part of these resources, but his accusations have not been

* See History of Púri, pp. 53-54.

enquired into, it being the wish of Government not to interfere in the details of the disbursements.

The expenses of the temple are at present under no control. The Purcha is fully aware that he is not considered amenable for mismanagement or extravagance; and except for the purpose of being retained in his situation has no object in doing his duty with attention, to the interests either of Government or of the Temple. The accounts which he now produces of the expenditure of the year 1210 make the disbursements amount to Khs. 1,96,652-13-13, or about rupees 50,000, a few additional expenses have since been authorised by the Commissioners, and the sum of Khs 20,000 or about Rs. 5,000, has been added both to the Dr. and Cr. side of the Jumma Khurch under the head of Mohun Bhog, making the expenditures which ought to be allowed, amount in the whole to less than 60,000 rupees, and as the receipts allowed by Sewaji Pundit amounted in 1212 to about 31,000 rupees, and he has received in cash about 31,000 rupees from my treasury, it would appear that the present demand of money for the current expenses of the temple ought not to be complied with."

We direct the reader's particular attention to the following correspondence:—Mr. Hunter, on the 6th of May, 1807, wrote to the Board of Revenue thus: "I have already examined the accounts of the temple from the year 1208 till 1212.....which will shew very clearly in what manner they have been conducted." In a letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 26th May, 1807, the Revenue Board appear to have some doubts concerning the correctness of the Mahratta accounts. And, even in 1843, when an application was made for them to the Resident at Nagpore, that functionary states in a letter (private): "I have made a rough translation of them into 'English; but as there are numerous terms used in them, 'which are local, I cannot understand them—nor is there a 'man in Nagpore at the present day who can explain them." The Revenue Board state in the letter above-mentioned:—

"In what mode the Collector has obtained the accounts of the expenses incurred under the late Mahratta Government, he has not explained, but as it would appear that he considers the accounts to be authentic, *as far as they apply to the advances made by the late Government*, it occurs to us that if you should be pleased to sanction any payments being made on the part of Government, they should be regulated according to the standard of the advances made in 1209.*

On a general consideration of the reports we have received from the Collector, we doubt much whether any accurate information is likely to be obtained either of the actual expenses requisite to be incurred for the ceremonies and duties of the temple, or of the funds at present belonging to it. The resources of the endowments in land may certainly be ascertained in a much more satisfactory manner than they are at present, but in respect to the article of income arising from fees and presents we conceive that any accurate information of that is scarcely to be expected, and we doubt also

* 1803-4.

whether the funds arising from the sale of Mahapershad can be justly ascertained.

From the accounts submitted there would appear to be a necessity of some advances being made by Government, in addition to the funds belonging to the temple. Instead of allowing a fixed sum hereafter on that account, it occurs to us that it would be an eligible mode to allow a certain per centage upon the collections made by Government from the pilgrims.

On a reference to the accounts in our Accountant's Office it appears that from April 1806 to May 1807, the gross collections made on the part of Government from the pilgrims amounted to 1,18,253. The total charges incurred by Government in that period is stated at 42,666, leaving a net revenue of 75,587. Of this however some balance may probably be claimed by the Purchas as due to them on account of the expenses of the temple. The collector's accounts, you will observe, are only made up to the end of 1212; we are therefore uninformed of the amount which may be claimed by the Purchas on account of the period above mentioned, in addition to the amount actually paid to them Of the charges above specified, it appears that 20,168 are on account of the salary of the Collector and of his Amla, and a further sum of Rs. 1,200 was expended in the building of a Cutcherry for the Collector, deducting those sums from the gross collections, the balance would be 96,885. Supposing therefore that for the expenses of the temple 20 per cent. had been allowed upon the receipts, after deducting the whole of the expense of collection, including the Collector's salary and commission, there would have been nearly 20,000 Rs., which would have been appropriable on that account.

Although that amount is not as much as was advanced by Government in 1212, yet under all circumstances we are of opinion that if 20 per cent. be allowed upon the collections, after deducting the expenses of collection, the expenses of the temple will be amply provided for. In the first place we conceive that the endowments of the temple may be considerably raised, and we have no doubt that under the management of the Rajah of Khurdah, the expenses will be much reduced."

The Mahratta accounts, after much diligent searching, discovered by the Resident at Nagpore, we should have stated, were those for the Cuttack Súbah—"for 1206, 7, and 8." "They are written," says he, "in the Mahratta character, and as I understand there are a number of Mahratta Muhsuddis in Cuttack, I trust you will have no difficulty in getting them translated." The accounts were duly translated, and brought into use as required. But it would appear from this little piece of correspondence—for the publication of which we do not think that even the most scrupulous will blame us—that the decyphering of accounts in the Mahratta character, was, from the commencement of our occupation of the Cuttack province, left in a considerable degree to natives. Perhaps Sir William Jones himself could not have made out the local terms alluded to in the Resident's letter. But this simple incident goes in some way to strengthen our upholding what may seem rather a bold assertion—that we knew little, on the conquest of the district, and have probably known less since—of how the Mahrattas con-

ducted the affairs of Jagannáth. Let us now proceed—commencing with a few "facts and figures."

The Collector of Cuttack, Mr. Webb, writes on the 7th March, 1808:

To H. T. COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—I have now the honor to forward an abstract account of the number and description of pilgrims resorting to the temple at Jagannáth, also general treasury accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the treasury under charge of the Collector of Tax from December 1805 to April 1806 and from May 1806 to April 1807 inclusive.

The total amount of tax levied from January 1st, 1806 to April 30, 1807,* inclusive, being a period of 16 months, is tax levied ..... Sa. Rs.	1,90,211	6	0			
Total receipts, account, fines, &c.	15,397	9	0			
Total Receipts				2,05,608	15	0
Total paid expenses of the temple	36,378	7	6			
Paid charges collection	20,309	0	5			
Paid contingent charges	12,279	9	2			
By remittances to Collector of Cuttack...	1,22,000	0	0			
				1,90,967	1	1
Leaving a balance in the hands of the Collector of Sicca Rupees				14,641	13	11

Stirling thinks that the number of pilgrims resorting to Jagannáth has been exaggerated. And we really fear there has been a good deal of exaggeration in our own time.

That there is annually a vast waste of human life among the deluded beings who set forth on their pilgrimage in the sunshine of hope, and find too late that "shadows, clouds, and darkness, rest upon it,"—we will not presume to deny. But, to remove an existing evil, we see no necessity for enlarging upon truth, or crying hideously in the vast sea of public controversy. With due reverence for the many and philanthropic exertions of some of those who have exposed the abominations of Jagannáth, we must candidly confess that it is the opinion of many sensible men, that if they had *cried* less, they might have done more.

We believe that, from time to time, the Court of Directors and various Governments in India, have been offended by *some* of the modes in which British connexion with Jagannáth has been assailed,—and so, any strong interest in its discontinuance has gradually dwindled down to being content with paying a donation, that donation being founded on a supposed *pledge*, of the origin of which we have neither history nor proof!

* We have been unable to find, among the huge mass of correspondence and accounts, the appendices containing all the particulars of the above.

Stirling gives the following statement of pilgrims of all classes who attended for five years at the three great festivals,* "procured from the most authentic sources," viz :—

1817-18,...	*Paying Tax*	35,941	*Exempt*	39,720	*Total*	75,641
1818-19,...	Ditto	36,241	Ditto	4,870	Ditto	41,111
1819-20,...	Ditto	92,874	Ditto	39,000	Ditto	1,31,874
1820-21,...	Ditto	21,946	Ditto	11,500	Ditto	33,446
1821-22,...	Ditto	35,160	Ditto	17,000	Ditto	52,160

We shall give a statement of the collections, charges and receipts as we proceed.

A feast which happened but once in several years, or twice during a century, would produce an incredible influx of pilgrim. The author of the "History of Púrí" observes that—

"Since the tax-office was abolished, no record regarding the pilgrims resorting to Jagannáth has been kept in the public office on the part of Government; the compiler was consequently obliged to have recourse to the priest of the temple for information. The registry kept by them, it was hoped, might have proved worthy of trust;—but it is not so Such as it is, however, is exhibited below:—

Year.	*Number of Pilgrims.*	*Year.*	*Number of Pilgrims.*
1839-40	53,345	1843-44	1,87,324
1840-41	51,571	1844-45	1,88,975
1841-42	1,12,567	1845-46	1,98,912
1842-43	1,49,138	1846-47	2,10,325

"On referring to some accounts, it appears that all classes of pilgrims resorting to Jagannáth annually, amount to from about 50,000 to 3,00,000, as the latter has been observed in two or three instances when any holidays of consequence have taken place. The pilgrims assemble here at all seasons, and consist of foreigners, countrymen, byraghis, and kangals; most of the pilgrims are females."—*History, pages* 55-56"

This latter feature is a curious one in the pilgrimage to Púrí: we read in the early Jagannáth correspondence of numbers of women arriving at Cuttack on their way to the shrine. At the Ruth festival in 1846, Mr. Lacey of Cuttack, writes—"There were present at this emporium of idolatry, on this celebrated occasion, about 180,000 pilgrims. The larger half of this assembly were destitute Bengali widows, who are glad, on occasion of a Ruth festival, to escape from their miserable homes, where they are unwelcome to all their dead husband's friends, and are objects of unremitted persecution and degrada-

* *The bathing, the swinging,* and *the car* festivals; or the *Snan,* the *Dole,* and the *Ruth Jatras.*

tion." At the Ruth játra of the present year—which began on the 3d of July and lasted about nine days—there was a vast decrease of pilgrims—when it was fully expected there would be an extraordinary number. We believe there were not more than 70, or 80,000;* and, from the presence of such a comparatively small number, at a very favourable time of the year for the festival, we may perhaps entertain some hope that the pilgrimage to Jágannáth is on the wane.

And we perfectly agree with Stirling—who, to have written a work like his, must have given the greatest attention and diligence to the subject—that the ceremonies of Jagannáth "would soon cease to be conducted on their present scale and footing, if the institution were left entirely to its fate and to its own resources."

This was written nearly thirty years ago. To carry on the chain of our narrative, we come to the nomination of the fallen representatives of the Maharajahs of Orissa to the chief office of authority in the temple. In October, 1806, we find the Governor-General concurring in the sentiments expressed by the Board of Revenue, respecting the expediency of withdrawing the interference of Government, as far as practicable, "in the internal administration of the affairs of the temple." The "Provisional Government" of the Dewal Purchas was discovered to be one of those curious pieces of machinery in which every member does his best to enrich himself and rob his brother. There was plenty of oil for the wheels; but it always contrived to find its way into a wrong channel. What was wanted was a regular; and it was discovered that the Rajah of Khurdah (then a prisoner at Midnapore) had been the late Zemindar of Jagannáth. The chief hereditary Sewak, or Priest, was at that time (1806) a minor. The high Priest of the temple now became a picture of the past. He was to be added to that of the active Mahratta trooper, who, seated on his small, lean, muscular horse, with his dazzling sabre and homely appointments, was always ready to advance like a flash of lightning on the foe.

We find the following enclosed in a letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 28th Sept. 1808:—

The appointment of the Rajah of Khurdah.

"It being deemed necessary to alter the rules at present in force for the superintendence and management of the affairs of the temple, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to rescind sections 11,

* We were informed that only about 25,000 of these were from the district: the rest "Up-country" people, and chiefly widows.

12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19, Regulation 4, 1806,* and substitute the following rules in lieu of them.

The superintendence of the temple of Jagannáth and its interior economy, the conduct and management of its affairs, and the entire control over the priests, officers and servants attached to the idol and to the temple, are hereby vested in the Rajah of Khurdah, who on all occasions shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by long and established usage.†

The Rajah of Khurdah and his heirs shall hold the situation vested in them by the above section so long as they shall continue to conduct themselves with integrity, diligence and propriety, but nothing contained in this regulation shall be construed to preclude the Governor-General in Council from removing the incumbent from that situation, on proof of misconduct in such person made to the satisfaction of Government.

To enable the superintendent of the internal economy of the temple to perform the duty of his station with greater effect, he is hereby authorised to punish persons subject to his control, for any instance of neglect or misconduct, by imposing small fines upon them, not exceeding one month's salary, or income, or by removing the offender from his office, if the offence shall appear to merit that punishment."

The present Rajah and Superintendent, we learn from the "History of Púrí," is Ramchunder Deb, who began his administration in 1818. If all be true that is written and said against him, he stands forth "proudly eminent" for falsities and lies. But the "secrets of the prison-house" are now disclosed—and we hope some good may soon be done. In the year 1808, the expenses of the temple were ascertained, and fixed at Sicca Rupees 56,342-9-8. We give a Kistbundy below,‡ stating the sums required during the above year.

This donation appears to have been continued down to the year 1839.

* Seven of these sections, the reader will observe, we did not give in our extract from this Regulation. From what is now afforded, merely substituting Brahmans and Pundits, for Rajah superintendent, their contents will be sufficiently known. We have given the two most important; the 11th and 12th Sections.

† Section 2, Reg. IV. 1809.

‡ Kistbundy or monthly instalments of the amount authorized to be disbursed for the support and maintenance of the temple of Jagannáth :—

Aussin.	Caurtick.	Aughun.	Pous.	Maug.	Faugoon.	Cheyte.	Byaack.	Jeyte.	Assaur.	Sawun.	Bhadoor.	Total. Sicca Rupees.
5,000	5,000	5,000	7,000	,000	6,000	4,000	3,000	4,000	7,000	3,000	2,342-9-8	56,342 9-8

(Signed) GEO. WEBB, *Collector.*

Zillah Cuttack, 27th February, 1808.

In 1809, the decrease of pilgrims, and the column of miscellaneous receipts having prevented the tax from nearly covering the expenses of the Government, the management of the temple lands began to be more seriously considered than formerly.

The decrease of pilgrims deprived the temple of offerings and endowments, and the Government of revenue. Instead of the expenses being reduced under the Rajah of Khurdah, it would appear they increased. The dewal Purchas grew lax in their financial duties, enjoyed their *otium cum dignitate*, took their salaries, and left the temple lands to their fate.

On the 18th of February 1809, the Collector of Cuttack wrote to Lord Minto—who had been Governor-General since 1807—explaining the deficiencies in the collections of the lands pertaining to the temple of Jagannáth.

"In regard to the future management of these lands," says he, "I beg to solicit your Lordship's orders on the Collector's 'proposition of making the collections in future, by means 'of an officer of Government. As long as the receipts from 'these lands are appropriated to the expenses of the temple, 'I do not conceive that any objection can exist to their being 'managed by a particular officer appointed to perform the du-'ties of the Sattais Hazari Purcha, and I have little doubt 'of the receipts being higher under the former officer, than 'under an officer of the temple."

The Governor-General in Council agreed to this proposition; and an officer of Government was appointed to make the collections accordingly.

Lord Minto likewise authorized a proposed sale of lands for the recovery of arrears due from the proprietors to Government.

The frauds committed by the officers of the temple during this year (1809) appear to be quite in keeping with those of every other. A scheme was got up among the idle Purchas to exceed the authorized expenditure by some 5 or 6,000 rupees; and this, after the expenses of the temple had been limited to a certain and very liberal sum. They had the effrontery to write down the excess in the Persian accounts as *money borrowed*. On being questioned by the Collector as to the meaning and cause of the excess, the Purchas falsified their accounts. And if the Collector had not dismissed them from his presence with ignominy, they probably, from a full hypothesis of lies, would have proceeded to prove that robbing a Government of 5,000 Rs. was a custom established by antiquity.

Of course, they were made responsible for the amount. And there is every reason to believe that they did not find the responsibility at all grievous.

We have before us an "Abstract Statement of the resources of Satais Hazari Lands assigned as an endowment to the temple of Jagannáth," dated Sept. 1809.

The gross produce of these lands, "including quit rent and bazay Jumma," amounts to no more than 13,691 Rs.

The peace of the district appears to have been placed slightly in jeopardy about the middle of the year 1810.

The incident, though trifling, yet goes to strengthen an opinion that it is hardly politic to allow the descendant of the Rajah therein mentioned—Mukund Deo, who had made a "most unprovoked rising" against the English government, in 1804, and who, in consequence, was confined as a prisoner in Midnapore—to administer the affairs of such an important charge as Jagannáth.

We are informed that a country Rajah came to Puri "with the approbation of Government," paying the usual tax for himself and retinue. He proceeded to the temple to perform certain ceremonies; "but, owing to the great crowd in the temple 'these were not effected to his satisfaction; and he was with 'his people personally insulted—principally by Pundahs and 'Purharris, *shouting, joking, clapping hands*, pelting stones, '&c. which strongly inclines me to think," writes the Collector of Tax, "they were the partizans of the Rajah of Khur-'dah, sent there for that particular purpose." The indignant Rajah, he writes again, "is full of grief and disappointment 'at himself, his aged mother, and his three wives, being de-'graded *by a spurious race of his family, &c.*"

Such was one of the incidents which distinguished Jagannáth in May, 1810.

Yet, notwithstanding such freaks of royalty, the year 1810-11, presents an excess of tax of 12,645 Rs.—the net receipts of Government being 57,290 and the total expenditure Rs. 44,664. In this latter amount are included about 1,100 Rs., for broad cloths from the British Import and Export warehouses.*

Passing over the administrations of the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst, there is no change and little correspondence concerning Jagannáth. The first important proposed alterations appear in the middle of the reign of Lord William Bentinck. In July 1832, the Sudder Board of Revenue offered for the consideration of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council, numerous excellent observations regarding the perfect propriety of an abolition of the pilgrim tax, at Gya, Allahabad, and Jagannáth. On this branch of "the fiscal administra-

* And nearly 1,150 Rs. put down as "Balance due from Government to Purchas on account of the temple expenses."—The broad cloths, the reader is probably aware, were used for decorating the cars. They have long ceased to be supplied by the British Government.

tion," the Board observe that the reasons for continuing the imposition of the tax, are simply these; "that it produces a 'considerable amount of revenue annually to meet the general 'expenses of the state, and that it was levied in the same man-'ner by the Hindu and Mahommedan Governments, previous 'to the establishment of the British authority. These are 'doubtless sufficient, so long as the tax itself does not operate 'to mix up public authority with the performance of idolatrous 'worship; but, when such consequences are found to result, the 'Board are inclined to doubt, how far the continuance of the tax, 'even in a revenue point of view, can be deemed advisable."

These observations of the Board were not suggested so much by the "tax system" at Gya and Allahabad, where "the public officers," say they, "have nothing to do but simply to make the collections." Their chief point of attack was Jagannáth—in all but the bloody sacrifice, which belongs more to Siva :—

> "First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parent's tears;
> Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
> Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
> To his grim idol."*

There is considerable wisdom in the observations of the Board on the effects of the tax and superintending system on the general interests of the country. One is:—"In fact, the 'rulers who communicate with one hand the blessings of moral 'light and knowledge to those of its subjects whom circum-'stances happily enable to receive them, co-operate with the 'other, in rivetting the chains of idolatry, on the minds of the 'great body of the population." Another is—

"The evils more immediately resulting from it arise out of the injury done to agriculture and commerce, by the abstraction of the labour of the multitudes, who are perpetually employed in traversing India from one extremity to the other, for idolatrous purposes; and in the atrocities of which, gangs of these individuals are often led, by the vicissitudes of such a life, to become the perpetrators, in defiance of the utmost efforts of public authority, and to the great insecurity, throughout the tracts of country over which they pass, of the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants."†

It was the opinion of the Board that the direct superintendence of the officers of Government for facilitating the business of the temple, encouraged the pilgrimage; and to uphold their arguments for non-interference in management, and the abolition of the tax, they cite the case of the abolition of *Sutti*, or the burning of widows—the "best motives for regulating the burning" increasing rather than diminishing the rite. Sutti being considerably "put an end to," they imagined that the

* Milton.

† Some may think that the Board here shew an excess of feeling. The pilgrims themselves are most frequently the victims of various atrocities. They are generally a peaceful set.

pilgrimage to Jagannáth, through "more comprehensive and just views of the principles of human action," carried out in the former case, would be attended by the same effects;—and the adoption of the new measures, will, the Board doubt not, result "in the gradual disrepute and declension of those idola-'trous rites, which their own unaided influence will never suffice 'to uphold, against the rapidly increasing intelligence of the 'higher classes of the native population."

The whole of the Board's observations teem with philanthropy —and if their latter remark was at all true in 1832, it must be much more so in 1848.

But his Honor the Vice-President in Council could not see the propriety or policy of the withdrawal of tax at any of the places mentioned, and particularly of interference with the concerns of the temple of Jagannáth.

As we wish to give both sides of the question, we shall quote part of a letter from Mr. Wilkinson, Collector of Cuttack, dated May, 1833, to the Commissioner of the province, in which he states that the opinions in the letter of the Hon'ble the Vice President in Council have his entire concurrence :—

"Judging from the experience of the two first years after the acquisition of the province, when no tax on pilgrims was levied, I should think that the abolition of it again would greatly increase the resort of pilgrims to the temple at Jagannáth, and would continue so long as the Hindu faith is looked upon by the natives of Hindustan as the true religion. I am also of opinion, that the temple could not be left to the support yielded by its own endowmemts, without the Government being guilty of a breach of faith, for by the latter part of Section 30th, Regulation XII. of 1805, it is bound to supply the deficiency of them. The words are as follows:"—"Provided also that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the established donation for the temple of Jagannáth." Perhaps the Board in suggesting the above arrangement, considered this donation as a part of the endowments of the temple. Had their recommendation for the abolition of the tax been adopted, Government would then have had to pay out of its revenue annually, a sum averaging 36,000 Rs. as the revenues from the lands appropriated to the temple amount to 20,000 Rs. only, whereas the annual disbursements exceed 56,000. An increase in the police to protect the persons and property of the larger masses of people that would be collected, from their being no check on their resort to, and stay in, the town of Púrí, would also have been required. All this outlay, would have been incurred without any return, whereas things are now constituted, this burthen is saved to the state, and a small surplus is available for the repair of bridges, roads, surais and other useful purposes.

No one can deny the baneful influence which pilgrimages have on agriculture, by abstracting large bodies of people from their labors, but they are not wholly without their benefits. These masses of Hindu pilgrims do not entirely consist of the labouring classes, but comprehend a great proportion of the rich and idle, who by thus travelling about the country with their numerous retinues, consume the superabunbant produce through which they pass, and into Cuttack at least introduce a great share of the money which is annually drained from the district in remittances to the General Treasury."

The reader may probably exclaim, on the perusal of the

above—"The *established donation*—like chaos, "come again!" But Mr. Wilkinson's letter is of eminent service at the present time. The "donation" and the pilgrim tax go together. It is impossible to separate the one from the other; or rather not to gain the one from the other, without loss to the state. Lord Auckland and time have shewn that the separation has produced a considerable annual loss to the state. But time has also shewn that Jagannáth, as for some years conducted, is gradually falling into disrepute; it has also shewn that the act of separation was not generally considered as a breach of faith on the part of the Government:—Why, then, should we leave the other *member* dangling in the air—the support of an avaricious Rajah, and a burden to the state?

We asserted in a former portion of this article, that the Government, eventually, received a considerable revenue from the pilgrim tax. We think it but justice to the Hon'ble East India Company that we should bring the following facts to public notice. They are recorded in the Vice-President in Council's letter to the Sudder Board of Revenue, dated September, 1832.

The surplus proceeds of the tax on the pilgrims to Jagannáth were appropriated by the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the formation and maintenance of a high road from the presidency to Cuttack, along which many of the pilgrims travel—and to the erection of surais for their accommodation along the road. The funds were found to be "inadequate for the purpose," and the pilgrimage thus became "a charge on the Public finances, rather than a source of income."

Mr. Wilkinson, styled by the Vice-President in Council, "an officer of talent and experience," appears to have been the first who proposed the present "money mode" of payment from the British Treasury.

In his letter, part of which we have before quoted, he says: 'Should Government deem any change necessary, I would recommend in preference to any other, the total abolition of the tax and a grant of the donation from its treasury stipulated by Section 30, Regulation XII. of 1809, and placing the disbursements and general control of the temple under the sole management of the Rajah of Khurdah. However it is my opinion, that it is the best policy to continue things as they are." The Regulation above alluded to should have been written of 1805; and so we have the "resumption of the established donation again." And it was these very words which chiefly prevented that highly respected and talented officer, Mr. Mills—the present Commissioner's predecessor—from acceding to what the Hon'ble East India Company and Great Britain generally wished—the *entire withdrawal* of British connexion from the temple of Jagannáth—Mr. Mills' strong sense of justice and

that of other high functionaries in India, (among whom we may mention the Hon'ble Sir T. H. Maddock,) in this matter, we think went somewhat too far: for who in such a case, will assert that there cannot be "continued favour and protection" without an actual payment of money? *No pledge can be elicited from the correspondence.** There is no fear of the peace of the province being endangered. The business altogether is a complicated one. The "pledge" has been already broken up into sections: these have gradually been retiring from the centre, till there is but one left.

The remaining section is perfectly useless; and, besides, stands in the way of the march onward to civilization. But we have made a rather sudden digression from Mr. Wilkinson and his Honor the Vice President in Council, in 1832. It was before our intention to have presented the reader with a "Statement showing the receipts and disbursements of the Temple of Jagannáth," from 1810-11 to 1830-31. It is a statement made in the most palmy days of pilgrimage :—

Years.	Gross Collections.	Total Charges.	Net Receipts.
1810-11	73,438	60,793	12,645
1811-12	93,372	43,578	49,794
1812-13	51,049	55,709	4,660 (net charge)
1813-14	87,159	48,674	38,485
1814-15	2,08,520	72,852	1,35,668
1815-16	53,725	42,578	11,147
1816-17	60,294	50,600	9,694
1817-18	94,020	52,860	41,160
1818-19	80,951	46,550	34,401
1819-20	1,65,951	47,664	1,18,287
1820-21	60,031	45,203	14,828
1821-22	1,17,559	47,824	69,735
1822-23	2,33,248	51,630	1,81,618
1823-24	67,013	44,715	22,300
1824-25	74,958	45,202	29,756
1825-26	2,79,491	55,662	2,23,829
1826-27	73,806	47,164	26,642
1827-28	92,363	46,411	45,952
1828-29	1,29,277	54,501	74,776
1829-30	1,25,126	15,759	1,09,367
1830-31	2,16,217	1,78,511	37,706
Total, 21	21,37,570	11,54,440	12,87,790
		Deduct charge in 1812-13	4,660
			12,83,130
Annual Average	1,16,074 8	54,973 6	61,101

* Government is not bound by any pledge—said the Board of Revenue, (1845.) This was also the opinion of the Hon'ble W. W. Bird, and by him so recorded, in his high official capacity, as Deputy Governor of Bengal, and for a time, acting Governor General of India.

We now pass on to the administration of Lord Aucland,* to whom we have already alluded in this article. It was towards the end of the year 1838 that he penned a confessedly able minute on the general subject of Jagannáth, though utterly vitiated by the old bugbear about the imaginary pledge.

We think we shall meet the wishes of our readers by simply giving the

Resolution of the President in Council for carrying out the views expressed in the Governor-General's Minute.

" All that remains to be done relates to the temple of Jagannáth, which had already formed the subject of a good deal of correspondence before the receipt of the present despatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and on which the Government of India is in possession of all the general information requisite, including the views of the best informed local Officers. The opinion of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General on the mode in which the abandonment of all interference with the concerns of the temple of Jagannáth should be conducted, was requested by the President in Council in Mr. Secretary Maddock's letter to Mr. Macnaghten dated the 20th of May 1838, and in the latter part of the present Minute His Lordship has taken the opportunity of conveying his opinion upon that point.

It is unnecessary in this Resolution to recapitulate the various plans that have been proposed for carrying into operation, as respects this temple, the principle set down for the guidance of the Government of India, and the various arguments for and against each plan. These have been fully developed in previous Resolutions and correspondence with the Governor-General. The President in Council resolves, in accordance with the opinion expressed in His Lordship's Minute, wholly to relinquish the tax on pilgrims; to continue the yearly donation now given for the support of the temple, for which the faith of Government is pledged, to make over to the Rajah of Khurdah and his successors, the entire management of the temple; to retain the temple lands, (Satais Hazarí Mehal,) in the management of the Revenue Officers of Government, accounting to the superintendent of the temple for the net proceeds; to exact nothing from the temple for the support of poor pilgrims or a Pilgrim Hospital, and to institute, at the charge of Government, a Government Dispensary in the town of Púrí for the relief of all persons who may apply to it.

With regard to the manner in which the relinquishment of the entire charge of the temple into the hands of the Rajah of Khurdah and his successors should be recorded, and the obligations of the charge defined, His Honor in Council thinks it would be most expedient on the repeal of Regulations IV. 1809, and XI. 1810, by re-enacting in substance clause First, Section 2, of the former, to provide, that the superintendence of the temple and its interior economy, the conduct of management of its affairs, and the control over the priests, officers, and servants attached to the temple, shall continue vested in the Rajah of Khurdah and his successors, who, on all occasions, shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by ancient and established usage. The superintendent and all the officers connected with the temple will be left, as a matter of course responsible to the Courts of Justice for any breach of duty which can be made the ground of a legal action.

His Honor in Council deems this course preferable to the execution of

* Governor-General, March 1836.

the deed of transfer proposed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General; because the management of the temple is already by Reg. vested in the Rajah, and the office of superintendent in institutions of this description, being by Hindu Law of the nature of a trust, no special agreement is necessary to give it that character; and it might be difficult to frame the deed of transfer in such a manner as to comprehend the stipulations necessary to secure the just rights of all parties concerned.

His Honor in Council does not deem it advisable to associate the three Dewal Purchas with the Rajah in the superintendence of the temple. Those officers have no title to that privilege; and though they have been in direct receipt of the money allowance from Government, and entrusted with its disbursement, they have discharged their duties under the supervision of the Rajah, as by law provided. Such an arrangement also would be open to the objection of a divided authority and responsibility, and the advantage of having one ackowledged and permanent supreme Director of the institution would be lost; moreover, as observed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, as vacancies occurred in the office of Dewal Purcha, the succession could not by any other means be so fittingly supplied as by the nomination of the Rajah himself, and thus the controul of these superior Priests would naturally fall into the hands of the Rajah; and their offices, as co-superintendents, would become nearly nominal.

His Honor will be pleased, as early as possible, to complete, in all its details, the scheme for carrying into effect the arrangements explained in this resolution with regard to Jagannáth."*

Here then we have the ground-work of the new Act X. of 1840. We shall presently shew the opinion of the Court of Directors on the question of "pledge" contained in the above.

Before us we have a very elaborate document, which furnishes the Sudder Board of Revenue with much valuable information regarding the abolition of the pilgrim tax. In one part of the letter we read: "Much as we may deprecate all personal 'interference with the ceremonies of a religion which we cannot 'but look on as of the most demoralizing and degrading cha-'racter, it is yet in my opinion our bounden duty not only to tole-'rate that religion but to provide for its free exercise by our 'Hindu subjects, to secure the due appropriation of the pro-'ceeds by which its endowments are supported, and lastly to 'maintain the public tranquillity in all places to which its vota-'ries resort."

Here we accede fully to the *toleration*, but not to the *provision*; neither do we see why we are bound "to secure the due appropriation of the proceeds."

The establishment of the Cuttack Pilgrim Hospital—a most humane and highly necessary institution—occupied much of the attention of the late worthy Commissioner; and there can be no doubt that the pilgrims have derived great benefits from his philanthropic exertions.

* This document, in manuscript, is without date.

The basis of the Commissioner's plan for the abolition of the pilgrim tax, according to the orders of Government, was, that—"We should in short interfere not a little more with Jagannáth than we do with Bhobanésér." For the particulars of our interference with the latter shrine—which may be summed up in the words "protection to endowments"—we refer the reader to Reg. XIX of 1810.—Proceeding a little faster in our journey, we arrive at a

Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th April, 1845;—for,

A copy of "so much of the Despatch sent out by the Court of Directors of the Honourable the East India Company, on the 18th day of December, 1844, as relates to the discountenancing of any connexion of the Company's Servants with attendance of devotees upon the ceremonies of the temple of Jagannáth, and any arrangements sanctioned or directed for the discontinuance of pecuniary payments towards the maintenance of the idol worship of that shrine."

JAMES C. MELVILLE

East India House, 22nd April, 1845.

ORDERED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TO BE PRINTED, 16TH JUNE, 1845.

Copy of a Letter from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, Legislative Department, 18th December, (No. 25,) 1844.

Our Governor-General of India in Council, India Legislative Letter, 12th July (No. 14,) 1844.

1. From the papers accompanying your letter in this department of the 12th of July last (No. 14), respecting the temple of Jagannáth, we are fully confirmed in our previous impression, that the employment of purharris, or pilgrim hunters, is not sanctioned by the Government, and that the authority of the police is never exerted in forcing the labouring classes to drag the car at Jagannáth, or at any other temple, but always in protecting them from any such compulsory service. The imputations cast upon the Government, in these respects, prove to be wholly groundless.

2. It appears that the records of your Government do not enable you to show upon what specific ground it was stated in Lord Auckland's Minute of the 17th November, 1838, that "our promise of the allowance for the support of the temple is distinct and unconditional." The nature of the pledge under which it was considered incumbent upon us to continue the established allowance seems to have been the assurance held out by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his negotiation with the Mahratta vakils, and by Lord Wellesley and the officers acting under his authority in Cuttack, that the temple and the Brahmans attached to it should be taken under the protection of the British Government. This assurance was in strict conformity with the principles on which the affairs of our empire in India have uniformly been administered. The allowance was fixed at 60,000 Rupees per annum, but is stated in the report of the Bengal Government, dated 11th March 1844, to have been reduced to Rs. 36,178-12-2, in consequence of the relin-

quishment of the Satais Huzari estate to the temple. We are of opinion that it would be very advisable, according to the suggestion offered in the same report to commute the remainder of the allowance in the same manner, by restoring any other lands of equal value which may formerly have belonged to the temple. We desire, therefore, that if you concur in this view, you will take the necessary measures for carrying this arrangement into effect, and that the lands may be left exclusively to the management of the officers of the temple, and thus that the discontinuance of our interference with its concerns may be made complete.

We are, &c.

(Signed) J. SHEPHERD. H. SHANK.
H. WILLOCK. A. GALLOWAY
W. ASTELL. A. ROBERTSON.
F. WARDEN. W. B. BAYLEY.
J. LOCH. H. ALEXANDER.
J MASTERMAN H. ST. G. TUCKER.
W. YOUNG.

London, 18th December, 1844.

Our readers, we doubt not, are aware of the impossibility of preserving any strict chronological order in a narrative of this nature, confined as we are to space. We shall therefore make no apology for engaging the reader's attention to the consideration of a valuable document forwarded by Mr. Commissioner Mills to the Sudder Board of Revenue, in 1843.

The Commissioner had been called on by the Board, about the middle of that year, to answer certain questions, and supply the most authentic intelligence, regarding the temple, for the information of the Court of Directors. He commences his document* with a succinct history of the origin of the temple and tax: rightly considered necessary for the due understanding of his first argument.—"The specific ground on which it was stated in Lord Auckland's Minute, that the allowance of the temple is distinct and unconditional." We shall make a few extracts, which the reader will do well to compare with what we have already written. "I find," says Mr. Mills, "from the 'accounts which were rendered by the officers of the temple 'for the two years preceding the accession of the British 'power, that is in 1801-1802, the sum of 97,132-10-15 *kahuns*, equal to Rs. 24,283-6-3;—in 1802 1803, 87,228-10-10 '*kahuns* of cowry, or Rs. 21,807-2-2, disbursed by the Mahratta Government to cover the deficit of the receipts over the 'disbursements. The practice of the Mahratta Government 'was to have the accounts of receipts and disbursements annually adjusted, and to supply the deficiency from its own 'treasury. This practice was continued for some years by the 'British Government. The allowance, there can be no ques-

* Our copy is dated 20th August, 1843.

'tion,' was considered permanent, though the amount of it was 'variable."

The Commissioner then proceeds to bring forward the portion of Lord Wellesley's Despatch to Colonel Harcourt—nearly the whole of which we have already given—in which he lays the chief stress on the words "*protected in the exercise of their religious duties.* The reader may remember that we laid it on the order:—"*Be careful not to contract with the Brahmans any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government, &c.*"

The second clause of the Commissioner's document relates to "the authority under which the established donation for the support of the temple of Jagannáth, maintained in Regulation 12 of 1805, was first granted,—or the period during which it may be known to have been received, and its amount."

The Court of Directors particularly wished to know "the authority."

"The Governor-General in Council," writes the Commissioner, "authorized Mr. Melville* to defray the expenses of the 'temple; the date of the authority I cannot trace, but the 'Government in Council,† were pleased to observe as fol-'lows: 'In authorising the Collector to incur the expenses 'necessary for the support of the temple, it was of course to be 'understood that such authority had reference to the expenses 'incurred for the purpose during the late Mahratta Govern-'ment.'"

It is likewise the Commissioner's opinion that the lands belonging to the temple never constituted "the only known endowments pertaining to it,"—in support of which, besides an abstract of lands assigned for the use of the temple, he gives other resources, "under various heads, viz. poll-tax, custom duties, intestate property, &c." and upon every Lal Jatri fifteen annas. We have already alluded to the probable resources of the temple under the Mahrattas.

In the following observations by the Commissioner will be found in addition to other information, the character of the present Rajah Superintendent—far too kindly drawn; the information regarding the Purharris, which satisfied the Court of Directors, as we have shewn in the letter already quoted; and, lastly, Mr. Mill's arguments for not discontinuing the donation:—

"I consider it my duty to offer a few remarks on the attempt which is now being made to set aside the settlement of Lord Auckland. The settle-

* In the manuscript it is "the Commissioner."

† In reply to the Board's address to Government of the 17th June, 1806.

ment, inasmuch as regards the abolition of the tax has given satisfaction to the people, but this is not the case with that part of the arrangement which vests the superintendence of the temple in the Rajah of Khurdah. The body of the Hindu people not only object to the man, who is a person of thrifty character, and endeavours to limit the expenditure to the lowest possible amount, in order that he may appropriate to his own use the surplus.

* I beg on the part of both the Magistrate and myself as superintendent of the Police of the district, to contradict these most unfounded statements of the Pamphleteer, and to state that neither have the Purharris been encouraged or protected, directly or indirectly by the officers of Government; nor have the Police been employed, directly or indirectly, in the impressment of persons to drag the car since the abolition of the pilgrim tax.

With the Purharris or Pundahs the Government officers cannot in any way come in contact, and as to the impressment of the people, I may add that the Rajah of Khurdah waited on me last month at Púrí and implored the aid and assistance of the Government officers for securing the attendance of the "Batiahs," or persons whose duties it is to drag the Ruths, which I peremptorily refused to him. It is for the purpose of obtaining some influence and authority over these people that the Rajah is willing to take the Satais Hazari Mehals into his own hands and is desirous of engaging for the revenue of other large estates, his property being now held Khas by Government for political reasons.

† The abolition of the tax has without doubt added to the number of pilgrims, but in no other respect has the splendour of the ceremonies been augmented.

Our interference with the management of the temple secured a sure administration of its affairs and no doubt increased the celebrity of the temple among the Hindus, and therefore is its withdrawal unpalatable to them. However, the withdrawal of our interference has been in their eyes in a great measure redeemed by the faith which we have kept in continuing the payment of the established donation. We are bound in faith and in justice to pay the established donation for the support of the temple, and this is now done in the manner which I think is the least objectionable to our feelings as Christians; and truly has Lord Auckland remarked "our pledge was not to the individual priests but to the Hindu Public," who alone can release us from our obligations.

The plan advocated by some to discontinue the donation and to permit the Rajah and Priests to collect in lieu thereof the usual fees, would not only involve the violation of the pledge, which has been given to the Hindu Public, but the voluntary contributions would gradually degenerate into a source of exaction and oppression to the pilgrims, and would create a great feeling of discontent amongst our Hindu subjects." ‡

It is Mr. Mill's opinion, then, that "so far as human justice is to be regarded, our violation of the pledge seems beyond all power of explanation."

* Is the trade of the Purharris sanctioned by Government, and is the authority of the Police employed to impress the labouring classes to drag the car at Jagannáth?

† Is the superstition of Jagannáth under the arrangements now sanctioned flourishing beyond all experience?

‡ We have copied the whole of this extract from the corrected manuscript—in which the Commissioner's corrections are so numerous, that it is difficult for us to do any justice to his language. However, his sentiments are expressed in the above. We believe that the whole is printed in the "Blue Book."

This opinion appears to have been of greater weight than any of the others set forth in the Blue Book. It is curious to observe the secret struggle for independence which appears to reign among the Rajahs of Khurdah. In the above extract we find him willing to take the temple lands under his own management to gain influence over the people. And to the reader, not skilled in revenue matters, it may be well to observe, that landed property is said to be held "*Khas*," when under the immediate management of the Government Officers, in contradistinction to being farmed or leased out to others. The Rajah, on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax, wished even to have the rights and privileges of a tributary chieftain confirmed in his person, "it being as these jungly Rajahs think derogatory to be placed on a level with the subjects of the Mogulbundi in the plains." Pilgrimage to Jagannáth, among the chieftains of the tributary Mehals, is a rare occurrence. They seem to consider the Rajah as the relic of a once despotic power—fallen—fallen—fallen! They are not willing to pay the large sums of money exacted from them by the superintendent to perform the ceremony at the temple: they prefer hoarding up their wealth in their own wild lands to expending it on Jagannáth, or rather on the Rajah of Khurdah.*

The plan proposed by the Court of Directors for the discontinuance of our interference with the temple was by no means an easy one to carry out. In 1844, Rs. 35,758, were paid in cash from the Government treasury, nominally as a pension to the superintendent, but really for the support of the temple. The collections of the Sattais Hazari Estate, amounting to Rs. 17,001, were exclusively made over to the Rajah. But, with the exception of this property, there were no lands of which any record was then extant, or of which any trace was forthcoming, that had been set aside for the use of the temple. The Muthdarris were no doubt satisfied with the general confusion, —which had been gradually ripening since the conquest of the province,—so, of course, they were not very anxious to come forward.

In May, 1845, Mr. Mills applied all his skill to effect a satisfactory settlement of lands on the Rajah, in lieu of money.

Alluding to this matter, he wrote to the Sudder Board of Revenue:—"Touching the commutation of the money allow-

* The timbers for the great Ruth festival are annually provided by the Rajah of Duspalla—a Cuttack Tributary Mehal. "The simli trees," says the Head Clerk of Púrí, "are supplied by the sarbarakars of Banpore, to whom the superintendent of the temple sends the sacred sanders and rags from the head of the image Jagannáth, as a token of approbation."—*History, page* 42.

'ance now paid by Government, by the assignment of the 'Revenues of the Rajah's Zemindari, Talukah Delang, Per-'gunnah Lombai, I regret to state that my own and the Col-'lector's endeavours have failed to obtain the Rajah's consent 'to the proposed arrangement. He opposes it because of the 'possibility of his becoming a dependent Zemindar, a contin-'gency which might follow his ejection from the office of super-'intendent of the temple, for any acts of *misfaisance*; I do 'not think that we could, with any degree of justice, force such 'an arrangement on him."

"Yet,' continues the Commissioner, "the Rajah is not indisposed to accept the revenue of other Mehals, as enumerated by him, in lieu of the donation."

At length the money donation was set down at Rs. 24,600. Thus was "British connexion" lessened by 11,000 rupees.

It is useless to trouble our readers with the items which make up this total; but it was argued from the account of them that, if the present money payment should be discontinued, the British Government would still have to make good to the temple, annually, Rs. 21,600, "in lieu of *sayer* abolished and assignments on the revenue which have long since been appropriated by the state."* This, of course, entirely depends on the question of "pledge."

At the close of the year 1845, an order was issued from the Council Chamber, substituting an annual payment of rupees 23,321, for rupees 35,758-9-6.

The sale of normal—a sort of "holy food"—and fees relinquished to the superintendent, were deducted from the previous annual donation;—and hence its present amount.

The above fees are styled "*Dhuja Pindica:*"—those levied on articles presented to Jagannáth. There now remains little more to be said; notwithstanding there is yet a good deal more to be done.

The present superintendent of Jagannáth, we believe, obtains annually, at least rupees 20,000 from perquisites and the Satais Hazari estate, and nothing would tend to prove in so direct a manner the estimation in which the religion of Jagannáth is really held in Orissa as the backwardness or forwardness of the

* Letter to the Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal—dated 6th September 1845, from the Under Secretary to the Government of India.

The Governor-General in Council, we read in the above letter, would not accede to the Commissioner's proposition of purchasing land for the purpose of making over to the temple. They think that "the most reasonable course" will be to place the endowments of Jagannáth as nearly as possible on the same footing as we found them on the acquisition of the province, and to discontinue the payment of any sum in excess of the funds as then existing:—This appears to have been the immediate cause of the reduction of the donation.

wealthy Muthdaris to pay the donation at present afforded by Government.*

There can be no question that the most politic plan would have been to have abolished the donation with the pilgrim-tax. Even the no very bright intellects of the pilgrims, at least, would have then imbibed the idea—that they gave nothing to the Government,—so why should the Government pay money for the support of their religion. However, the thing has been done, and all the appearance of a fixture has been given to it; so we must get out of the scrape the best way we can. We certainly think that it is perfectly easy to get out of it without advocating the principles laid down by Machiavelli in his Prince. Yet, from the unusual quantity of depravity at Jagannáth, we are inclined to think that some might agree with that wise but crafty Italian, of a dark and licentious age, who deemed that a wise and prudent Prince "ought not to keep his *parole*, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised removed." In the case of the Rajah of Khurdah, certainly, he has not been punctual with us,—so we are not obliged to any such strictness with him.

In a case like that of Jagannáth, we cannot find so much fault with these opinions; although, as we have said, they are not at all necessary. Surely it is inconsistent to disburse sums of money from the British treasury for the expenses attendant upon idolatry, while efforts are being made for the promulgation of education and Christianity among the people.

If we will adhere to the "pecuniary support" principle—why drain the charity of individuals and societies to keep up the source of enlightenment? Almost every Hindu, from the Rajah to the beggar, is well aware of his security under British

* Exclusive of this donation—the following sums are paid annually out of the Púrí treasury.....Rs. 483 12 0
3,466 10 0
2,666 10 0

6,617 0 0

Add to this the annual donation paid to the Superintendent..... 23,321 0 0

20,938 0 0 paid directly and indirectly towards the support of the worship of Jagannáth. The second of these *items*, according to the Author of the "History of Púrí," appears to be the only rational one, *viz.* Rs. 3,466 to the Mohunt of a Muth, consequent on the resumption of Pergunnah Kodbar, which had been held rent free on account of offerings to the idol made from it.—The reason of the first *item*, Rs. 483-12, says the Head Clerk, is not traceable; and we agree with him. The third, Rs. 2,666-10, is paid to an Adhi Kari "for the purpose of distributing" holy food "to starving and destitute pilgrims," &c. It will be seen that all these sums depend on the word "pledge." Supposing the term, "Holy Land," extended over half the peninsula, where would the British revenue of the country come from?—The amount annually received by the superintendent of Jagannáth is said to be Rs. 46,291. The Head Clerk states that Rs. 31,006 are actually expended by the Rajah—leaving *a clear saving* of 15,000. We have heard that this *clear saving* is nearer to the avowed expenditure.

protection. That protection is, and has been, carried out to an extent never before known in India. Is not this enough, then, without our paying money to be mis-appropriated at the stronghold of the Hindu religion, through the wretched avarice of a heartless and ignorant potentate.

We would withdraw every vestige of a money payment, for the benefit of the Hindu people; we would withdraw it to shew that we do not live in a stand-still age—but in an age of progression; we would abolish the "donation" to dispel all ugly appearance and the wrong interpretations put forward by the ignorant on the subject of British connexion with Jagannáth. But, although it would silence, we should not like to see it abolished merely to satisfy those who make it their business to exaggerate the matter and calumniate the Government.

Let us now briefly touch on the subject of *fees* previous to bringing our article to a conclusion.

It is from these,—the offerings; the Satais Hazari Mehal; and the muths—that we wish to see the entire future resources of Jagannáth drawn.

On the abolition of the pilgrim tax, the right of the Purharrís to levy fees was abrogated by the remission of the tribute they paid to the Government. "The Pundahs," says a document of 1839, "will be content with their own gains, and so will in 'the end the Purharrís. The fee is but a very trifling portion 'of the Pilgrim's expense—for, to use the words in Harrington's Analysis, he is fleeced by the pundahs not only of all the 'money he brings with him, but of promissory notes for future 'payments. Indeed it is a well known fact that pilgrims are 'in the habit of burying outside of the town or leaving in the 'hands of shopkeepers on the road enough to take them home, 'so well do they know that these extortioners will turn them out 'of the town naked and penniless."

In June 1846, it appears to have been the intention of the President in Council to take "the earliest fitting occasion" for the repeal of the prohibition of the collection of fees contained in Act X. of 1840, "the object being to restore to the temple that portion of its original funds which was believed to be designated by the words "Fee of fifteen annas on each Lal Jatrí."

But the Commissioner of Cuttack deprecated the repeal of the prohibition, "shewing," says the letter,* "that the object sought to be attained would not be thereby accomplished."

It appears that no satisfactory information was obtained respecting the nature of the above fee,—in short it had "never been levied." We do not exactly understand this mystery; so

* From the Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 27th June, 1846.

we shall content ourselves with giving the remainder of the President in Council's opinions on the matter of fees: "It 'appears that the prohibition contained in Act X. of 1840, was 'rendered necessary by the extortion and oppression to which 'the pilgrims were subjected at the hands of the Purharris and 'Pundahs when the collection of their fees was left to themselves. Such being the state of the case, the President in 'Council, upon further consideration, is of opinion that the 'proposed alteration of the law is not required." Of course, to abolish the donation, there must be a total repeal of this law and any other law particularly regarding Jagannáth—a noble consummation, the early realization of which, we fondly hope, the present able Commssioner, Mr. Gouldsbury, will not fail to urge on the attention of a not unwilling Government

In the *Friend of India* of May 11th, and June 1st, we find some interesting matter regarding Jagannáth. First we are informed that Mr. Poynder's motion for the discontinuance of the donation "which has been paid to the hierarchy of Jagannáth," had been carried by a majority of *Sixty-six* in the Court of Proprietors. On this the Serampore journalist remarked—"The discontinuance of the donation in obedience to the resolution of the Court of Proprietors must, as a matter of justice, be accompanied by the repeal of the Act."—Act X. of 1840—"which will place the establishment of Jagannáth on precisely the same footing as that of all other temples in India." The Chairman was one of the four who voted against the discontinuance of the payment; and certainly far beyond our knowledge is the proof for the assertion—that the Company is *bound by treaty* to continue it!

In the paper of June 1st, we find a very original letter from Mr. Peggs—yet one written with very good intentions—in which it is stated that the motion for the separation of the Government from the temple of Jagannáth was resisted by the Court of Directors. Mr. Peggs then proceeds to bring forward evidence against the supposed pledge—all of which is very satisfactory. But he takes away not a little of the charm of all good intentions by the occasional use of language more calculated perhaps to irritate than to convince.

Our task is now done.—That it has been one of intricacy and difficulty we think every candid reader will admit. We therefore cannot expect much uniformity of opinion on many of the points we have discussed. "The education of different men, their prejudices, their various talents and advantages—the party spirit, the unfavourable habits—the mere ambiguity of language, will constantly occasion a diversity, a great diversity of judgments."

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Captain Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack. Calcutta, G. H. Huttmann, Bengal Military Orphan Press,* 1842.

2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

IN our last article on the subject of the Khonds,* we furnished as full an exposition as our limits could well allow, of the leading principles of the systematic plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson for the gradual abolition of the Meriah sacrifice among these barbarous people. We also supplied a somewhat detailed account of his first experimental application of these principles, in June 1842, to the two most accessible of the Khond Hill tribes of Goomsur; and of the unexpectedly great success of that remarkable experiment. The Reports founded on these proceedings were received, with high approbation, by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras in Council; and the plan of operations, whose efficacy, under great disadvantages, had thus been tested and verified, was strongly recommended for adoption to the Supreme Government of India. And there the historic part of our narrative terminated.

Before again resuming it from that point, we may as well refer to the fact, that, soon after the transmission of the Madras despatches to Calcutta, Lord Elphinstone resigned his high office, and was succeeded therein by the Marquis of Tweedale. The former, as has already repeatedly appeared, had, from the time of the Goomsur war in 1836, bestowed the greatest attention on Khond affairs, and manifested the deepest interest in the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. His own minutes on the varied subjects brought before him in connection with the civilization generally of the perpetrators of that inhuman rite, indicated at once the head of the Statesman and the heart of the Philanthropist. And it is but justice to Lord Tweedale to say, that, on his assuming the reins of Government, he heartily took up the Khond cause. The whole subject, however, being

* Calcutta Review, No. XV. Art. I.

entirely new to him, he could not be expected, all at once, to apprehend it in all its bearings and relationships, or, fully to appreciate either the intrinsic or the relative value of the different measures which had been proposed. Still he entered warmly into the consideration of the general objects contemplated, and gave proof of his earnestness in the matter by embodying his views in a minute of his own, dated the 9th December, 1843. In this minute, as we understand, his Lordship advised the establishment of a vigilant police in the districts bordering on the Khond country, to prevent kidnapping and the sale of human victims; and the trial of kidnappers by a special agent with large discretionary powers. In districts where the heinousness of the crime was well understood, his Lordship would have such criminals tried by the ordinary Courts. The race of people called Panwas, who are chiefly concerned in selling victims to the Khonds, should be, when out of the Khond country, placed under surveillance of the Police, and not allowed to move without passports. All persons travelling into the Khond country or passing out of it, or lurking near the frontier without ostensible reason should be apprehended and punished. His Lordship would appoint an agent independent of every one but the Governor, having a corps of guards composed of natives, dressed and disciplined like sepoys. The agents in charge of the police in the districts round the Khond country should be subject to the order of the Khond agent in all matters except as regards the punishment of kidnapping, which should be arbitrary and left to the decision of the district agent.

If this minute did not throw, or rather was not meant to throw, any new light on the perplexed problem of Khond civilization, it at least served to indicate the good will of its author. It virtually seconded the chief measure which was wanting to enable Captain Macpherson to consummate the work so auspiciously begun, by proposing to invest the Khond agent with a power independent of every one but the Governor; that is, as we understand it, no longer occupying the subordinate dependent ministerial office of head-assistant to the Governor's local agent, but raised to an independent jurisdiction over the Khond country similar to that possessed by the Governor's agent over the Lowland districts of Goomsur and Ganjam generally. As to that portion of the minute which is original and peculiar, respecting the establishment of a Patrole force, it must suffice to say, on the authority of an officer of high intelligence and much local experience, that "the nature of the country precludes the adoption of any measure of the kind. The countries adjoining the Khond districts belong to indepen-

dent Rajahs, and it would be utterly impossible to introduce a police force into these tracts, without bringing them under the operation of the general regulations—a measure which it would be highly impolitic to adopt."

After the full exposition given in a previous number, of the essential character and central principle of the general plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson for the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice in Southern Orissa, it is sufficient to remind the reader, that his leading measure included, first, the complete establishment of the authority of the Government in the two nearest Khond tracts of Goomsur, *chiefly through the administration of justice*, on principles not violently incompatible with Khond ideas and usages; and second, the application of that authority and of every available species of influence to the abolition of the abhorrent rite. It may also be remembered that, in order to found such authority among these tribes *upon the basis of the administration of justice*, the agent suggested the provision of a jurisdiction to decide questions between separate tribes, and questions between branches of tribes, which their own tribunals were unequal to determine—and that the chief aim of his early intercourse with that portion of the Khond population was, to prepare them for the reception of such foreign jurisdiction. Neither can the gratifying extent of his success in this respect be forgotten. His offer to administer justice was gladly accepted by the two great tribes of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah. His actual administration of it operated like a spell, in relaxing the frost of ancient hereditary prejudices. The iron fetters of an inveterate and awe-inspiring superstition were at once loosened. And the prison doors of a ghostly vassalage were partially thrown open to the admission of principles that might prove the heralds of gladsome light and liberty.

In his report of August 1842, Captain Macpherson was enabled to report to Government, that the whole of the two tribes already named, with the exception of two branches of one of them, had, after long and deliberate discussion, *spontaneously* proffered to relinquish the sacrifice, *mainly on the condition of obtaining protection and justice, and actually pledged themselves accordingly*. The agent had strong reason for believing that the patriarchs and other immediate parties to that pledge were really sincere. But he well knew at the same time, that they represented a population infinitely divided in opinion with respect to it, and that the motives which influenced them might prove wholly inadequate to produce its *permanent* observance.

It was, therefore, as we may readily suppose, with no small anxiety that the agent, when the proper season for renewed operations arrived, re-ascended the Ghats, early in January 1843. His first inquiries were naturally directed to ascertain the extent to which the voluntarily proffered pledge had been faithfully observed; or, in any case of reported failure, to trace the exact causes to which it might be attributed. The result very much corresponded to what had been anticipated, and was well calculated to convey a highly favourable impression of the operative effect of the combined application of the different species of authority and influence brought to bear on these naturally wild and untameable races. This result may be best stated in the agent's own words:—

"The people of Bora Mutah stood firm, except a single village, isolated in the low country: which shared in flesh brought from Boad. In Athara Mutah, there were four sacrifices; one in each of its two unpledged branches, and one in each of two pledged branches The effect of the pledge was, necessarily to divide each tribe, branch, and village, with some degree of distinctness, into a sacrificing and a non-sacrificing party. In Bora Mutah the latter decidedly prevailed, and included above one-half of the heads of society; so strong, however, was the minority that the yearly sacrifice of the tribe was with difficulty prevented by the heads of the branches whose turn it was to afford it.

In Athara Mutah, all who gave the pledge directly, maintained it, with all under their influence, and where it was broken, the pledged patriarchs protested against, and immediately reported its infraction. The two unpledged branches, and one of the two pledged branches, which sacrificed, alleged that they did so with the express sanction of Sam Bisaye, which was extended to the putting to death of the victim child rescued by the Government, and living in the Khond country upon his express security.

The remaining branch pleaded the example of these three, as in Bora Mutah, there was no common sacrifice of the tribe. The sacrifices were in every case the act of but a portion of the branch, and were performed in the night without ceremony, the victims being buried unshared. There appears to have been in this tribe a decided majority for the sacrifice in the five branches next to Hodzoghoro, and most under the influence of Sam Bisaye; in nine branches, the parties seem to have been nearly equal; in about seven branches—those to the Southward, bordering upon the non-sacrificing tracts—the weight of influence, or of numbers, was against the sacrifice."

Such was the apparent state of opinion and such the conduct of the people of these two tracts, in consequence of the operations of the preceding year. Both were of a nature well fitted to encourage the agent to persevere in the course on which he had entered. Crippled he was most sadly by want of power and adequate extent of jurisdiction: but the success which had attended the application of the very limited power he possessed, served to demonstrate that that power had been exerted in the

right direction; and his purpose now was, by the employment of the same means, to push the advantages he had gained to the uttermost. Accordingly when he ascended the Ghats in January 1843, and had finished his preliminary inquiries, he re-commenced his favorite office of administering justice. His own account is as follows:—

"Every unsettled question in the tribe of Bora Mutah; and most of those in Athara Mutah—from the latest village quarrel, to the feuds of forgotten origin, were brought to me by earnest suitors. I placed upon my file the cases which seemed strictly proper to it, and referred all others to the native tribunals, making it plain, that I was there not to supersede the existing methods and instruments of justice, but to strengthen them for good, and to supply their defects—and when it plainly appeared, that the law administered was the existing law, and that my object was only to systematize and extend it with a view to order, while the heads of both tribes were my active assessors, and parties to every decree, all apprehension gradually vanished, and the minds of the people went with me as fully as I could desire, and I felt that I acquired distinct authority resting upon the desired basis.

To ascertain and to apply the existing law, in a manner acceptable to these Khonds, was necessarily a difficult and anxious task, from the novelty, the singularity, and the obscurity of their usages. The discovery of truth, however, was, I believe, as easy as under any circumstances in the history of justice

In the investigation of 136 cases, which involved every conceivable interest of men well instructed in their rights, and resolved to defend them, there did not occur a single instance of bad faith in the suitors, or of falsehood in the witnesses, save occasionally on the part of Panwas of the borders. There was much trouble in procuring the regular attendance of defendants and of evidence. But the execution of decrees was easy, except in a few instances of highly excited feeling; although in the settlement of compositions paid in kind, the nicest questions of the value of farm stock, and household gear, and land continually arose.

To extend the operation of the existing law from a single tribe to these two distinct tribes, animated by a spirit of ancient hostility, was a more difficult task.

The establishment of our authority—of any general authority—plainly implied the subjection of these tribes, in their mutual relations, to law, and that law was, of necessity, the existing law of the intercourse of *branches of tribes*, because the principles of no other law are understood, or thought just by the Khonds, or appear to be effectual where society is organized as it is amongst them In a word, the law of compensation for wrongs, as it exists between the branches of a tribe, was to be substituted for the usage of retaliation, which was, generally, the sole remedy for wrongs between distinct tribes.

Now, some of the strongest and most intractable feelings of these Khonds were necessarily arrayed against their inclusion, upon this principle, within our legal pale: making its accomplishment a work of much practical difficulty, although nearly all the heads of society and men of influence either formally or intelligently assented to it as affording the sole hope of permanent peace. A statement of the methods of its introduction were suited only to a semi-speculative essay—I passed gradually and cautiously from the less to the more difficult questions, and finally

dealt with those which seriously engaged the passions of the tribes; carrying out the change everywhere, and, I believe, to the satisfaction of the people.

I shall state, by way of example, a single case which long resisted settlement. A woman of Athara Mutah who had been sometime betrothed, and for whom the consideration agreed on, had been paid, eloped with a lover of Bora Mutah. Her branch of her tribe demanded her surrender, but it was indignantly refused. The established course then was, to have required her price from the branch of her seducer, when its refusal would have justified war. But without making that demand, a party of the woman's branch slew treacherously a kinsmen of the lover, who had assisted at the elopement.

The kindred of the deceased immediately demanded of me permission to revenge their wrong, or a promise that the Government would revenge it.

The heads of the hostile branch admitted the facts to be as alleged, and simply said, that "should the Government resolve to avenge the life taken,—they submitted,—the slayers were in my camp." But the idea of composition, as in the case of a life taken did not enter into any mind: and when suggested, it was instantly rejected by both parties.

I may observe, in passing that our criminal law, even if it had been applicable here, would neither have been thought just, nor could have settled this feud. By it at least six persons were guilty of murder; but the punishment of more than one of those persons, would have been held to be iniquitous by the Khonds; and that so clearly, that a claim for compensation for any punishment by us in excess of the natural equivalent, would have lain, in the opinion of all, against Bora Mutah.

Moreover, the law of compensation, combining tribal with individual responsibility, is, to judge from the rarity of murders here, and from the apparent effects of capital punishment upon the Khonds in the years 1835 and 1836, and from all the ideas which I now heard expressed—by far the most effectual law that could be devised for the prevention of murder from private or from public motives.

Through persuasion and instruction addressed to each branch separately, and to individuals, during nearly two months, the minds of almost all were at length gained.—A party of the youth alone being left for retaliation and war. The two hostile branches finding, that they stood alone, that which had lost the life, first agreed to accept compensation. The other, after a struggle, during which I pitched my tents amongst its villages, consented to pay it. The burden was so allotted, that the family of the murderers, in the first instance at least, lost their property, while two-thirds fell upon the branch, and the tribe made up what remained; all acknowledged that the precedent established was a triumph for peace. The hostile feelings of the disputants seemed soon to subside.—The elders of both parties feasted on a portion of the compensatory buffaloes and swine; while the young men of the branch which had paid them, drove or carried the remainder good humouredly over the border, and several marriages sprung up between the tribes

The whole number of suits placed upon my file in Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah was 136, of which 102 were decided on their merits, while thirty-four remain undecided, generally on account of the absence of evidence. Of those 102, forty-six were suits between members of the same tribe; in fifty-six the parties were of different tribes.

There were two cases of murder; three related to victim children; five to married women; fourteen to betrothed women; thirty-nine to land; sixty three to cattle; six were cases of assault; and there were four cases of robbery.

There were ninety-six decisions for plaintiffs, six for defendants, and some of these were special"

In addition to these judicial decisions, it may be stated that the agent was now enabled to release from confinement the two patriarchs, whom for the sake of peace, he had imprisoned in the July preceding. The object of their detention had been completely effected. Their liberation produced the best feelings, and they soon enrolled themselves amongst his most useful allies. As a conclusive evidence of the manner in which the general opinion approved of their treatment, the agent states, that, happening to escape from their confinement, some months before, the chiefs of Athara Mutah, who had been parties to their detention, rose unbidden to recapture them, and sent them in with their families. Throughout the whole of these proceedings, the only sources, besides the administration of justice, from which he derived authority were persuasion and personal influence. It now became an object of great importance to watch the result of all these operations, in their bearing on the subject of the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. The following is the agent's own statement:—

"After those operations—the non-sacrificing majority in Bora Mutah seemed to include all the men of influence with very few exceptions, but the minority, although much reduced, was not insignificant. The last seven victims in the possession of this tribe were brought into me.

In Athara Mutah, nearly all the patriarchs and many others of the unpledged branches, and of the divisions of the pledged branches, which sacrificed, fully pledged themselves; and there seemed to be in it, as in Bora Mutah, a great and gratifying change of feeling. This tribe brought in to me no less than eighty-seven victims, almost all of them from the four branches which had sacrificed. But one division of it, at least, is far from being completely gained. The cases of sacrifice were these.

1 Bissinghia, a pledged branch, sacrificed on account of the ravages of a tiger. The patriarch who had given the pledge, protested so earnestly against its breach, that the rite was delayed until the sanction of Sam Bisaye was twice obtained. This branch, I may add, was one of the parties to the difficult question of "a life" between the two tribes, detailed above,—I found the people distant and alarmed; but through the influence acquired in the settlement of the civil question, the head of the sacrificing party became my most firm ally, and the chief opponent of the sacrifice.

2. In Doringhia, a pledged branch, a sacrifice on account of sickness was performed against the will of two patriarchs who had given the pledge. The apology pleaded, was the example of three branches. The victim was a woman pregnant by the son of a village patriarch who attempted unsuccessfully to escape with her into the non-sacrificing tract of Degi. The sacrificing portion of this branch has pledged itself and sent in its victims.

3. Loheringhia, which, like these two branches, had little or no communication with the Government, gave no pledge, and sacrificed a child with the sanction of Sam Bisaye. It has now pledged itself and given up its victims.

4. The case of Gottinghia, an unpledged branch, was most embarassing. The victim was a child—one of three children rescued with their victim mother who had been entrusted to a Khond of that branch to bring up, upon Sam Bisaye's becoming formally security for its safety. The guardian pleaded that Sam Bisaye, who had given him the child, had most fully and especially authorized its death, which relieved him, in the sight of all from responsibility.

Of the remaining Khond tracts of Goomsur and those immediately beyond them.

1. Hodzoghoro, under Sam Bisaye, has held absolutely aloof; it is full of victims, and has lately sacrificed. The health of my people most unfortunately made it impossible for me to visit it.

2. After communicating for two months with the Khond and Hindu heads of Tentilighur, I succeeded, beyond my expectations, in inducing them to declare themselves against the sacrifice, and to send in their victims, eighteen in number.

3. I communicated in like manner, with Chokapad, the remaining Khond tract of Goomsur. The most influential of its Khond and Hindu heads promised that the sacrifice should be discontinued. But I soon after rescued a victim almost from under the axes of the immolators; but with very doubtful advantage, as the disappointed god was immediately gratified by flesh brought from Boad.

4. In the Khond tracts of the Chinna Kimedy Zemindary, immediately to the south of Athara Mutah, the slaughter of victims in the months of January and February was very great. In Mahasinghi alone 24 victims suffered within a few days.

5. In the portion of the Boad Zemindary, next to Goomsur, festivals of sacrifice were held every where, and my camp was visited daily by agonized parents imploring me to rescue their children."

Such was the leading measure which Captain Macpherson was enabled partially to execute in these tracts, and such were its gratifying results. Confidence of opinion, with respect to the future, would but prove profound ignorance. And the agent indulged in no such presumptuous confidence. He conceived it, however, to be established, and with good reason, that he had not over-estimated the readiness of the Khonds to place themselves under the authority of the British Government for the sake of peace, security and order. He conceived moreover, that the varied results now recorded, clearly indicated that he had in no way exaggerated our power to confer upon them, through the dispensation of justice, solid and acceptable benefits; nor the force of persuasion addressed to some of the leading ideas of their superstition; nor the power of personal influence acquired through intimate intercourse with them. And, considering these and the other secondary means which were available to be wholly adequate to the end, if authority should be given for their free and energetic use, he perceived satisfactory ground for the hope that the object proposed, might be ultimately accomplished. As to the incompleteness, in some respects, of the results already obtained, he had no hesitation in

submitting to Government what he believed to be a plain and sufficient cause—a cause, too, which involved in it the ground of serious apprehension with reference to the future security of the work. The subject is thus distinctly propounded by the agent himself:—

"The critical act of these operations, in one respect, the very exponent of their spirit in the sight both of the tribes, which were their immediate object, and of the population beyond, was the treatment of the pledged and unpledged branches of Athara Mutah which sacrificed, and that of Sam Bisaye alleged to have sanctioned their sacrifices.

Now, I had not authority to deal conclusively with these questions, nor could I possibly assume it with respect to the latter of them, for I could not hazard the consequences of a reversal of my judgment on it.—Viewed judicially—it was doubtful if Sam Bisaye's participation in sacrifices, under existing arrangements, was a Penal Act; and if it was, I could not possibly say what value tribunals, having no knowledge of circumstances, and no experience of Khond testimony, would assign to it opposed to other testimony again.

A *formal* enquiry to afford ground to the Government for his removal from authority, and from the Khond country, involved, like commitment, an immediate expression of opinion; but the effects of the non-affirmation of that opinion upon these people, to whom our system of graduated authority is necessarily unintelligible, would have been to put an end to all confidence in agents of the Government. There was besides, the consideration, that the Government was about to declare a new law, and a new general plan of operations—and that the displacement of Sam Bisaye, involved other changes, which should be made, if possible, in subordination to the new general measure, and if possible, by the officer charged with its execution. Thus unempowered to determine this question, and well assured that the consequences of a semblance of a conflict of authorities would be more prejudicial than any that could spring from the antagonism of this misplaced old man, I was compelled to avoid it, to leave the feelings and the faith of these Khonds subjected to a severe and unfair strain; to point to the future to those who demanded enquiry for their own justification, or for the settlement of men's minds, and the prevention of future delusions,* and to trust that the work could be sustained, until the power necessary to carry it out effectually, should be given.

I could determine the question with respect to the 2 tribes.—Their general situation, made the punishment of Khond parties to the sacrifice in them inexpedient, upon these plain considerations.

It appeared that by the pressure of authority derived from the dispensation of justice, and through persuasion, and by the use of personal influence, to the entire exclusion of coercive means, distinct and encouraging progress was made both in the two tribes and at some points beyond them.—That no party directly pledged had broken faith.—That there had been no thought of dissimulation, nor concealment, nor fraud,—That nearly all were directly or indirectly pledged for the future—That 124 victims were

* It was for example given out by Sam Bisaye, amongst other gross fictions—that the Government had promised to make me Farmer of taxes in the Khond country, to be assessed by myself when I should put down the sacrifice. He has also made the monstrous delusion to be widely credited, that he has now received permission from the agent to sanction a limited number of sacrifices, generally stated at six.

voluntarily delivered up.—That the general state of feeling was most satisfactory.—That I had the completest evidence not derived from *formal* enquiry, that the chief local officer of Government was the head of the sacrificing party, and had sanctioned three of the four sacrifices, exonerating from blame in the opinion of all, the other parties concerned.—With respect to the other tribes of Goomsur, and to the unvisited tribes beyond, the prime object was, plainly, to communicate to them a new and simple conception of the character of our power,—the idea that its objects are purely benevolent, and that its beneficial influences are acknowledged wherever it is felt.—There was proof that some progress had been made in communicating this impression—and the absence of all semblance of coercion within the two tribes was, obviously, most important to its extension and confirmation."

Here the evil genius of Sam Bisaye again meets us. Indeed at every turn, it appeared that his sinister influence was the main-stay of the Meriah sacrifice, and the principal obstacle to the full success of the Government measures for its abolition. Two months later, or early in the month of April, when preparing his Report for Government, intelligence reached the agent, that Sam Bisaye had "succeeded in inducing the Khonds of Athara Mutah nearest to him, to sacrifice." The delusion by which he was credibly reported to have prevailed was the preposterously false pretence, "that he was invested by the Madras Governor's Agent or Commissioner, Mr. Bannerman, with authority distinct from and independent of that of the head assistant, Captain Macpherson—and that to the former, and him only, was he responsible for the sacrifices which he sanctioned." This was only one of a number of fictions which neither the enacted co-operation with Captain Macpherson, nor the most careful adoption of measures of precaution or of counteraction by Mr. Bannerman, could possibly prevent or render harmless. As the result of extensive and anxious inquiry and observation, both recently and during his former residence in these districts, Captain Macpherson had become perfectly convinced, from superabundant and constantly accumulating evidence, that Sam Bisaye was, and had all along been, the great supporter of the sacrifice in these tracts,—that he formally sanctioned the three sacrifices in Athara Mutah in the previous year, one of the victims being a child of the State, living there upon his express security,—and that, confident in impunity from his not having been then punished, he had since laboured by every art, and at length successfully and in a very serious degree, to counteract the objects of Government—that very Government, to whose leniency and generosity he was wholly indebted for his life when a rebel, and for his exaltation and prosperity as a pardoned man. Who then need wonder that the agent's forbearance should now be wholly exhausted—and

that he should find himself to be literally driven and shut up into the conclusion that the only prompt and effectual method of putting an end to this disgraceful state of things—the only adequate measure for the retrieval of what was lost, and the maintenance of what remained for the future, was Sam Bisaye's "deprivation of office and his permanent removal," as well as "the temporary removal of his three eldest sons from the Khond country." This course he deemed amply sufficient to answer every desirable end; and if the occasion of carrying it out should be duly improved, impressions of the highest value both immediate and permanent, might be made upon all the Khond tribes with which we were in communication. The necessity of resorting to such a course he urged anew with augmenting earnestness. "I see no alternative," says he, "between the immediate execution of the measure proposed, and a very grievous loss of ground of high promise, hardly gained, and the recovery of which, from the mental character of this people, must be extremely difficult." He again shewed, how the most faithless and pernicious deceptions which this treacherous man had practised with reference to the Government made his punishment and removal imperative. He clearly shewed how his displacement, with a few simple arrangements, would produce no sort even of temporary confusion in any quarter; and how results the most important would flow from the careful exhibition of his guilt with its punishment, before the assembled heads of tribes.

But with a case so peculiar, springing up in circumstances so anomalous and strange, the established law and ordinary legal tribunals were altogether incompetent to deal, or to deal with the remotest chance of accomplishing any good end. The head assistant himself was armed with no authority effectually to deal with it. All that he could do was to represent it in the strongest light to his immediate superior, Mr. Bannerman, who, as the governor's agent, might interpose to good purpose. But living as he did at a distance from the actual scene of things, and comparatively ignorant of the extreme peculiarities of the case, and consequently not fully alive to its immediate and pressing urgencies, it could scarcely be expected that he would be prepared to act, with sufficient promptitude and energy, in the summary and autocratic way required—a way which, overleaping all the technicalities of legal form, would yet amply realize all the conditions of essential equity. Hence the emphatic earnestness with which Captain Macpherson thus concludes his Report:—

"In conclusion, I venture to add, that every day's experience adds

strength to the conviction,—That summary power vested in a single local authority, and exerted in the simplest manner, is alone applicable to these Khonds and to those immediately connected with them, from the necessary state of their minds, and from all the circumstances by which they are surrounded,—That upon any other principle of management, they will become, first perplexed, then rapidly distrustful and unfaithful, and finally uncontrollable—it being remembered, that their ignorance and their credulity have no bounds,—That the progress of our operations will make it the interest of many like Sam Bisaye to deceive them, and that distinct authorities necessarily imply the existence of distinct sets of native public servants, and of intrigues which no degree of vigilance or of coincidence of opinion in the principals can prevent. I very anxiously expect the determination of the Government."

The Report which concluded in this earnest strain was dated the 12th April 1843. It was forthwith sent in to Mr. Bannerman; as the writer was still only his head-assistant for Khond affairs, and armed with little or no independent power of his own. It was this which rendered the triumph of his achievment so remarkable in itself and so creditable to its author. For if,—when all but officially powerless, he succeeded so admirably well by mere dint of the credit which he gained, and the confidence which he inspired, by his own tact and aptitude in administering justice, in the pure spirit of equity and in general accordance with Khond ideas and usages, accompanied by nothing but moral suasion and varied personal influence,—what might he not have achieved, had he been possessed of power to give full effect to *all* his suggested measures without any fear or risk of reversal? This was the power for which he so urgently pled as imperatively demanded by the immediate exigencies of the existing state of things, and as demonstratively necessary to ensure the desired consummation. No wonder, then, that on this point, he "very anxiously expected the determination of Government."

In the interesting and important Report, the leading features of which we have now exhibited, several other topics were introduced, which it may be well briefly to notice. The author records his farther observations respecting the improved line of road by theCourminghia ghat to Sohnpore. He refers to his still discouraging experience of the climate of the Hill country. He entered what was believed to be the most healthy tract in it in the beginning of January—the very best month. His people were well housed at the first halting place, and afterwards most carefully protected by tents and grass huts, warmly clothed, and generally enabled to sleep off the ground. Notwithstanding all these advantages, above thirty-five per cent. of the party suffered from fever. And it was impossible with reference to the future, to remain beyond a month. The season being particu-

larly favourable, the cases were not so severe as those of the preceding year; but, although he retired straight to the coast, all who were attached, continued long in the state of invalids. Such renewed experience seemed to point to effectual medical aid as being indispensable in the farther prosecution of the work. But, apart from the necessity of such aid to the servants of Government, it now appeared to the agent to be extremely desirable *as a means of influence with the Khonds*. They attribute all sickness to the displeasure of the Gods, and their remedies are propitiations, indicated by the priests. It was natural for them, therefore, seriously to demand, how they should obtain safety, when, by the relinquishment of their great propitiatory rite of human sacrifice, they abjured the previously appointed means of ensuring health? Being informed of the dependence of civilized men upon medical art, the most intelligent and sincerely disposed to abandon the sacrifice, actually entreated that they might be enabled to substitute it for priestly art. To shew his wish to comply with their desire, the agent established a Hindu doctor above the ghats, but he sickened and came away.

The very simple cures performed by his dresser had excited much admiration; and it appeared to him, that a surgeon, skilled in eye surgery, and who should introduce vaccination, and labour to acquire influence, while he took a part in the general work, would be an invaluable instrument.

Another topic adverted to in the Report was the all-important one of the *Native Agency* available for such a peculiar service. On this subject he writes as follows:—

"I believe that there exists but a single Hindu, who is one of my chief instruments, sufficiently well instructed to comprehend the objects of the Government, and who is master of the Khond language. A brother of this person understands, but does not speak that language, but he will be a most important aid.

One Mussulman comprehends our objects, and influences the Khonds with great intelligence and tact, but knows very little of their tongue. Two other servants promise very well, and two more are learning. And I have several very efficient subordinates in and about the Khond country. Thus, although the formation of instruments has been my first object, the five persons above mentioned—some suffering in health—are yet alone available.

I have had many others on my list, but they have died, or been disabled, or turned out unfit or left me for the barest subsistence. The service requires much courage, and intelligence, and freedom from prejudice.

All necessarily regard it with dread, very many with disgust—and it has the inducements neither of desired influence nor of unauthorized gain—still I do not despair through the gradual establishment of a proper and *special* system of remuneration.

In the meantime, it is plain that I can now act but at a single point at a time and that the loss of my present instruments would be nearly irreparable, as I may add, would be the effects of entrusting any important part in this work to any but well instructed instruments."

On the 2d *September*, 1843, Captain Macpherson again addressed the Governor's agent, Mr. Bannerman.

He commences by reminding him, that about *the middle of April preceding*, he had the honor of submitting to him for the information of the Most Noble the Governor in Council, a statement of the measures which he had then recently executed in the Khond country, with their general results, and his views respecting certain exigencies connected with them; but that, *as yet, he had not been honored by any indication of the views of the Government relative to those operations and exigencies*, or to any future general measures contemplated towards the Khond country, in consequence of his urgent representations. Such being the case, he trusted he might, without impropriety, on the approach of the brief annual season for visiting the Khond country, lay anew before the Government his impressions as to the state of things in those portions of it which had been chiefly affected by his operations.

He began by briefly recapitulating the course of past events. In June 1842, he had visited some of the Goomsur Khond districts, chiefly on an embassage of inquiry. He did not possess the authority, which, in his own opinion and apparently in the judgment of Government, was necessary to the accomplishment of the main work. But, having long satisfied his own mind that the first step towards its successful issue was the acquisition of authority, derived mainly from supplying the chiefest want of the Khond population, viz. the want of justice, he set himself zealously to the task of administering that most precious commodity. The result astonished himself. The two tribes of Goomsur which were best known, most under influence, and most accessible, freely and intelligently consented to place themselves in practical subjection to the Government, on the condition of receiving its protection and justice. And their most influential chiefs, with a few exceptions, yielding to the suggestions of self-interest and the various arguments addressed to them, voluntarily pledged themselves and all whom they could control, to relinquish the rite of human sacrifice. There was, however, as might be expected, a numerous party opposed to the change. Those, therefore, who signed the pledge, stipulated expressly that the Government should support them with its whole authority in making this difficult and trembling movement towards so radical, and in their estimation, so peculiarly religious a change—plainly protesting that, unless the Government should punish all violators of the pledge then given, as well as prevent sacrifices under the authority of its own chief native servant, Sam Bisaye, their engagement could not be pro-

perly, if at all, fulfilled. Accordingly, in his Report of August 1842, Captain Macpherson earnestly pointed out to the Government the necessity of investing him, as agent for the Khonds, with the requisite authority to give full effect to the measures so auspiciously begun.

That authority, including an extended jurisdiction over territories in the Bengal as well as the Madras presidency, could only emanate from the Supreme Government of India. An application to this effect, backed by the strong recommendation of the Madras Governor and Council, had been laid before the Supreme Government. But in January 1843, when Captain Macpherson again ascended the Ghats, no reply had been received—the terrific Kabul catastrophe having, in all probability, driven the Khonds and their sacrifices out of the head of the retiring Governor-General, Lord Auckland. The necessary consequence was, that the Khond agent had to re-appear among these wild tribes without one particle of authority more than he had before. His position, therefore, was a trying one. What was he to do?—tell the Khonds, that as his Government had not conferred on him the needful authority, he could and would do nothing? No; that were tantamount to abandoning all that had been gained in the past, and sounding the death-knell of all hope for the future. The agent judged and acted more wisely—more manfully—more heroically. To him it seemed certain that the feelings and ideas which had arisen among the Khonds on the subject of their civil relation to the Government, and on the question of the sacrifice, from his former communications with them, prescribed a farther advance towards our objects, under penalty of the loss of most important vantage-ground—that the primary measure which he contemplated must be regarded as naturally the first step of any general plan of operations, and seemingly coincident with the general views and wishes of Government—that the former resolutions of Government appeared to authorize the expectation that a Khond agent would be invested, at no distant time, with the necessary authority—and lastly, that he might confide that, when practical success should establish the truth and sufficiency of his views, the occasional support which might be required for the maintenance of the ground, would not be withheld.

Sustained by such reasonable and judicious considerations, the agent, assisted by such instruments as he had been enabled to prepare, proceeded to act on the principles which he had already so often indicated—combining the process of the practical dispensation of justice to the two tribes, with the direct

application to them of the general authority thence acquired, and the influence derived from every other available source, for the accomplishment of the desired religious change.

The result, as we have already seen, surpassed his own most sanguine expectations. A great movement began, which gradually acquired force and distinctness. The estimate formed by these tribes of the value of the justice dispensed, which relieved society from the accumulation of public and private questions by which it was distracted, was higher than could well have been imagined; and the direct authority derived from its administration was, therefore, greater than could well have been expected capable of being realized by one, who, in an official point of view, was comparatively powerless. It was enough to redeem the ancient story of Dejœces from the imputation of belonging to the legendary or the fabulous. But the justice, so skilfully administered and so cordially appreciated, was not less important, when regarded as a means of subjecting the people to the influences best calculated to sway them. The adherents and the opponents of the religious change sought it with equal ardour. But, none could sue for it, without full exposure, in some measure at the discretion of its dispensers, to all the general and personal influences which could be devised to promote the extension and the confirmation of the movement.

The soundness of the principles on which the agent acted was now fully verified by experience. He practically acquired the power necessary to the objects proposed, resting upon the desired basis;—upon the newly implanted conviction of general benefit arising from the civil relation established between the two tribes and the Government;—upon the communicated impression of special advantages derived from that connection by particular classes, or by individuals, or by the class of chiefs;—and lastly, upon general ideas and opinions relating to the sacrifice, and wholly new to the Khonds,—such as, that we and all other peoples had also once practised that sacrifice, believing it to be divinely established and necessary, but had all abandoned it, and had only in consequence prospered the more; so that the Khonds must of necessity defer, with respect to that rite, not to the will of the Government only, but to the universal will and experience of mankind. Under the felt experience of these advantages, and the growing influence of these opinions, ideas and feelings, the circle of the movement was gradually extended; and not fewer than *one hundred and twenty-four* victims were *voluntarily* delivered up to the agent. No slight or unsubstantial proof of downright sincerity this, verily—when we

reflect on the value of these victims, to so poor a people when viewed merely in the light of saleable or exchangeable property. A Meriah dealer in the neighbouring Khond district of Kimedy, who had about sixty victims in his possession, alarmed by the agent's proximity, sold, about that time, thirty of them for about 100 Rs. each. So that, at this rate, the two tribes of Athara Mutah and Bora Mutah in Goomsur, voluntarily surrendered property to the value of *ten* or *twelve thousand rupees!*

That these general results, at once so remarkable and so gratifying, were without any drawbacks or abatements, the agent was never led to allege. On the contrary, in his Report of April 1843, he distinctly declared that he considered the movement, in its very nature, as necessarily, to a certain extent, instinctive, impulsive, and superficial. But powerful causes of change were at work; and it could not be denied that some really confirmed and much unconfirmed change was produced. The great object, therefore, was to strengthen still more and more the footing which had been already gained, whether fully or only partially confirmed.

In order to this, it was necessary to review the past. Four sacrifices, as already noted, had taken place in one of the two tribes, since the pledge was given in June 1842. The Khonds, who were the immediate parties to these sacrifices were all virtually unpledged; and they were, moreover, exonerated, in a great measure, in the sight of all, by the fact of their having acted *under the immediate authority of Sam Bisaye.* This native officer of the Government had even sanctioned the sacrifice of a rescued child—a ward of the State, entrusted to his care. He was regarded by all as the head and champion of the sacrificing party; while he and his son did not hesitate to avow, in discussing the subject of the pledge with them, that they had both sacrificed all their lives, up to that time; and that there was a large number of victims in the Khond tract immediately under their control.

Here, then, it was that the agent was made keenly to feel his want of the requisite power to deal summarily and effectually with this case. The proper course of the Government, beyond all question, would now have been, to manifest its will, promptly and emphatically, by the public and exemplary punishment of Sam Bisaye. This the Khonds fully expected to see done, when Captain Macpherson re-appeared amongst them in January 1843. And had he then been armed with the requisite power, it cannot be doubted that its exercise in deposing Sam Bisaye from the office which he so foully and treacherously

desecrated, would have exerted the most salutary influence. It would have secured, beyond all ordinary risk or peril, the ground already gained, while it would have cleared the way in advance to the attainment of the most important results. But Captain Macpherson unhappily had not the needful power. The foundations had been well laid; a goodly structure of massive pillars had risen over them; the projecting sides of the connecting arch had been well advanced; but he lacked the power of placing the keystone in the centre which would have consolidated the whole. And lacking this power, he was too prudent to take it upon him to commit an act, which, however imperatively demanded alike by justice and humanity, was liable to be called in question or even reversed—a result in his estimation, big with disaster, inasmuch as it would exhibit to the simple and ignorant Khonds a conflict of authorities which would not fail, in the issue, to prove fatal to their confidence in the Government and its accredited agents. And as any attempted explanation of his real situation would have been utterly unintelligible to such a people—indeed, would have appeared as nothing better than a subterfuge—he wisely resolved simply to direct his perplexed audience to look hopefully to the future for the solution of all their doubts and the extrication from all their difficulties. He strongly exhorted them faithfully to adhere to their pledge, and as strongly denounced the violators of it—assuring them that, in due time, the former would meet with their due recompense, and the latter with their merited retribution. But, notwithstanding the consummate skill and address, with which the agent had conducted the whole affair, the shrewdness of some of the old Khond chiefs quickly penetrated through the veil. His defect of power or of judgment, in sparing the old traitor Sam Bisaye, appeared but too glaring to some of them. And the secret unforced convictions of not a few soon found expression and embodiment in the pithy graphic words of the old Chief, who bluntly exclaimed, "instead of cutting down the lofty tamarind tree in his path, he beats the shrubs which bend before him."

The agent had been earnestly hoping soon for the requisite authority, either for himself or some one else, under the new general measures contemplated by the Government. He had also fondly cherished the hope that Sam Bisaye would hesitate, or rather, would not presume or dare openly to attack his work at once: or if, emboldened by past impunity, he should venture so far, that it would be practicable, with such trained instruments as could now be employed above the Ghats, to resist his efforts for a time, or render their malign influences nugatory.

In these hopes, however, the agent was doomed to experience the most grievous and mortifying disappointment. The breaking health of himself and his party having prevented him, from remaining above the Ghats to strengthen and sustain his work, so long as he had intended and wished, he was constrained to leave the hills in February. And no sooner did he come down than Sam Bisaye went up, with an enormous lie in his right hand. But with him this was nothing new. It was only a return, under new and aggravated circumstances to his old trade of base deception and wicked artifice. Returning direct from the agent to the Governor, Captain Macpherson's superior, with whom he had lately communicated personally, he had the effrontery to announce to the bewildered Khonds, that he was by him authorized to sanction sacrifices for the year. And, by way of proving his commission to the Khonds, he boldly directed a sacrifice on the land of one of his own sons. He then assailed each chief individually, by the most artful representations, and filled the country anew with rumours and statements very skilfully contrived to deceive, alarm, and bewilder the people—ever appealing to the indisputable facts of the perfect impunity of himself and all concerned in the sacrifices of the previous year; the exemption of his tribe alone from the necessity of delivering up its victims; and the continued possession of his jaghir in the low country, undiminished by a single cubit.

Nor were these sinister exhortations wholly ineffectual. In spite of resistance offered by able instruments; and after a severe struggle between the two Khond parties, two fresh victims were sacrificed with the sanction of Sam Bisaye, in the tract of the tribe of Athara Mutah, nearest to his country. The other tribe abstained from sacrificing, as in the former year; but the sacrificing party in it ventured to share in the flesh of the hapless victims butchered by their neighbours.

If, before, all had expected to witness an instant and unequivocal manifestation of the mind of the Government, with redoubled anxiety was the expectation cherished now; after so public and insolent a defiance of the reiterated deprecations of its agent. But, alas, no such manifestations of the determinate will of the Government was immediately forthcoming. The agent himself was left wholly in the dark as to its intentions or plans; so that he was still in a state of utter helplessness, devoid of all power to execute any measure for the arrest or the reparation of the evil so rapidly in progress. The sacrificing party remained for a time after the sacrifices, in fearful suspense—hourly dreading the arm of vengeance which their

own sense of guilt represented as uplifted to smite them. But when not hours merely, but days and weeks and months passed away, and yet no descending stroke experienced, or even seen to be any longer threatening to descend upon them—they rallied, took courage, enacted the bravo, and exulted with insolent triumph. The situation of the chiefs and of all others, who, in reliance upon the support of the Government, had led the reforming movement, was, as may be imagined, in the highest degree distressing. Yea more, when it was now positively seen that the will of the Government, as represented by the agent, might, with such freedom from all hazards, be set at nought in one respect, it was naturally and almost necessarily inferred that it might equally be set at nought in all other respects. And in order to turn this inference into a reality, several parties actually proceeded, with the greatest boldness and assurance, to re-possess themselves, by force, of lands that had been formally adjudicated to others. Fortunately, however, it was in the agent's power promptly and effectually to vindicate his *civil* decrees, and thus to restore some measure of confidence to the well-disposed, as well as inspire salutary general impressions among all.

After having, in this way, re-capitulated the leading events of the previous eighteen months, the agent concluded his Report or rather appeal of the 2nd September, 1843, in the following urgent and emphatic terms :—

" My efforts, since my reference to the Government in April, have been almost exclusively directed to maintain confidence, in the face of these facts, in the Khonds, and in my perplexed instruments, that the Government will, in due season, unequivocally manifest its will, and vindicate its authority. Personal communication with the former, who expect from me explanatory acts, seems inexpedient while I can adopt no general course.

I beg permission, now, to represent most respectfully to the Government, that these tribes expect, that its mind will certainly be made plain to them, without fail at the established time of visiting their country about two months hence. If a distinct line of procedure shall then be adopted and acted upon with cautious energy with respect to all,—the sacrificing and the non-sacrificing, the pledged and unpledged, and the broken pledged and Sam Bisaye, I confide that what is lost can be retrieved.

If this be not done, it is not apparent to me, upon what grounds, the degree of confidence of the Khonds in the Government which is necessary to this work, is to be required or maintained.

It is for the wisdom of the Government to determine what shall be done. I have nothing to offer in addition to the views which I have had the honor to submit as to the special measures and the general measures which seem to me to be required.

I humbly submit, that experience has established the truth and sufficiency of the general principles of procedure which I have suggested. The authority which I indicated as necessary to the Khond agent, would

have perfectly sufficed to prevent, and would be effectual to remedy the existing evils.

What I conceive is practically to be apprehended from delay in arresting these evils is this,—lest the character of these Khonds shall suffer permanent deterioration, from their generally violating their engagements with the Government,—lest their distinctive truthfulness and good faith shall give way under the extreme and unfair strain to which they are subjected,—and lest a general confirmed feeling of distrust of the Government shall arise.

These tribes have been placed, through influences addressed to them by us, in a situation of the most trying distraction betwixt the conflicting claims of solemn pledges and of religious duty.

While the authority of the Government, stipulated for, and depended on, as a supporting and directing power during this ordeal, has been, on the contrary, but an additional source of difficulty and perplexity—a confounding doubt, of which the solution has twice been expected in vain.

The considerations that veracity and fidelity to public engagements and implicit confidence in the Government, on the part of this people, are the foundations of our hope of accomplishing the objects proposed; that the risk of permanent injury to or loss of these is eminent; and that the actual expectations of these tribes, formed and sustained with difficulty for the third time, are, as above stated;—these considerations, I beg leave to submit, appear to determine, that the latest limit of delay in putting an end to the present state of things—which can be safely contemplated—is, the annual period of meeting the Khonds, adverted to.

I confide, that the Government regards in a spirit of indulgent consideration, my conduct in this very difficult service, and the plain urgency with which I venture to attract attention to its exigencies at a most critical stage of its progress.

The work is one which cannot stand still, and which can, I believe, at this stage advance only by the continuous application of the influences—the successful operation of which has been unfortunately interrupted.

I am not, at present, I most respectfully submit, sufficiently informed of the intentions of the Government, to enable me to adopt any course which I can confidently regard as conducive to the objects proposed."

Such was the earnest, yet calm and dignified strain in which Captain Macpherson addressed the Madras Government through his immediate superior, Mr. Bannerman, about *five months after* he had represented the urgent grounds of his *extreme anxiety* to receive, *without any delay*, the instructions that were necessary, alike for the maintenance of the work achieved and the guidance and efficiency of his future proceedings! During these dismal months, was he left painfully to brood alone over his anxieties, without being favoured with so much as an acknowledgment of the receipt of his April Report. What could be the cause of this ominous silence and long delay?—silence, when the official organ of Government might well have been expected to speak out as with the voice of a trumpet, pealing aloud with no uncertain sound—delay, when every hour's procrastination tended essentially to weaken the righteous, and proportionately to strengthen the un-righteous, cause?

For if, even in April, he had such strong grounds for anxiety, how must these have been increased by every day's subsequent delay? The friendly Khonds naturally expected that the agent would act instantly in the manner required; and by the least delay in not acting, he ran the risk of losing or forfeiting for ever their confidence. And if once all confidence in him was lost, then, farewell to all farther progress in the great and good work already so auspiciously begun, and so unexpectedly advanced. Nor was it the least painful part of the business that, in consequence of the delay, his chief native assistants, Baba and Sunderah, were sorely disheartened. They were in fact beside themselves; and it was by a great effort, that they were kept in a reasonable state of mind—not despairing of the future utterly! How could they help indulging in the gloomiest forebodings?—Their great antagonist, Sam Bisaye, Lord of the Ascendant—permitting sacrifices in disaffected districts under the pretended sanction of the Governor's agent;—the distraction of the Khonds knowing no bounds;—all the non-sacrificing people flat on their faces in the dust—in many parts of the country, afraid of their lives, in many, maltreated;—the agent's emissaries unable to go into the tracts under Sam Bisaye's influence, and his own inability effectually to interpose, at such a crisis, seen to be ruinous; since, in the estimation of the people, it seemed to seal Sam's pretensions as authentic;—and such being the strength of the impression generated by Sam's apparently uncontrolled power and the agent's apparently demonstrated impotency, that one of the stoutest Khond allies of the latter actually sent down to him, to request the *restoration* of a victim which he had voluntarily given up—that he too might now have his share in the general Jubilee! To be thus obliged to stand helplessly by, and see the fair foundation which, with so much anxious toil, he had recently laid, breaking away, stone by stone, must have proved a source of grief and anguish beyond what mere words can ever express. It was enough to break the spirits of any man, unless he were fraught with the resolute and unconquerable energy which is ever the distinguishing characteristic of those who spontaneously embark on a great and noble enterprize, with a keen appreciation of its greatness and nobility, and a calm yet enthusiastic determination to allow themselves to be scared away by no dangers, and baffled by no difficulties. We can only feebly picture to ourselves the agent's forlorn position, when left solitarily to brood over the stunning hopelessness of his cause; without a single friend in his neighbourhood to enter into his views, or sympathise with him in his feelings of pain and disappointment. And thus day passed

after day, week after week, and month after month—and yet not one seasonable word of promise or counsel from the Government!—his adherents distracted—his foes triumphing, and himself becoming the subject of pity to some, and the butt of insolent scorn and contempt to others! Daily and almost hourly, for the long dragging period of four or five months, may we fancy him holding sad soliloquy, saying, within his own secret chambers of imagery, "Why this long, long delay? What can be the cause of this unbroken silence, this mysterious secresy? Does the Government disapprove of my measures? Then, why not plainly say so, that I may at once abandon a post, which, without its confidence and approval, I cannot hold with honor or any rational prospect of success? Does it require any farther explanation or information? Then, why not tell me that it may instantly be furnished? Or, is it that they are engaged in taking Bannerman's opinions upon all my suggestions, there being no sort of communication between him and me? Or, are they waiting for orders from Head Quarters in Bengal, on receipt of which they will notify and set agoing their new plan? Or, is it that the new Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough) has about him a new set of secretaries, to whom the Khond work and the feelings of any engaged in such a work, are totally incomprehensible? But, be the real cause what it may, why at least does not the Madras Government send me some acknowledgment of my Report? Why not speak out, one way or other? Why continue me in a position, so anamalous in itself, so distressing to my own mind, so ruinous to my work, so utterly inexplicable to friend and foe? Why not, in a word, at once deliver me from a state of such unnecessary apprehension and doubt, torture and agony?" But, tormented though he must have been, from without and from within, he nevertheless unwaveringly persevered—hoping against hope—maintaining the manly and dauntless attitude of unshaken courage to all around—condescending to the infantine conceptions and foibles of his savage friends—combating their doubts—solving their scruples—and dissipating their fears, by the prompt appliance of every expedient, which a fertile imagination could suggest, or a ready ingenuity contrive. In this way, by almost incredible exertions, in the midst of great suffering alike of mind and body, he strove to uphold his own influence and the credit of a declining cause:—

"It is indeed," wrote he in a letter to a friend, dated 20th June, with a sight of which we have been favoured, "it is indeed trying to be treated thus;—but no treatment from any thing human can affect my conduct, with such an object in view, so long as there be any rational hope of accom-

plishing it. I have been labouring hard—have had many of my hill people, Khonds included, down here, and have diffused ideas, and made demonstrations which are bringing the minds of all into a state more fit to be acted on as I desire, than I could have hoped so soon: and I am still arranging and contriving for a grand *coup*, when the time shall come—*if* it *shall* come —that I shall be enabled to act."

In the midst of these pressing difficulties he wrote at length to the private Secretary of the Governor of Madras; but this communication received no notice whatever beyond a simple acknowledgment of its receipt. This of course tended to add to the mystery of the long silence. Again, about a month later, on the 13th July, we find him thus addressing *privately* a friendly Government functionary:—

"To my official communication of April last there has been no reply of any kind. I suppose there are good reasons for this course.

You can imagine the state of mind of those who gave up their gods, and set themselves against their friends in entire confidence in my full and permanent support, and now find themselves over-ridden by their opponents, and apparently deserted by me, while Sam Bisaye and his friends sacrifice at pleasure. I, of course, labour by every possible means to keep up the game; but it is an extreme trial. Had I any ray of light as to the mind, or the future movements of the Government, I could shape some course in hope at least. Having lost an arm too, for nearly a year, from this dreadful climate, from which I have three times barely escaped, I wrote to beg the Governor to make some provision for my relief when I should be compelled to quit the post, as, were I to go without a special successor, the Khonds would certainly believe that the Government had relinquished the work; and were that successor not indentified with me, they would expect him to act on a perfectly new plan with other reasons. But no notice has been taken of this request."

Still no response—beyond the whisperings of expressive silence! At length when the state of things became utterly unendurable, he felt himself roused to pen the fresh representation and appeal, dated the 2nd September, of which an epitome has already been supplied. Respecting this statement which had been extorted from him by the last extremity of vanishing hope, we find him thus writing to a personal acquaintance:—

"I have waited to the last moment, hoping that something would be done. But there is not a sign of any thing. So I have sent them this, once more setting the past before them, and saying plainly what is the promise of the future and giving them "the latest safe date" for the adoption of a course of action. I have been very plain, some may think too plain with them, but I was not to let this work be spoiled from want of plainness. I have no idea whether this new ——— will understand this writing, or if any one about him will. Of what they will *do*, I can form no conception, seeing that they have *not* even acknowledged my former report or my letter to ——. Perhaps they will not answer this. It is a sad matter truly, but must be borne. If I had the work to do over again, I should take the same course. But what signifies my justification, if the work be ruined? Mr. ——

will, I have no doubt, be shocked at my plainness of speech. I shall long to know what you think of it. I would not change it but to make it stronger."

The paper, prepared under these trying circumstances, was sent to Mr. Bannerman, to be by him forwarded to the Madras Government. And now was suddenly brought to light the hitherto unaccountable cause of the long silence. *The April Report, instead of having been timeously submitted to the Madras authorities, was still lying idly and uselessly in the bureau of the Governor's agent, in Ganjam!* This astounding discovery could not fail to startle the agent, and effectually arouse him to a sense of the necessity for immediate action. Accordingly, on the 19th September, Mr. Bannerman addressed the Madras Government, forwarding *together* the *two* Reports received by him from Captain Macpherson, acting principal assistant agent, under date the 12th April and 2nd September, 1843. And as the long delay in transmitting the *former* of these communications appeared so inexplicable, had occasioned so much vexation and pain to the principal assistant, and had tended so materially to damage and retard the whole work, it is but just towards Mr. Bannerman that we should fully detail his own explanation and defence. He begged most respectfully to observe that the delay "had arisen, in the first instance, from his thinking the information relied upon by Captain Macpherson in the matter of Sam Bisaye to be open to doubt, and to some suspicion; and as on a point of such importance, a distinct opinion, as to the policy and justice of the measure proposed, would necessarily be expected by the Government from him, it was essential that he should satisfy himself in respect to them, before submitting his views on the subject." The paper had been received when he was "engaged in the Revenue settlement of the southern taluks of his district, the most distant from the tracts which were the scene of the transactions to which it referred; at a time when that business, which could not be postponed or interrupted, necessarily precluded the immediate prosecution of his object." He "thought that the inconvenience that might arise from the delay that would ensue until he could have an opportunity of personal investigation, was not likely to be of importance, compared to the evils that might spring from an erroneous judgment." He "also conceived that there were grounds for expecting the early adoption of the new scheme contemplated by the Government, with respect to the Khond Agency." Then, again, since his return from the southern districts, three months' previous to the date of this communication, "the unceasing and extreme pressure of laborious official duties,

while his health was in a very shattered and depressed state, had prevented him from submitting the subject in a fitting manner to the Government." If, however, this untoward delay did occasion much real evil, it was not wholly unalleviated by any consequent result in the way of good. It helped to clear up to the agent's own mind the cloud of uncertainty which appeared to hang over one important point, with its darkening shadows. He was "now (19th September) enabled to state that the chief ground of the doubt which he entertained, as to the trustworthiness of the information relied upon by Captain Macpherson, had been in a great measure removed." He now "conceived, with reference to that officer's strong and repeated representations in regard to the conduct of Sam Bisaye, that the Government would have no difficulty in acting on his recommendation. The measure he proposed might, in his opinion, be carried into effect, at any time, without detriment or risk." The delay in transmitting the second of Captain Macpherson's Reports, had "arisen from severe illness alone, which unfitted him for the performance of any work requiring much continuous exertion." In conclusion, however, he "begged permission to say, that he most fully and most humbly admitted that the reasons which he had assigned for the detention of the *first* paper could not be held to justify it. It had arisen from the deep anxiety which necessarily attached to a question of so much difficulty and importance, and from advancing sickness which had prevented him from submitting the subject in a satisfactory form;—while, as he now said with feelings of deep regret, he had, in the absence of professional advice, been too slow to perceive, that it was his duty to have solicited at an earlier period, relief from the cares of his office." He, therefore, "most anxiously confided that no serious evils could possibly arise to the public service from what had occurred;" and he "humbly trusted that the Government would view all the circumstances of his conduct, in a spirit of liberal and indulgent consideration."

On the 18th November, the Madras Government recorded its instructions to the agent for the Governor in Ganjam as to the directions to be given to Captain Macpherson. From these we gather that the official order sent to that officer was, "to proceed without delay, and to take the earliest opportunity of again communicating with the Khond tribes with a view to assure them of the resolution of Government that no measures would be left untried to induce them to put an end entirely to the horrible and unnatural practice of human sacrifice." He was "earnestly to exert himself to remove from the minds of the

Khond people any impression they might, under any circumstances whatever, have received, that the Government had for a moment lost sight of this momentous object." With reference to the earnest and repeated representations of Captain Macpherson, the most Noble the Governor in Council resolved to "direct the agent in Ganjam to call upon Sam Bisaye to attend at his office at Berhampore without delay, and, on receipt of these orders, to suspend him from the office of *Dora*, or Head Bisaye." That Sam Bisaye had "abetted and ever engaged in the Meriah rite could not be disbelieved," but his Lordship in Council was "of opinion, that,—without having recourse in the first instance to measures which might be thought harsh, and give rise to feelings of distrust among the tribes of whom Sam Bisaye had been acknowledged by the Government to be the chief,—Captain Macpherson, in the course of his present researches, should endeavour to obtain complete testimony to the truth and extent of the acts alleged against Sam Bisaye, and submit a special report on the subject, through the Governor's agent, to the consideration of Government." The views of the Madras Government for establishing an effectual and permanent system for the prevention of human sacrifice, would again be "submitted to the Government of India, without whose concurrence, no partial measures would seem to be expedient." In the mean time, His Lordship in Council "considered it sufficient to encourage Captain Macpherson to go forward among the Khond tribes, during the favourable season, and to endeavour to improve from the sources of information he had already obtained, every means of giving confidence to those tribes, who were friendly to the cause of humanity, in which the Government was so deeply interested;—and thus lay his plans as he proceeded for a more intimate intercourse with the Khond people." The Government continued to "watch the progress of his work with unceasing interest and anxiety, and regarded with the highest satisfaction every advance made to enlighten the sacrificing tribes, whether by the administration of justice, on principles, as stated by Captain Macpherson, which were not to supersede the existing methods and instruments of justice, but to strengthen them for good and to supply their defects; or by every other available species of influence to inculcate among them a sense of the wickedness, cruelty, and utter uselessness of their savage rites." Captain Macpherson's suggestion as to the appointment of a medical officer, with the peculiar talents and endowments suited to so uncommon a post, and with corresponding emoluments, was cordially approved of by his Lordship in Council; and the resolution formed of recom-

mending such an appointment for " the sanction of the Government of India."

On the 2nd December, 1843, we find Mr. Drury, chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, transmitting to Mr. Davidson, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, copies of Captain Macpherson's Reports of April and September, of Mr. Bannerman's explanatory letter, of the Marquis of Tweedale and the Honorable Mr. Chamier's recorded Minutes on the subject,—all accompanied with the Resolutions passed by the Madras Government, and earnest recommendations that the measures, which, on more mature deliberation, should be deemed " efficacious for suppressing the savage practices still prevalent," might without delay be adopted and carried into effect.

About a twelve month before, a similar reference and appeal had been made to the Supreme Government, on the occasion of transmitting Lord Elphinstone's last Minute on the subject, with the recorded Resolutions of Council. But, from the causes, already more than once hinted at, the subject had not been taken up in right earnest by the Supreme Government. Lord Auckland, who had really studied it, must have been too much overwhelmed by the tidings from the North, and too much occupied with preparations for speedily resigning the Vice-Royal sceptre of these realms, to give due attention to the newly suggested measures. Lord Ellenborough must have become too busied with his plans and armaments for retrieving the disasters in Affghanistan and the subsequent magnificent triumphal feats on the banks of the Sutlej, to find leisure for so pacific and unexciting a theme as that of the abolition of human sacrifices by means chiefly of the administration of justice, among a barbarous but a politically harmless people. Then followed the complicated negociations which terminated in the conquest of Sindh and the incorporation of that ill-fated country with the British Indian Empire; and lastly, the celebrated military movements on the heights of Maharajpore and Gwalior, which reduced to a shadow the surviving power of the representative of the once formidable Scindia, the redoubted Head of the great Mahratta confederacy. Next, in rather swift succession, came the unexpected recall of his Lordship, and the arrival of his successor, Sir H. Hardinge. So that there was scarcely a breathing time for the Khond cause being even heard or spoken of in the highest State quarters. We find, indeed, on the 31st May, 1843, the Honorable the President in Council, Mr. Bird, calling for the various documents connected with " the important object of suppressing the Meriah sacrifice." But, we are left to suppose, that, in the absence of his Chief,

Lord Ellenborough, he did not deem it advisable to assume the responsibility of issuing authoritative instructions on the subject-matter of reference and appeal from the Madras Government.

Early in January 1844, when the proper season had arrived, Captain Macpherson ascended the Ghats. As no decisive answer had yet been received from the Supreme Government, he was as yet invested with no power except that which belonged to him as head assistant of the Governor's agent. Still, though not invested with the requisite powers for the full accomplishment of his object, he went, greatly fortified by the many friendly assurances and encouragements of the Madras Government.

In accordance with the orders of that Government, one of his first objects was to collect, in a way more formal and minute, than he had yet done, the evidence which tended to establish the guilt of Sam Bisaye, in offering sacrifice himself, and in stimulating others to do the same. Such evidence, which he was soon enabled to collect in overwhelming variety and abundance, he embodied in a separate and most elaborate Report. Into details we need not enter. Only as a single specimen of the conclusive nature of the proofs we may state, that the principal chiefs of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah, in General Council assembled, solemnly deposed to the following facts—that, having "listened to the wisdom of Government and consulted upon it, they had become of one mind that the sacrifice was a sin, declared they would give it up, and gave it up accordingly"—that, afterwards, Sam Bisaye came, and in substance, proclaimed by beat of drum, that "the Mahrattas had arrived, that Macpherson sahib had gone beyond the sea, that one of his chief assistants escaped and the other had been slain"—that his "influence had prevailed with the agent of the Governor to sanction the performance of six sacrifices"—that he "summoned the pledged chiefs, conjured them to avail themselves of the concession won, and to consult and settle with him the order of the offerings"—that, when the chiefs were not moved from their engagements, Sam Bisaye next "announced a sacrifice on the land of his son, and invited the pledged tribes to the festival"—that many persons among them now "solemnly vowed, according to the preliminary usage, the sacrificial flesh to the Gods"—that, at the feast, they "found themselves, to their extreme astonishment, excluded from sharing in the victim"—that they were then told to go and "redeem their solemn vows by sacrificing at home, as had been permitted them"—that some of the chiefs were thus led to exclaim, that "every leaf which fell seemed to be

to them the terrible wrath of the disappointed God, and that no man would dare to let his child leave his door, or to let his beasts put their dry mouths to the pasture"—that, when the "fear and distress became intolerable, a chief of the branch of Athara Mutah more under the influence of Sam Bisaye, offered a public sacrifice, and vows were discharged"—and finally, that "two private offerings were then made in the district."

It was also proved, in open council in Hodzoghoro, in the presence of his own sons and adherents, that Sam Bisaye had "levied two head of cattle from the purchaser of each victim among his people, and, besides, two head of cattle twice, from every possessor of a victim, on the pretence of saving it from the Government, and finally, two head of cattle on the performance of each sacrifice." Yea more, it was proved, by the universal admission of a Khond Council, in presence of his sons and adherents, whose interest it was to have denied or explained it, if at all possible, that Sam Bisaye, in the month of March 1843, "counselled the Khonds of Borogotza, within the Bengal frontier, to resist by force, if necessary, the demand of the officers of the Bengal Government for the surrender of their victims"—thus actually producing their refusal of these victims after they had promised to deliver them.

The evil effect of these proceedings, now substantiated beyond all debate, was, as already indicated, very great. The favourable and striking movement towards the general abolition of the sacrifice was checked and partially reversed. An immediate and unequivocal manifestation of the will of Government was expected by all; and yet the assistant had no power to take the principal step, to guarantee the prevention of sacrifices by Sam Bisaye, by his justly deserved punishment. When Captain Macpherson last reported on the 2d September, 1843, things were in a grievously bad and unpromising state. But, before the arrival of the orders of the Madras Government of the 18th November they had become still worse. The party of the movement passed from doubt and despondency to a state of deep distraction; that opposed to it from hope to insolent triumph. Confidence in the Government on the subject of the religious change had necessarily all but ceased, while Captain Macpherson had fairly exhausted every art to maintain the assurance that the will of the Government was, what he had represented it to be, and that its justice would be alternately vindicated—to keep together the bewildered partizans and instruments of the movement—to preserve above all, the important feelings of personal trust and attachment which had sprung up towards the chief servants of Government. One ground, and one alone, on

which he could maintain any semblance of real authority, was his *civil justice*, regarded apart from the religious change which had been mainly brought about through its means. That justice, supplying as it did, the great social want of the tribes, had now become necessary to them. It was believed to have ceased, when the maintenance of the religious change seemed to cease. But, upon its firm assertion, all who desired order, rallied round it; and, through its maintenance alone Captain Macpherson was enabled to hold a position from which he could hope finally to re-conquer what was lost.

Many chiefs had, indeed, remained, admirably constant to their pledges. But the weak conviction and overstrained faith of the mass of the people, necessarily began to yield to the pressure of the claims of their ancient superstition, when the Government instead of affording them its full support and unceasing guidance, seemed to array its influence upon the other side. The time was, in fact, come, when plain acts, establishing, beyond all cavil or mistake, the will and the justice of the Government, could alone prevent a general and justified violation of the engagements of the tribes.

The receipt of the Madras Government's orders of the 18th November, directing "the immediate suspension of Sam Bisaye from office, with a view to the institution of exact inquiry into his conduct, and to the restoration of confidence," operated like life from the dead. These orders, in the beginning of December, 1843, were made adequate to their object by the mode of their execution. The act of suspension was made credible and significant to the Khonds by the promulgated decree for the actual removal of Sam Bisaye out of the Khond country.

When full effect was given to this decree, Captain Macpherson without delay met the Khond chiefs, and challenged their acknowledgment that the past was vindicated, and a guarantee given for the future. Sam Bisaye's deprivation of office, accredited by his exclusion from the Khond country, produced effects more immediate and general than could have been hoped for, and light and repose seemed to return almost at once to the distracted minds of the Khonds. Captain Macpherson soon found his authority more than restored:—

"Only a few of the chiefs, and a small part of their people had actually violated their engagements. All desired to place themselves under a wise and a strong authority for the sake of peace and justice. By far the most influential portion desired also to complete the religious change to which they had solemnly committed themselves. The party favourable to the sacrifice regarded its abolition as now inevitable, and gave up all their remaining victims. Both parties dreaded equally the restoration of any semblance of authority to Sam Bisaye, and prayed that Sirdar Panda

Naik, my most able instrument for the two tribes, might be permanently appointed in his stead. All pressed for justice, and decrees were executed by the parties as soon as passed. The difficult account of the past was settled in conformity with the just and severe self-judgment of the Khonds. It was submitted at a full council, at which every chief delivered his opinion, —" that the violation of the engagement by a few chiefs, and those who ' acted with them, although partly justifiable, was a crime against the Go- ' vernment, and against the tribes,—while the Gods had instantly marked ' its criminality by punishing the chief who first sacrificed by the deepest ' mark of their displeasure—the death of his wife in child-birth ;"—" that ' those who had violated the pledges and fallen, deceived by Sam Bisaye, ' were equally false to them and to the Government ;—that the Government ' had, at its own time, done justice with respect to him, and made its will ' plain, and there could be no doubt as to its future course ;—that the three ' chiefs who sacrificed, confiding in Sam Bisaye, must, like him, be punish- ' ed by the Government, or there would be no security against the ' recurrence of similar acts by individuals, involving all in crime and ruin." I accordingly removed, and now detain those three persons. The authority of the Government, entire confidence as to its future course, the feelings of personal attachment towards its servants which are necessary to the application of any measures, and the movement towards the religious change, were fully re-established."

Thus, again, did victory return to the cause which Captain Macpherson had so zealously espoused and so perseveringly prosecuted—proving at once the sagacity of his foresight and the adequacy of his measures. Ground had been lost. But why ? Because the grand central principle of the operations previously carried on, had been shown to be erroneous, or its energy mis-directed, or its applicability and strength over-esti- mated, or the practical measures in which it was embodied, inadequate or ill-concerned ? No ; quite the contrary. It was solely because of the checks and limitations hitherto imposed on the agent by superior authority—checks and limitations which circumscribed his official power and influence, and did not allow of his carrying out his own principle to the extent which he proved to be safely possible, and insisted on as absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of the great end in view. It was because some of the measures which he foresaw to be indispensable, and for the execution of which he strenuously pled, had been long, long postponed—partly from untoward contingencies in high places, and partly from the want of that promptitude in the controlling authority, which tended to keep things swinging in the balances of indecision, instead of vigo- rously dealing out effective blows. But the moment Captain Macpherson's suggested measures began to be actually carried out, that moment victory began to return to the righteous cause of which he was the champion.

The ground which had been lost, through untoward but very

intelligible procrastination on the part of his superiors, was, as we have seen, speedily and to a great extent retrieved, the instant he was allowed to pursue the course which he had long before proposed, and which the surging swell of circumstances proved more and more to be imperatively required. But, to the maintenance of the ground thus happily retrieved among the formerly gained tribes, it was clear that the complete extinction of the influence of Sam Bisaye as Champion-General of the sacrifice in Goomsur, was necessary. Captain Macpherson therefore, with his wonted alacrity, proceeded direct to Hodzoghoro, the proper district of the wily chief, where his power was yet undiminished, in order to establish there the authority of Government, and introduce the religious change now in progress elsewhere.

But the task was at once an arduous and a delicate one. For on the agent's arrival, he found all the Khonds of that tract firmly leagued under Sam Bisaye's *five sons and two brothers*, in opposition to his objects. The opinions by which they were chiefly swayed, were such as the following:—

"They believed that I and the agent to the Governor were at direct variance on the question of the sacrifice. That the influence of Sam Bisaye prevailed with that officer over mine, and would certainly avail in the end, to maintain the ancient faith at least in Hodzoghoro. That my authority in that tract was nearly nominal,—extending but to the demand of a few victims. These Khonds avoid their resolution to preserve the old faith unchanged through co-operation with Sam Bisaye, and his family equally devoted to it. They declined to receive the justice of the Government, because the tribes which had received it had immediately fallen into subservience and abandoned their gods. They thought it unnecessary to consider my arguments against the sacrifice. They acted together as one man communicating with me only publicly in a body, and in the presence of some member of the family of Sam Bisaye."

Here was a consolidated front of opposition which might well have scared away a man less resolute of purpose than Captain Macpherson, or one less fertile in resource. But strong in the righteousness of his cause and confident in his own powers, he boldly confronted it. His first object was, if possible, to break up the confederacy, and then deal with the shattered fragments. But he approached such a work of demolition with caution and prudence. Throughout, it was his policy to eschew violent or coercive measures. It was his chief desire, by the conferring of substantial benefits, to convince the ignorant and deluded people, that to yield to him would only be to escape from manifold and acknowledged evils, and to ensure an accession of palpable and coveted good. Accordingly, his *first* attempt was, to endeavour to convince Sam Bisaye's family that

their sole hopes lay in devoting themselves to the objects of Government;—his calculation being, that their visible co-operation with him would not only afford him direct support, but would also tacitly involve, in the estimation of all around, the exposure of their previous false pretences of devotion to the religion and interests of the Khonds. His *second* attempt was, by every art of persuasion, to induce the Khonds to come to him, and receive justice at his hands;—his calculation, in this case, being that a general resort to his Court would enable him effectually to apply the various forms of influence, which had elsewhere prevailed and conducted to his ends.

In prosecution of these designs, he, with admirable judgment, transferred his Court from the centre of the pledged tribes to the neighbourhood of Sam Bisaye's village—there, in the first instance, to transact business not with Sam Bisaye's people, but with the members of those tribes already gained, who spontaneously and thankfully followed him for the settlement of all outstanding variances and grievances. The object was, in this way, to exhibit to Sam Bisaye's people, in the happiness of their immediate neighbours, the practical working and blessed effects of the *justice* of the Government, together with the whole spirit and form of its connection with the Khonds;—while, in addition to all the favourable impressions thence arising, the opinions of the pledged people with respect to that connection and to the religious change generally, would necessarily be disseminated in every village which gave them hospitality. No plan more judicious, could well have been devised. Nor did its author at all miscalculate in the confidence which, by its adoption, was placed in the gained tribes. Their avowed change of opinion was thereby put to the severest test, and their sincerity fully proved in a way at once gratifying and opportune. When the chiefs of Hodzoghoro, at a great Council, stated their determination to decline direct communication with the Government, a chief of Bora Mutah instantly stood up and said;—"Oh, Brothers, the Government found us distracted by sanguinary quarrels. All was confusion. Then, hills had become vallies, and vallies, hills. Now, every dispute is settled, every wrong is righted. Every valley is again a valley, and every hill a hill. And you see us here running after the Government to seek its justice and to shew our gratitude."

But, notwithstanding the undeniable wisdom and excellence of these varied measures, the malign influence of Sam Bisaye's tuition and example continued to manifest its fatal ascendancy over his misguided subordinates and people. After a fair and anxious trial of seven days, the agent failed in bringing the

family of this strong and wrong-headed chief to commit themselves by the least semblance of co-operation with him. They vaguely protested obedience, while they laboured by every art to multiply the delusions, and to confirm the hostile resolutions of their people. His endurance of their opposition, and his adoption of no ulterior measures for the liberation of the victims, were necessarily regarded as conclusive evidence of the entire want of power so generally and pertinaciously attributed to him. And this conviction, gaining strength through willing credulity, wholly precluded the hope of the general reception of his justice. A few persons, driven to despair by the oppressions of Sam Bisaye, threw themselves upon him, but none else. And every day brought some fresh lying story of the triumphant progress of the influence of the temporarily banished chief with the Governor's agent—an influence, which was alleged to be so far on the ascendant, that the speedy return and removal of the head assistant were inevitable. When, wearied and worn out with unsuccessful effort, Captain Macpherson at length distinctly declared his resolution to adopt a new course, unless Sam Bisaye's family gave immediate proofs of identification with him and his work; it was then concluded that the time was come for delivering up to him the exact number of victims, which he knew it was preconcerted from the beginning should be given, as a peace-offering, necessary to send him away. This consisted of three victims, falsely asserted to be the whole private stock of Sam Bisaye, and of sixteen others reluctantly collected by the Khonds, as a heavy assessment or tax.

Here, however, great as the dilemma appeared to be, and insuperable the difficulty, Captain Macpherson's resolute self-reliance did not fail him, neither was his inventive ingenuity exhausted. But, in order to make the plan which he adopted intelligible, it is necessary to enter into a brief statement of certain circumstances connected with the scene of his operations. This may best be given in the words of the author:—

"The contiguous tracts of Hodzoghoro and Tentilghur are inhabited by a single Khond tribe. The Bisaye or Dulbehra, of the latter was the Hindu head of the whole tribe, and minister of its guardian deity from time immemorial until about forty years ago. The fourth ancestor, in ascent of the present Dulbehra, received a Hindu victim child from the Khonds, and made him his hereditary assistant in the service of the god. The late Rajah of Goomsur to break the influence of the Dulbehras, who were allies of his enemies the Rajahs of Boad, obtained by force and intrigue, the recognition of a descendant of that child—the father of Sam Bisaye—as Bisaye of the tract of Hodzoghoro—thus dividing the tribe.

Sam Bisaye, from his accession, strained every nerve to accomplish the complete supercession of the Dulbehra; but found the possession of the chief religious office of the tribe absolutely essential to his object.

Despairing of its attainment by any other means, he, about eight years ago, caused the god to be stolen from his ancient shrine, placed him in his stockaded village, and became his sole minister. The occurrence of the Goomsur rebellion, and the investiture thereafter of Sam Bisaye with the authority of Government, made the recovery of the god by the power of the Dulbehra hopeless, and Sam Bisaye acquired from his possession a great accession of influence. The Dulbehra sued for justice from all the officers of Government who have had power in Goomsur; and Sam Bisaye, when challenged, promised restitution. The Dulbehra was the first hill chief who joined the Government in the Goomsur war. He is a very sensible, moderate and just man, and has seconded my objects with extraordinary zeal and success."

Captain Macpherson was soon led to regard this idol, thus surreptiously obtained, simply in the light of *stolen property*. For, when viewed merely as a material substance, it was clearly the property of him who made it, or of them who contributed to the expence of making and preserving it. The superstitious uses to which it was unhappily devoted did not annihilate the right of property in it, as a piece of lumbering materialism; and did not, consequently, confer any right on others either to steal it or to destroy it by violence. Were its possessors to become enlightened in the knowledge and worship of the one living and true God, and were they, in token of their conversion to the truth and of their abhorrence of "lying vanities," to become iconoclasts themselves, it would be all very natural, very consistent, and very just. Being their own property, they would have a perfect right to do with their own as they pleased; and being led to see the error of their ways, it would not only be reasonably but essentially necessary that they should give the most decisive proof of their sincerity, by casting their idol-god "to the moles and to the bats," or shivering it into fragments, or consuming it in the fire, or sending it to a public museum as one of the trophies of the progress of truth. But, for a neighbouring chief to cause such a piece of mechanism *to be stolen* from its shrine or place of custody—to be violently and lawlessly wrenched from its makers and proprietors,—in what respect could such an act, in its essential principle, be distinguished from that of ordinary theft, or robbery? In no way that we can see. The act was plainly an unlawful one—contrary alike to the dictates of reason, and natural justice, and Divine Revelation. Such was the view which, as we have reason to suppose, Captain Macpherson was led to take of it. Accordingly, in the administration of his *justice*, he resolved to act in this case precisely as he would have done in the case of any other plundered or pillaged property. In other words, after anxious deliberation, he determined to insist on the restoration of that which had been *stolen* to its rightful possessor.

Such an act he regarded merely as one of undeniable justice, which must command general approbation and inspire general confidence. From such an impression he expected to derive the greatest benefit to his cause. By its means, he reckoned that he could signally falsify to the Khonds the prevalent opinion of his want of power, on which the current delusions were mainly founded. In this way, also, he expected to strengthen the influence of his tried partizan, the Dulbehra, and enable him to form a party in every branch of the half tribe of Hodzoghoro. In any event, he fully calculated, that the league would be broken up. Sam Bisaye's family would see their folly and join him at last; or they would be convicted of plain falsehood as to his power. When parties and dissensions arose in Hodzoghoro, his proved authority would next be appealed to—and whenever this began to be, his work might be considered as virtually accomplished.

A General Council of the Khond chiefs and their people was summoned at the agent's tents—having previously intimated his resolution to the Dulbehra and his friends. The majority of those present, after sundry preliminary explanations, unhesitatingly acknowledged the great injustice of Sam Bisaye's *theft;* though they had not yet learnt his determination to restore it.—When, behold, the stolen idol suddenly appeared in sight, in charge of the Dulbehra and his assistants, who had been despatched to Sam Bisaye's village to fetch it! The assembled Khonds were seized with astonishment and greatly moved; but they soon recovered themselves. Captain Macpherson then demanded whether the restoration of it to its rightful hereditary possessor was not an act of pure and simple justice? The elder chief of the tribe, the representative of its common progenitors, immediately replied that it was—and that those alone who looked to present interests, and not to right, had tacitly acquiesced in the illegal appropriation of Sam Bisaye.* All the other Chiefs, then promptly admitted that this was true. The act, as the decision of the great religious and social question of the two districts, was regarded as an overwhelming proof of the agent's justice and authority. The ultimate accomplishment of his objects seemed now certain.

The two next days were spent by the Khonds in earnest consultation, alternately with the agent, with the Dulbehra with the previously pledged Chiefs, and with the family of Sam Bisaye. They at length declared that they "were convinced they had been deceived as to the mind of the Government, and as to the agent's power—that they could not resist the wisdom and the strength of the Government—and that they

would consult with and bring to one mind, all the branches of the hitherto recusant half tribe." The final result of all these counsels,—notwithstanding the unremitted efforts of the incorrigible family of Sam Bisaye to divide them,—was, "*an engagement by the people of Hodzoghoro to deliver up their victims and to relinquish the sacrifice upon the conditions on which the tribes already pledged had relinquished it.*" A consummation, in itself so desirable, and in its consequences so momentous, yet at one time so apparently hopeless, might well warrant the strongest language in commemorating it. "*I cannot*," writes Captain Macpherson, "*easily communicate a just idea of the importance of this resolution to the objects of the Government. The very stronghold of the ancient faith, where its rites had never been interrupted for a day, where its champion had hitherto defied attack, had yielded*; AND TO MORAL INFLUENCES ALONE. *The conquest of all Goomsur was completed. The moral effect of this fact upon the whole Khond population known to us was necessarily very great.*"

Some of the immediate effects are thus described :—

"The chiefs of Hodzoghoro now assisted daily at my court, and their people began to resort to it The civil and religious influence of the Dulbehra extended gradually, and he was treated in form as Head of the whole Tribe.

Forty more victims were almost immediately brought in.

The oppressions of Sam Bisaye and his sons were now openly declared by all, suitors and assessors; and every charge made was admitted by his son, expressly constituted by him his representative, for no false charges can live in a Khond Assembly,

There were for example two cases of the seisure and sales of men's wives for large sums by Sam Bisaye, under circumstances of extreme cruelty; and cases without number of the plunder of individuals on the falsest pretences.

Then it was admitted, not as a charge, but as a familiar fact, that two head of cattle had been levied by Sam Bisaye on the purchase of each victim; and that the same payment had been exacted on two occasions for saving each from seizure by the Government, and that it had also been required on the sacrifice of each victim.

It was again stated and admitted by all in public assembly, that the Khonds of the neighbouring tract of Borogotza within the Bengal frontier, had agreed last year to give up victims to the Bengal Government,—that they had then taken counsel of Sam Bisaye, who exhorted them to resist the demand by force, if necessary, "for there were not two Governments 'but one Government, of which he was the representative; that he had 'delivered no victims from his district, and what had the Government done 'to him? And that the Government was, moreover, contending with the 'Mussulmans on the one side, and the Mahrattas on the other, and could 'not coerce the Khonds. The victims were accordingly refused to the 'Bengal officer."

Unhappily, when the agent's measures were thus in rapid

process of execution, severe illness from fever compelled him once more to quit the hills,—leaving so far "uncompleted the conquest of the body of the people of Hodzoghoro by argument and justice, and while many victims yet remained undelivered." In this exigency, he had plainly no alternative but to impose on the Dulbehra, as head of the tribe, the duty of inducing the delivery of the rest. His own departure from the hill country, as might be anticipated, was the signal for redoubled exertions on the part of the inveterately hostile family of Sam Bisaye, to frustrate his unconfirmed measures. And by dint of sundry lying fictions, they partially succeeded. By the sanction, however, of the agent to the Governor, Captain Macpherson, summoned the guilty parties to Aska. The three most important of them appeared and were detained with their father. This decisive measure immediately produced the desired effect. The last obstruction to the agent of the Government was removed. Delusion upon the old ground was no longer possible, the remaining victims were forthwith brought to the Dulbehra, and his paramount authority was acknowleged by the whole tribe. Of the practical consequences which ensued, the following are particularized as worthy of special notice:—

"I have the high satisfaction to state that the great season of sacrifice is past, and that there has been no apparent tendency to sacrifice in any part of the Khond country of Goomsur. The stage of progress attained by each tribe, in the religious change, has, however, been distinctly marked in this period. The tribes of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah, most advanced, have not received, from the festivals held around them, a particle of the flesh into their soil. Five men of the latter, of whom one was a priest, attended a sacrifice within the Bengal frontier, brought away flesh and buried it secretly in their village fields.

When the act was known, the people instantly compelled them to dig it up, and sent them with it to my chief agent, demanding their punishment by the Government, as false to it and to them, and deeply criminal in the sight of the gods.

I have detained the priest, but hope that it may be possible to release him soon.

The Khonds of Hodzoghoro, as was to be expected, have brought flesh to many of their villages. The districts of Tentilghur and Chokapad, as I am at present informed, have remained almost but not perfectly pure. The whole number of victims rescued this year is 142, and all are Khonds, or Panwas, or of the other castes permanently resident on the hills, except two Hindu children from the low country bordering on the Ghats. The experience of this and of last year proves that the practice of kidnapping children from the low country has nearly ceased in this part of the district."

Such was the moral and pacific campaign of the early part of 1844, and such were some of its more remarkable results. The direct authority of Government had been established among

these rude tribes, by supplying their greatest social want—that of *justice*—in a form and in a spirit beneficial and acceptable to them. And that authority combined with influence derived from every other available source, had amply sufficed to induce them to adopt the religious change desired. Of the permanence of that change, little reasonable doubt could be entertained if the measures which had been adopted, should be confirmed; and if measures productive of similar results, should be immediately addressed to the neighbouring sacrificing tribes, so that the gained population should not be tempted, by seeing unrepressed festivals upon their borders. The sacrificing tribes in contact with the gained tribes were *all within the Bengal frontier*—the sacrificing population of Goomsur being cut off from that of the South by non-sacrificing tracts.

The measures which Captain Macpherson deemed it his duty to recommend as more immediately necessary, to the full accomplishment of the objects of Government in the Khond country connected with Goomsur, were the following:—

"1st. Sam Bisaye's final removal from office.

2nd. His permanent exclusion from the Khond country, with the three following members of his family, viz. Lockno, brother of Sam Bisaye, Borjo and Búra, sons of Sam Bisaye, and now removed from it. His return thither, or the return of either of these three persons, would be the re-establishment of the sacrifice. Many members of his family remain, and may be permitted to reside in Hodzoghoro, while they live inoffensively. The elevation of any member of Sam Bisaye's family to his office, under any circumstances, would, in the sight of the whole Khond population, be equivalent to his restoration.

3rd. The confirmation of the resumption by the Dulbehra of Tentilghur, of the office and official lands of his fathers, according to Khond usage, in the district of Hodzoghoro.

This was very strongly desired by four-fifths of the tribe and acquiesced in by all except a few personal friends of Sam Bisaye.

The Dulbehra is now, in fact, fully re-established as Hindu head by his tribe according to its usages. His most able services and tried fidelity cannot be too highly rewarded, and he is absolutely necessary, as head of his tribe, to the work still to be accomplished; we cannot bear to have a chief of doubtful character upon the Bengal frontier.

4th. The confirmation of Sirdar Panda Naik in the charge of the two districts of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah and in the Sirdarship of the Mutah of Panchgudda, a tract of forest at the base of the Ghats necessary to the first office, and lately held by Sam Bisaye. The influence of Panda Naik with these tribes is very great. He has, in fact, managed them for the last 20 years, for the Rajah of Goomsur and for the Government,—a few tracts in the immediate vicinity of Sam Bisaye's country excepted. They unanimously desired his appointment. They could not possibly have been gained without his most able aid, and his future services are indispensable

5th. The Government has not been pleased to communicate any order in reference to my suggestion to permit a party of sappers to afford the aid

necessary to the formation of a road in the Courminghia Ghat. The importance of opening a communication through the Ghats, and the Khond country beyond, in this line, has been fully recognised by Government. There does not now exist a single tolerable approach to the Khond country. This Ghat in which alone, so far as is known, a good approach may be easily made, is now impracticable on horseback, and is almost given up by the Brinjarris who have hitherto struggled through it.

Captain ——— of the Survey has very carefully traced an excellent line of road in it, deviating, at some points, from the old line. I have expended none of the money granted for it, in the hope, that Government may yet accede to my suggestion. No road not constructed with skill can bear the torrents of these mountains for a single season.

The erection of a few substantial Cutchery bungalows at different points in the Khond country will, I conceive, promote in a very important degree the objects of Government. They will conduce greatly to the health of the public servants, and will always afford shelter to the sick. They will certainly produce a very considerable moral effect upon the rude Khonds as signifying the establishment of the authority of the Government and its intentions to maintain it permanently, and they will serve as a place of refuge for victims. These uses and effects have all been experienced in a striking degree from the bungalow built by Government at Courminghia.

I therefore beg leave to suggest that the Government may be pleased to sanction the erection of two Cutchery bungalows at a cost of Rupees one thousand."

With reference to the future, Captain Macpherson conceived that it was established, that, if the climate of the southern tracts should be found endurable for one or two months in the year, the abolition of the sacrifice throughout the Khond country might now be hopefully regarded as thoroughly practicable. The great difficulty had necessarily been in the first step; in the acquisition of the requisite knowledge; the formation of efficient instruments; and the completion of an experimental operation upon a scale sufficiently large to test the principles applied. This primary difficulty had now been not only surmounted, but triumphantly surmounted. The singular moral and intellectual aptitude of the Khonds to receive the new ideas, which it was desired to communicate to them, seemed strongly to sanction the expectation that their progress in improvement would fully correspond to the opportunities which should be afforded to them—and that they fairly promised to make a noble return for wise tutelage and the guardianship of equitable law.

The Government having intimated that it was its serious intention to frame a *general* measure for the accomplishment of its objects, Captain Macpherson once more deemed it to be his duty to declare that the views so often previously submitted in his letters and reports, with respect to the principles and conditions of such a measure, had been amply confirmed by subsequent experience. He again announced his conviction that it was absolutely necessary that the Khond agent should

have the immediate management of the hill zemindaries with which the tribes, to whom his operations should be successively directed, happened to be connected. It was a matter which did not admit of a question, that, to a progressive work of social and religious change to be effected mainly through moral influences, unity of design and unbroken continuity of action were indispensable—that operations, like those already described, and which had been carried out by anxious, interrupted, and embarrassed efforts, could be effectually accomplished only upon principles of procedure distinctly recognized by the Government, and by a confidential agent armed with the fullest power adequately to realize them.

In the conclusion of his masterly Report of the 8th May, 1844, Captain Macpherson brought to the notice of Government the eminent services of his two chief native assistants, whom he characterizes in the following emphatic and generous strain :—

"To my head múnshí, Baba Khan, I owe the acquisition, in the years 1837-38-39, of all the information respecting Khond usages which I had the honor to submit to Government in my printed report. The ability and devoted zeal which he has since displayed in this work could not be surpassed. He commands in an extraordinary degree the confidence and affections of the Khonds and of the rude instruments employed amongst them, and his health has suffered much.

Sundera Singh, son of the late Rajah of Souradah, has afforded assistance which has been equally invaluable. Bred amongst the Khonds connected with his zemindary, but still a well educated Hindu gentleman, he brings knowledge and an hereditary influence which no other man can possess. His services in the Khond country, during the Goomsur rebellion, were acknowledged by a grant of land; and he has devoted himself with the utmost zeal to the work in which I am engaged.

I venture to suggest, that the bestowal by Government of a small mark of approbation upon these two servants may produce important effects.—There now exists extreme difficulty in inducing men of character and talent to engage in this work, from ideas connected with caste, from its great danger, its difficulty, and its bringing no desirable influence.

The marked appreciation by the Government of devotion to it, even by conferring an honorary medal, might I conceive tend in an important degree to remove this difficulty."

Captain Macpherson's Report of the 8th May was very promptly forwarded, on the following day, to the Madras Government, by Mr. Anstruther, acting agent to the Governor. In doing so, he briefly adverted to the great evil arising from the divided territorial jurisdiction, owing to the Khond country being situated, partly within the limits of the Madras presidency, and partly within those of the Bengal presidency. There was, he admitted, a communication between the officers in charge of the Khond districts within these two presidencies. But, as they were still separate authorities, deriving their in-

structions from two separate Governments, it was clear that however cordial their co-operation, the benefits of a complete unity of action could not possibly be attained.

Neither did the Madras Government, to its credit it must be said, lose any time in taking the Report into its consideration. In its Minutes of consultation of 13th June, it was noted that the most Noble the Governor in Council (the Marquis of Tweedale) had perused it with the highest satisfaction; and that his Lordship in Council "desired to record the sense he entertained of the merits and exertions of the principal assistant agent, the chief instrument in effecting so important a change in the Khond habits and religious principles." After minutely reviewing the whole of Captain Macpherson's proceedings, with the remarkable success which attended them, his Lordship in Council had "the greatest pleasure in sanctioning all the measures" which had been adopted, and "in repeating his approbation of the agent's conduct throughout these proceedings."

Also, with respect to the farther measures suggested as immediately necessary to the full and permanent accomplishment of the objects of Government—such as, *the removal from office and attendant profits, of Sam Bisaye, and the permanent exclusion from the Khond country of him and the three members of his family that had been most obnoxious;* the confirmation of the Dulbehra in his lately resumed hereditary office and lands attached to it; the confirmation of Sirdar Panda Naik in his important charge; the construction of the projected road by the Courminghia Ghat; and the erection of bungalows in the Khond country,—with respect to one and all of these measures, his Lordship in Council thoroughly approved of them, and desired that instructions should be issued for having them "immediately and fully carried out." Medals also were ordered to be struck, with suitable inscriptions, for delivery to the agent's two chief Native assistants, "as a testimony offered by the Government to their meritorious and important services." And finally, it was resolved again to address the Government of India relative to the proposition that the jurisdiction of the Khond agent should extend over the several hill zemindaries connected with the Khond tribes, as well as the suggestion of the agent on the employment of a single agency for the entire Khond country.

On the same day, the 13th June, Mr. Drury, chief secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, forwarded to Mr. Davidson, officiating secretary to the Government of India, the last Report of Captain Macpherson's operations and successes, with the orders of the Madras Government upon it

Nor was it sent merely in a dry formal official manner—but accompanied with hearty recommendations. The secretary was desired to notify to the Supreme Government, the high satisfaction of the most Noble the Governor in Council at the verified results of Captain Macpherson's judicious measures; and to express his hope that the operations on the Bengal Frontier might meet with an equally happy termination, as the proceedings on the Madras side;—since, independently of other considerations, it was much to be desired that, the good faith and constancy of the tribes in Goomsur, pledged to non-sacrifice, might not be liable to the temptation of viewing the Meriah rites celebrated with impunity around them. In order to this, it seemed essential that all the hill zemindaries, including those on the Bengal side, namely, Boad, Duspulla, and Nyaghur, should be placed under the same general system of management. Whether the working of such a system, with the needful authority, should be vested in a sole agent for the entire Khond country, as Captain Macpherson's more mature experience now inclined him to prefer, or delegated to the officers in Ganjam and Cuttack, engaged more immediately in the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, by appointing them Joint Magistrates, as formerly suggested by the Principal Assistant, was a subject for the decision of the Government of India. But the former of these plans, or that last proposed, of having one sole agent for the entire Khond country, was that which received the recommendation of the Madras Government—as it tended more effectually to produce that combination of influence and unity of action, and the same directed by one instrument to one system, which the most zealous and willing co-operation of authorities, acting apart from one another, would fail to bring about. And lastly, the Secretary was desired to state that the Madras Government had not yet been favoured with the sentiments of the Government of India on the measures, past and future, relative to the sacrifice in general—and that some definite and organized plan, sanctioned by the highest authority, appeared urgently necessary, and awaited for by the local officers with much anxiety.

Hitherto, we have been simply following the main stream of those operations which were directed towards the abolition of the *Meriah sacrifice*. But, it must not be forgotten that there was another practice scarcely less revolting to the feelings of humanity, which was, *for the first time*, brought to light by Captain Macpherson, in the course of his visit to the southern Khond districts early in 1842.* This was the abhorrent prac-

* See Calcutta Review, No. IX. page 32—34.

tice of *female infanticide*, carried out by some of the Khond tribes to an almost exterminating extent. The portions of the Khond country in which it was ascertained for certain to have prevailed, were included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, and Chinna Kimedy in the Ganjam district; divided into five districts, namely, Pondacole, Gúldi, Degí, Búri, and Cundami, and possessed by a few tribes which are subdivided into numerous branches, with a population, at a rough estimate, of about 60,000. On his first visit, the information received by the agent led him to conclude that the annual sacrifice of guiltless and helpless female children in these districts, amounted to the fearful aggregate of a *thousand!* Subsequent and more searching investigations, far from shewing that this aggregate was over-estimated, tended rather to prove that it was considerably under the mark. So that, after the inquiries of two years, he reckoned that the number of female infants annually destroyed, averaged from *twelve* to *fifteen* hundred! The extent to which the practice was carried, was found to vary materially in the five districts. In Búri, he saw *many villages of above a hundred houses, in which there was not a single female child!* In Pondacole, in villages of that size, *one* or *perhaps two* might be found! In Gúldi, female infants are very rarely reared! In Degí, the practice of destroying them was limited to a few tracts on its border, next to Gúldi. Respecting Cundami, no information, on which perfect reliance might be placed, could be obtained; though the general impression was, that there too the atrocious practice prevailed to an enormous extent!

With reference to the Meriah sacrifice, a good deal has been already recorded, relative to its proximate causes;* and some thing also has been advanced respecting the inducements to female infanticide.† But, as we are now about to unfold the measures adopted by the indefatigable agent for its abolition, it may be well to inquire into the further light which the experience of two years tended to throw upon the subject. The tribes that practised infanticide were found to belong to the division of the Khond people which did *not* offer human sacrifices. The usage was now fully ascertained to owe its origin and its maintenance partly to religious opinions, and partly to ideas from which certain very important features of Khond manners arise. But, on so delicate and difficult a subject we deem it better to let the agent set forth his own views, as expounded in his Report of 10th July 1844:—

"The Khonds believe that the supreme deity, the Sun-god, created all

* See Calcutta Review, No. IX. page 60. † See Calcutta Review, No. IX. page 32.

things good; that the Earth goddess introduced evil into the world; and that these two powers have since conflicted. The non-sacrificing tribes make the supreme deity the great object of their adoration—neglecting the Earth goddess. The sacrificing tribes, on the other hand believe the propitiation of the latter power to be the most necessary worship. Now the tribes which practice female infanticide hold, that the Sun-god, on contemplating the deplorable effects produced by the creation of the chief being of feminine nature, charged men to bring up only as many females as they could restrain from producing evil to society. This is the first idea upon which the usage is founded.

Again, the Khonds believe, that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born and received.

But the reception of the soul of an infant into a family, is completed only on the performance of the ceremony of naming, upon the 7th day after its birth.

The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial of reception, is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits, diminishing by one the chance of future female births in the family, and, as the first aspiration of every Khond is, to have male children, this belief is a powerful incentive to infanticide.

But the practice also, springs from and produces alternately the ideas upon which the relations of the sexes, and especially those which are directly involved, in the marriage tie, are mainly founded in these tribes.

The influence of women is, I believe, greater among the Khonds than amongst any other people which has been described, and is strongest in the tribes in which infanticide is practised. Their opinions have great weight upon every public and private question, and their direct agency is essential upon almost all occasions. The presence of the sisters and daughters of a tribe is indispensable at its battles, to afford aid and encouragement. Its wives, who are neutral between the tribes of their fathers and their husbands, are necessary to make peace. The Khond women constantly settle difficult questions between their tribes, and the Rajahs through their ladies with whom they are always in communication,—and these ladies it may be observed, are always employed on critical occasions, as irresistible instruments to sway the Khond chiefs. But the ascendancy of Khond women is completed by their matrimonial privileges. A wife in these tribes, is permitted to indulge in intrigue at pleasure; her pretensions not suffering diminution, at least, when fines are levied on her convicted lovers;—while on the other hand, infidelity on the part of a married man is held to be in the last degree dishonourable, and is punished by his complete exclusion from society. A wife, moreover, may quit her husband at any time, except when she is pregnant, or within a year after the birth of a child, and she may then return to her father's house, or contract a new marriage;—while no man who is without a wife may refuse to receive any woman who may choose to enter his house, to become its mistress.

Now, a bridegroom in these tribes, gives a large consideration for his wife in cattle and money. The sum is chiefly subscribed by his branch of his tribe, and is paid to the father of his wife, who, again distributes it amongst the heads of families of his own branch. All civil contracts amongst the Khonds being, according to very curious usages, more tribal than personal. But when a wife quits her husband, he has a right to reclaim the whole sum paid for her; while her father at the same time, becomes entitled to levy a like sum from the new husband, to whom she

has attached herself; the tribes of the parties being answerable for each. These restitutions and exactions, always to be made, it is to be observed, betwixt members of different tribes which acknowledge no common authority, and which have invariably a stock of unsettled disputes, are in the simplest cases, productive of infinite difficulty and vexation, and they have given rise to two-thirds of the sanguinary feuds which distract the Khond country. "A married daughter," say these Khonds, "is to any man but a rich and powerful chief who desires to form connections, and is able to make sudden and large restitutions, and to his tribe, a curse. By the death of our female infants before they are conscious of the light, the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace."

In the Report from which this painfully interesting extract has been taken, the author proceeds to detail the measures which he had been led to adopt, during the two preceding years for the abolition of this infanticidal practice, and the results which had been attained. And, considering the atrocious nature of the practice in itself, together with the awful extent to which it has prevailed for unnumbered ages, what reader of sound understanding, or correct moral sensibility, or kindly sympathy with the ills and woes of humanity, will not be eagerly desirous to learn the nature of the measures employed, and vehemently to long for and anticipate their success?

Every practising physician will tell us that by far the most difficult and important part of his art is the *Diagnosis*—the clear discrimination of the precise seat and nature of his patient's malady. For obvious it must be to the common sense of all men, that a mistake as to the essential character of the disease must produce a corresponding mistake as to the nature of the appropriate remedy—that a clear discriminating knowledge of the former is indispensable to the primary suggestion and seasonable application of the latter—and that an unsuited or inadequate remedy must only aggravate, instead of mitigating or removing, the threatening symptoms of any disorder. Thus judged and thus acted the principal assistant for Khond affairs. His *first* object always was, minutely to inspect the social malady for whose cure or removal he was expected to operate—to trace it, if possible, to its *source* or *primary seat*—to lay bare its roots—and to fix and define its originating or pre-disposing proximate causes. In the present instance, we have seen from the extract quoted, how fully and successfully he endeavoured to accomplish all this, with reference to the social leprosy of the fell practice of female infanticide. The chief causes which at least sustained, if they did not originate it, were these: A belief in its conditional injunction by the Deity: A belief that the practice conduced to the birth of male offspring: An opinion, that the destruction and bloodshed which

spring from the capricious dissolution of marriage ties by women, made the usage the less of two evils.

Such being the chief sustaining causes of the fatal disease, these will naturally suggest the distinguishing feature of the proposed remedy. Let us now attend to its leading constituent elements. These, as might be expected, will be found partly of a *general* and partly of a *specific* character. Those of the former description are such as are common to the infanticidal and the sacrificing tribes. With these, therefore, our readers must, by this time, be tolerably familiar.

The same general and fundamental conditions characterize, with minor exceptions and subordinate modifications, the state of society among all the Khond tribes, whether infanticidal, or sacrificing, or neither. It is plain, therefore, that the same general principles must govern any civilizing measures which may be applied to any of these classes or divisions. In each division equally, the peculiar genius of the people, the form and the spirit of their institutions, and their physical situation, precluding the application of the forces by which civilized power can act directly upon barbarism, appeared to indicate the general course of procedure so often alluded to. This course consists of two main branches. First, an endeavour to establish the authority of Government over each cluster of tribes, by supplying their chief social wants beneficially and acceptably to them, and above all by conferring on them the inestimable boon of *justice* and *peace*. Second, a continuous systematic attempt to obtain the complete dominion over them which is necessary to sway them to the radical changes desired in their religion and their manners, by combining with the direct authority so acquired, every form of influence which can be created by acting upon their reason, their feelings, their affections, and on the whole circle of their minor interests.

In three of the five districts, in which infanticide prevails—those of Pondacole, Gúldi and Degí, in the zemindaries of Souradah and Boradah—Captain Macpherson endeavoured by degrees to carry out this general plan. A spirit of confidence having, through the varied agencies employed, succeeded the feelings of deep apprehension and distrust which he found to prevail on his first visit,* his primary object was the establishment of authority, through the dispensation of justice. With this view he proceeded to settle questions of importance whenever it was quite certain that he could act with distinct and lasting benefit—always alive to the consideration that partial and tem-

* See Calcutta Review, No. XV. page 4.

porary measures of interference with any portion of the Khond people can produce nothing but unmixed evil, by weakening or breaking down the existing guarantees for order, without establishing others in their stead. In effecting this object he employed generally the same methods of detail, and, in part, the same agency, which he used in accomplishing the like work in Goomsur.

But, without entering into particulars, we may simply state, that, within the eighteen months previous to July, 1844, these varied operations included the settlement of a large number of questions of every class, in every part of the nearer tracts of Pondacole, and affected to a considerable extent the whole population of Gúldi and Degí. The general result may be very briefly stated. While the superior and more distant tribe of Gúldi* exhibited many favourable symptoms, "*the authority of Government was completely established in Pondacole and in Degí, and the people of these districts anxiously desired the complete extension to them of its justice and protection, as these are afforded to the tribes of Goomsur.*"

The general influence thus obtained from his acceptable dispensation of justice—the greatest of their social wants—Captain Macpherson next endeavoured to apply as an enforcement to his persuasives on the subject of abolishing the noxious practice of infanticide.

But, besides the application of this *general* influence, he resorted to every other lawful expedient of a more *specific* kind, and having a direct and distinctive bearing on the specific object contemplated. And, amongst the more special means thus employed, was the use of arguments directly opposed to the opinions and the reasonings by which the practice of infanticide was supported. Of these the following is the author's epitome :—

"With respect to these, I have held—1st, that the alleged injunction of the deity, by which the usage is justified, is, plainly, but a conditional

* The tribe of Gúldi is reported to be superior in courage, in physical strength, and in most Khond virtues, as it is in wealth, in proportion to its numbers and territory, to any other tribe with which we are acquainted.

It has never suffered a serious defeat, and not having felt our power in the Goomsur rebellion, it entertains very exaggerated ideas of its progress and importance. It is divided into two hostile parties of unequal strength. The weaker of these has sought and obtained our friendship, and is disposed to obedience, although it is not yet brought under authority.

The stronger has availed itself in some instances of our mediation, but is averse to the idea of subordination, and to that of the relinquishment of the practice of infanticide, as its sign. Upon the conduct of this fine tribe, the minds of the whole Khond population in this quarter, both the portion which practices infanticide, and that which sacrifices, is fixed; and upon its complete subjection to the will of the Government very much depends.

permission, authorising it at the utmost, only in so far and for so long, as the men of any tribe shall find themselves unequal to maintain the peace of society undisturbed through their women,—unequal, that is, to the first duties of manhood;—the admission of the necessity of the practise by these Tribes, necessarily placing them in a position of inferiority to all of mankind who are not compelled by their incapacity to do justice in questions of propriety arising out of the marriages of their daughters, to destroy them in infancy.

2nd. I have simply asserted that enquiry will prove the second alleged cause of the usage—the opinion that male births are increased by the destruction of female infants—to be unfounded.

3rd. With respect to the justification which is laid on the ground, that the destruction of infants is a less evil than that which must arise from the contests attendant on the capricious dissolution of their marriages, I have held it to be obvious, that the practice of infanticide, and the cause of those contests re-act upon each other alternately, as cause and effect. Infanticide produces a scarcity of women which raises marriage payments so high, that tribes are easily induced to contest their adjustment when dissolutions of the tie occur; while these dissolutions are plainly promoted, by that scarcity, which prevents every man from having a wife. On the cessation of infanticide, women would become abundant, and the marriage payment would become small—every man would have a wife in those districts as elsewhere; women would have less power to change, and when they did, there would be no difficulty in making the requisite adjustment of property But lastly, the Government is now about to remove entirely this ground for the practice by preventing contests about property involved in marriage contracts, by adjudicating all questions respecting it in these districts, as it does in Goomsur.

Thus the evil which infanticide is held to avert will finally cease, and with it, all pretence of justification founded on the permissive sanction of the deity."

Such arguments and considerations were addressed to the infanticidal Khonds in the same spirit as those which had been addressed to the sacrificing tribes of Goomsur. The reason and strong affections were directly appealed to—but in such a way as not unnecessarily to irritate, to offend, or to awaken any natural feeling or sentiment into uncontrollable hostility. Making the amplest allowance for their past ignorance and blind hereditary belief, he did not, in the first instance, arraign and denounce the practice which he laboured to abolish, as deliberate presumptuous sins, but rather as sins of ignorance—not as wilful crimes, but rather as deplorable errors. It was, however, eagerly admitted by all the people addressed, that if the usages which we condemned were not founded upon express ordinances of the deity or upon necessity, they were deep crimes; while the statement, that in them our own forefathers had once participated, but from them had successively been delivered, and elevated to that high position to which we now desire to raise the Khonds,—seemed always to produce a deep impression.

Eventually the chiefs of the two tribes of Pondacole and Degí, with a minority of those of Gúldi came to acknowledge the force of the arguments opposed to their opinions in support of infanticide. They appeared to feel deeply the imputation of inferiority with which the agent laboured to associate the practice as grounded upon the alleged permission of Deity. They readily admitted that the usage and the evil which it was held to avert, reacted on each other as cause and effect; and that, when the latter should be prevented by the promised extension of the justice of the Government, all necessity, if not every cause that might be alleged for the former, would cease.

Besides all these appliances, there was still another special measure to which Captain Macpherson resorted, and which resulted in effects of great importance. As it is one, the nature and propriety of which have often been misunderstood, it is proper to receive the author's own account of it. It is as follows:—

"I conceived that between a people organised on the principle of family, and patriarchally governed, amongst whom contracts between individuals are also engagements between tribes, and the important class of marriage contracts gives rise to the strongest feelings, next to those of religion, which connect society,—I conceived, that between this people and the Government a new bond of connection, involving influence of the highest value to this work, might be created through the marriage to its *chiefs* of the female wards of Government saved from sacrifice—I, accordingly, about 12 months ago, after careful preparation, bestowed 53 of those wards, Khonds and a few Panwas, in marriage upon chiefs and men of influence in Pondacole, half of Gúldi and Degi. In the operation, I subjected both the principals and their followers for a long period to the influences of which I have already spoken,—settling the disputes of all, and reasoning with all; while I at the same time exhausted every art by which I could hope to engraft ideas analogous to those of family connection, upon the existing ideas of civil connection with the Government.

The degree of influence which has been acquired through the gradual development of this measure has surpassed my expectations. Slight differences in manners and feelings respecting persons devoted as victims, rendered both parties at first averse to marriage; but an entire change of feeling on this point took place. When it was found that the bestowal of a ward of the Government denoted its favour and confidence, and was the beginning of a new and beneficial relationship to it,—that the interests of the Government followed its children undiminished into their new families and tribes, giving to these special claims to consideration,—then arose the strongest desire to obtain these wards in marriage.

I have since laboured to strengthen and multiply the ties between them, and all connected with them, and the Government, through the maintenance of regular intercourse with them, and the careful observance, as far as possible, of the forms, and the duties, and the use of the language, of the paternal relation. Thus ideas of connection and of authority, analagous to those which arise from natural affinity, have become blended in the minds of these people, to a certain extent, with their existing ideas of civil connection with the Government. Even in Gúldi, where our direct authority is not

yet established the influence arising from this quasi-family connection has produced very important results.*

The example of fifty-three heads of families who have relinquished the usage, forming a close and distinctive connection with the Government has necessarily produced a strong impression upon all; and more authority has been practically derived from this measure, directly and indirectly, than I could have hoped to acquire through the use of all other means which are available, in a very long period."

The general results of these varied measures in the two years of their operation, were the establishment in Pondacole and Degí of the authority of the Government, and of a *general and growing tendency* to relinquish the usage of infanticide. Of the tribe of Gúldi one division was disposed to acknowledge the authority of Government, and had been induced by argument, and by the pressure of the influence acquired through the marriage of the Government wards, to relinquish the practice to an important extent. Much pains were bestowed on obtaining a correct return of the female children born and preserved in Pondacole, Degí, and the partly gained half of Gúldi—shewing their tribes, branches, villages, and fathers' names, during the two last years; and the agent had the high satisfaction to state that above 170 female infants—seventy in Pondacole, forty-five in Degí, and fifty-five in Gúldi—had certainly been saved in these tracts, in that period; and that, of this number, two-thirds had been saved within the last fifteen months, through the direct and varied influences which he had brought to bear on them. And it was his decided conviction, with respect to the future, that the progress of the work would be co-extensive with the prudent and vigorous development of the measures which were then in active operation.

Here, for the present, we pause. Signal success, as we have seen, continued to crown the well directed efforts of the agent towards the abolition of the two-fold enormity—female infanticide and human sacrifice.

These successful efforts called forth, as might be anticipated, an expression of the cordial approbation and thanks of the Madras Government. Nor was the Honourable the Court of Directors behindhand on the occasion; as the following extract from a General Letter from the Court, dated 2nd April, 1845, will abundantly shew:—

"We have perused with much interest the further reports submitted by Captain Macpherson of the measures which he has adopted with so much success for the suppression of the practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide amongst the Khond tribes. The judgment and energy which

* Fifty five infants have there been saved.

characterize his benevolent efforts, warrant us in the confident expectation that he will at no distant period succeed in altogether banishing these barbarous rites from the tracts under our control; the more especially as they will be no longer obstructed by the adverse influence exercised by Sam Bisaye, whose removal from office, as well as that of the more active members of his family, appears to have been a measure absolutely required and justly merited.

We approve generally of the measures which have been sanctioned by your Government, and with respect to those which you have referred for the decision of the Government of India; such as the extension of the authority of the Khond agent over certain of the Hill zemindaries, and the placing all the Khond tribes, whether within your own presidency or in the neighbouring district of Bengal, under the authority of the same officer."

The sphere, as we have already seen, within which Captain Macpherson had reaped the fruits of his skilful and indefatigable labours, was hitherto comparatively limited; and the great object was to extend those measures, of which experience had proved the applicability and the effectiveness, to all the surrounding Khond territories But as these lay within the two separate presidencies of Madras and Bengal, and were parcelled out under different local jurisdictions, an act of the Supreme Legislature was required to sever them from existing relationships and place them unitedly under one paramount authority. Partly on account of health, and partly in order to assist in the concoction and expedite the passing of such an act, Captain Macpherson, in the month of October, 1844, came to Calcutta, leaving the agency in charge of his head-assistant, Dr. Cadenhead,—a gentleman who was thoroughly conversant with the views and plans of his superior, and pre-eminently endowed with every requisite qualification of head and heart to watch and direct their progress.

On reaching Calcutta, the agent was naturally very anxious to secure the passing of an enactment, in time to enable him to return, armed with the necessary powers, to the scene of active operation, during the ensuing cold season. But unexpected causes of hindrance and delay, in strange and bewildering succession, were found to interpose in the way of such a consummation. Of these we do not care now to speak. The explication of them may well be reserved for another opportunity. Suffice it to say that, at length, towards the latter part of the following year, the required legislative act was really passed, by which the Khond territories were segregated, unitized, and collectively placed under Captain Macpherson's jurisdiction and control. About the close of 1845, he was enabled to return to his favourite work, and at once, in virtue of his enlarged authority, commenced an aggressive movement on the principality of Boad on the Mahanuddi river, in the Bengal presidency. Now,

however, the incalculable evils which had sprung from the long delay in passing the legislative act, too plainly manifested themselves on every side. The gained party of the abolitionists had been greatly disheartened; while that of the anti-abolitionists had risen in courage. The procrastination had proved too severe a strain to the patience and resolution of the former; it served mightily to cheer and embolden the latter. Despondency had begun to seize and paralyse the ranks of the one; hope, buoyant with the opening prospects of success, visibly animated the other with the glow of an unwonted exultation. The real and happy crisis for striking a decisive blow was undoubtedly at the close of 1844. Then, every thing was favourable. The success of the agent was great and notorious. Those friendly to his measures were consequently inspired with confidence; while the energies of all who were inimical were correspondingly depressed. With the *prestige* of success in his favour, the tide was rising and the breeze freshening; and had he only been enabled then to float the vessel of his abolitionary and remedial measures freely over the surface of Khondistan, he might, after circum-navigating the whole, have only to report on the varied fruits and felicities of a thoroughly successive voyage.

> "There is a tide in the affairs of man,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Neglected,—all the voyage of his life,
> Is bound in shallows."

But though, in consequence of the long delay, the difficulties now thrown in the way of the agent, were vastly increased, the cause was not for a moment regarded by him as hopeless, nor the mischief irretrievable. Accordingly, he entered on his chosen task, with his accustomed energy and zeal—determined to grapple with and demolish every interposing obstacle, by the variously adapted application of the same means which had heretofore cleared for him a highway to the goal of triumph. Nor were his calculations falsified. Amid obstructions the most intricate and interminable he soon began to make decided progress. And had he been left to pursue his own measures unmolested, there is scarcely any reasonable ground for doubt that long ere now the horrid rites of female infanticide and human sacrifice would have been abolished throughout the larger portion of the Khond territories. But, in an evil hour, a small Irish-Boulah-like rebellion broke out in a remote district, *wholly unconnected with the agent's abolitionary measures*—its sole object being to set up, as a Rajah, some member of the petty royal family of Goomsur which had

been formally deposed after the recent Goomsur war, and its territory annexed to the Honourable Company's dominions. Even this miserable miniature of a rebellion, Captain Macpherson, if properly seconded, would have easily and promptly quashed. But unhappily, it came to be magnified at a distance in so disproportionate a degree, that it was deemed necessary to send General Dyce with an army to quell it. And, still more unhappily, it came to pass that the said General, on his arrival in Goomsur, utterly mistaking the *real spirit and intention* of his commission, began, officiously, gratuitously, and arbitrarily, to intermeddle with matters which in no way whatever belonged to him. His sole and exclusive vocation, was, to put down "the tempest in a tea-pot" rebellion. But, in his total ignorance of Khond affairs, he somehow or other, took it into his head to imagine that there was some causative connection between the said rebellion and the operations of the Khond agency. And though with the latter he had nothing conceivable to do, he took it upon himself, not only unwarrantably to assume a directive control over the agency, but actually, in a way the most summary, insulting and despotic, to order it, without any inquiry and in disgrace, out of the country—as if it had been tried and convicted of felonious or highly aggravated criminal offences! Nor did the gratuitous indignity end even here In order, it may be supposed, to justify so indefensible and unheard-of a procedure, the General followed up his monstrous decree of banishment, by a string of *alleged* charges against the agency—on the principle, it may be surmised, of what is popularly known in Scotland under the designation of "*Cupar justice*;" which simply consists in hanging the accused first and trying them afterwards!

Conscious of his own integrity and innocence, the Agent promptly challenged, or rather respectfully demanded, the most searching inquiry on the spot. To this respectful and reasonable demand, the Supreme Government, much to its honor and credit, instantly responded. And to prove its sincerity in desiring that the inquiry should be no mere sham, or piece of official formalism, one of the ablest and most practised members of the Civil Service, Mr. J. P. Grant, late commissioner in the Mysore, was appointed to conduct it. About the time when this appointment took place, we were led to remark,* that, as regarded "*the result of the inquiry on its more immediate bearing on the official credit, conduct and character of the Agent, we knew no valid ground for fear or misgiving.*" Such a favourable judg-

* See Calcutta Review, No XV. page 49.

ment we were led confidently to anticipate, solely from our previous acquaintance with the skilful and judicious proceedings of the Agent, and a consequently intense persuasion that the *alleged gross exaggerations, but absolutely unfounded and calumnious libels*—the sheer inventions of some malicious and interested parties, who must have imposed on the General's profound ignorance and all-devouring credulity. And it now affords us no ordinary satisfaction to be enabled authoritatively to report, that,—after a twelve month's investigation of the most searching character, conducted throughout on the part of the commissioner with consummate ability, and the drawing up of reports on each of the alleged charges, extending, in the aggregate, to about *two thousand five hundred* folio pages,—the deliberate verdict of the Supreme Government has been, *not merely one of bare acquittal, but in most cases* of TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION. This vindication extended equally to Dr. Cadenhead, and Lieut. Pinkney, who also had been calumniated.*

With respect to the Agent personally, his honored assistants, this is so far well. If it is not all which his warmest friends could possibly wish for; it is beyond what most of them, alive to the host of difficulties arrayed against him, could hopefully expect. It cannot fail to cover his enemies with the confusion and disgrace which their ill-omened counsels and machinations have retributively entailed. But, however vexatious to a man of rectitude and honor, the charges which had been so wantonly and cruelly preferred against him, and however gratifying to his own feelings the signal victory which he has eventually gained;—we have reason to know that his vexation and regret were greater

* The vindication would have been still more complete, had the Commissioner been enabled to extend his inquiries, not merely to those matters which bore more immediately on the calumnious charges, but also to *the whole character and working of the Agent's policy*. By this *limitation* of the inquiry, nothing like full or proper justice has yet been done to Captain Macpherson. To render it even now, is, we venture to say, a duty which the Supreme Government owes to itself, not less than to the character of a greatly injured public officer. But if unhappily withheld by the Government now, the day is assuredly coming, when, on the whole facts of the case being made public, the Agent will have his full reward in the approval and sympathy of the world at large. In the mean while, it affords us pleasure to add, that, as the result of acquittal from offences so wantonly and outrageously imputed, and as a proof of the undiminished confidence of Government, Dr. Cadenhead immediately obtained a staff appointment in the South-West Agency; and we have reason to know that the Government would in like manner have shewn its practical adoption of the truths established by the inquiry, by employing Capt. Macpherson in the political department, in a position suited to his standing had he not been compelled by illness to return for a time to Europe,—his health having been shattered and his life all but sacrificed by his devotion to a great philanthropic undertaking in a deadly climate. It is understood, however, that when he shall again be able to encounter the fatigues of Indian service, his high and acknowledged claims upon the justice of the Government will not be overlooked.

still, on account of the sudden abrupt and mischievous suspension of all his abolitionary labours,—and that the joy at his own deliverance from the meshes of his foes, has been not only tempered but almost congealed into icy coldness, by heartfelt sorrow at the violent upturning of all his plans and measures—plans and measures so fraught with golden promise—and the consequent indefinite postponement of those splendid results to the cause of civilization and humanity, which were on the very eve of emanating from them, in the form of ripe and mellow fruit. The melancholy doings of the last two years have of course served to upheave, disarrange and complicate all previously existing relationships. But, our hope is, that the time may yet come, when the Supreme Government, untiringly bent on this philanthropic enterprize, shall be enabled to call on Captain Macpherson, with his able co-adjutor Dr. Cadenhead, to proceed to Khondistan, and there complete the great work which he so nobly begun, and for the furtherance of which he has given indisputable evidence of possessing peculiar qualifications, alike in the way of knowledge, aptitude, and experience, beyond all other men, living or dead. And if it should ever be his destiny to set out anew on a mission, on the prosecution of which he has already, a hundred times over, perilled his very life, without being in any way daunted or dismayed, and on which, therefore, he would doubtless be still ready to enter, with undiminished alacrity and zeal,—we trust that he may, from the outset, be invested with all but unlimited discretionary powers. The forms and technicalities of British law, with all the tedious crossings and delays which these indissolubly involve, are utterly and preposterously inapplicable to so rude and barbarous a state of Society as that which prevails in Khondistan. There, *personal* influence, unmistakable sympathy with the people, patience and forbearance towards them even in their frivolities and follies, together with a clear manifestation of the spirit of justice, kindliness, conciliation and charity, —can alone do every thing. And in all dealings of every description, simplicity, directness and promptitude of inquiry and decision, can alone be intelligible to their unexercised minds, and alone influential for the accomplishment of good. What could Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, have done towards obtaining a paramount influence over the Dyaks of Borneo, had he been hampered and hemmed in on every side by the technicalities of British law, and liable at every step to have the *formality* of his proceedings canvassed and called in question by British judges? A really able and trustworthy Commissioner to the Khonds should be virtually as free and

unembarassed in his actings and movements, as the Rajah of Sarawak in his primordial dealings with the barbarous Dyaks.

Before concluding, we may as well remark, that the only part of Captain Macpherson's proceedings during the period embraced in this article, to which, in any quarter, any exception has ever been taken, is that which relates to the disposal of *a portion* of the rescued *female* victims in marriage to the Khond chiefs. The gist of the objection, so far as we can understand it, seems to lie in this—that, whereas these victims do become, by right of their delivery from a violent death, the wards by a Christian Government, that Government ought to retain, cherish and educate them, not merely in the elements of general knowledge, but in the principles of the Christian faith, instead of allotting them for wives to men who are still Heathen.

It is worth while to pause a little and coolly consider this objection in its various lights and bearings.

No one can question the uprightness and benevolence of the agent's *motives* in suggesting and partially carrying out this arrangement; nor the pre-eminent excellence of the *great end* contemplated, which was *to prevent the shedding of innocent blood—to save the lives of hundreds now, and of thousands of thousands in the generations that are to come!* Still, if any of *the means*, proposed or adopted for the accomplishment of this noble and praiseworthy end, could be proved to be intrinsically and indisputably sinful or wrong, we should, with all our "might and main," denounce the employment of such means as utterly unwarranted in the eye of reason, of conscience, and of revelation. That "the end justifies the means" is one of the most pestilent dogmata that ever emanated from the bottomless pit. "To do evil," on the pretext, "that good may come" is a course of procedure laid under the special anathema of Heaven itself; and well it may,—since it is a course, which, in such a world of ignorance, superstition, selfishness, and sin, would soon produce a state of things that could not fail to glut even the ravenous appetite of "the Anarch old," whose delight and gain consisted in "tumult and discord and confusion," in "havoc and spoil and ruin." No, no: if we cannot bring to pass what we conceive to be a good and desirable end, except by the employment of morally wrongful means,—instead of resorting to such means, we ought at once to conclude, either that the time had not yet come for the accomplishment of the end in view, or that we were not the parties ordained, in the overruling providence of God, for the honour and privilege of achieving it.

The simple question then arises;—cheerfully admitting the

excellence of the *end* designed by Captain Macpherson, was that part of the *means* employed, which consisted in giving the Government wards in marriage to Khond chiefs, morally right and justifiable? Let us calmly view the subject in its various bearings and relationships.

The Meriah victims rescued by the Government agent must have been either feloniously stolen from their parents, or unnaturally sold by them, as in the lamentable case already recorded;* or destitute orphans, or poor abandoned outcasts without a friend. If they belonged to the *first* of these classes, the plain and obvious dictate of reason and humanity would be, to find out the surviving parents, if at all possible, and restore to them their stolen offspring. If the poor victims belonged to the *second* of these classes, it might be a question, how far the Government would be justifiable in restoring children to parents, who, by the supposition, had virtually forfeited all parental rights, by monstrously violating all parental obligations. At all events, it is not without the most rigorous and binding covenants that such restoration could even be contemplated. But should the parents or friends of the rescued victims be no more discoverable; or should these be found to belong to the two last classes above specified,—in all such cases they plainly become the wards of the Government that interposed for their deliverance from a cruel death.

The question next arises,—what is the Government to do with *such* victims? How is it to dispose of them?

We must next regard these as consisting of *two* classes—those that have reached *years of maturity*, years of discretion, or in a loose sense, what is called, the *marriagble* or *legal* age—and those that have *not*. Those that have *not* reached this age are *children*. What is the Government to do with them? Plainly, the Government which stands providentially to them, *in loco parentis*, ought to train them up for future usefulness—in other words, ought to provide for them the means of a sound education. And the Government itself being Christian, it ought, beyond all question, carefully to initiate these, its own youthful helpless wards, in the reviving, subduing, and soul-elevating principles of the Christian faith. To such a line of procedure, many, we are aware, even of those who bear the Christian name have strangely objected. Either, say they, bestow on them an exclusively secular education, or, if religion be taught at all, let them be handed over for instruction to the priests of the faith to which their parents must have belonged—

* See Calcutta Review, No. XI. page 53—56.

whether Hindu, Mahommedan, or Khond. The principle involved in such objection, and such surrender and transference of acquired providential right, we must utterly repel and repudiate. Religion is, or ought to be, the transaction of the soul with God, its Creator and Preserver, Governor and Judge. No child therefore can possess an imprescriptible right to inherit the religion of its parents, *merely because it happens to be theirs;* in the same way as human law, founded on dictates of nature, may confer an absolute and exclusive right on the child to inherit the material property of deceased parents, *merely because it was theirs.* Parents, of course, may, according to human law, under solemn responsibility to the great God, initiate their children into their own ancestral faith, or into any other, of which they may better approve. And if the parents are dead, or if they cruelly abandon their own offspring, their rights naturally devolve on those who become the preservers, the guides and the guardians of the children. Such guardians, therefore, are entitled, under responsibility to God, to exercise the parental right, not only of bestowing upon their wards the advantages of general knowledge, but of indoctrinating them in the principles of that faith which they themselves conscientiously embrace and uphold. In the case of a Christian Government, that faith is Christianity.

As this is a subject of great practical importance we may refer to certain home proceedings from which the *principle* we advocate received a remarkable confirmation. In London, Edinburgh, and other great towns in England and Scotland, the attention of the public had been powerfully directed to the fearful condition of out-cast children, who,—nurtured in the hot bed of vice, profligacy, ignorance, and want,—grow up to become the scourges of society—replenishing its jails, penitentiaries and hulks—and terminating their wretched existence on scaffolds, or in foreign penal settlements. Considerable efforts have, in consequence, been put forth to rescue these degraded out-casts from infamy and ruin, and to train them up to usefulness and decency. Then arose the "vexed" question as to the *kind* of religious training which they ought to receive. The parents might have had no religion at all of their own; or they may have nominally belonged to different persuasions. Many were doubtless Romanists. Then started up in certain quarters the Romish priesthood, claiming a right to the possession of such children, with the view of rearing them in the dogmas, ceremonies and superstitions of their own system. In Edinburgh, in the month of June 1847, a public meeting of the inhabitants was summoned by the Lord Provost, on a

requisition signed by Lords Abercrombie, Murray, Jeffrey, and other influential persons, for the express purpose of considering this subject in connection with the recently established "Ragged school." On that occasion, the Rev. Mr. Guthrie, of the Free Church of Scotland,—to the pleadings of whose eloquent pamphlet, noticed with such èclat in the June number (1847) of the *Edinburgh Review* the school had owed its origin,—is reported to have thus spoken :—

"The truth is that they (the ragged children) are nothing at all—perfect out-casts,—neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics; and it is in that light and character that I would look at them here. What is my position, then, in regard to those out-cast children? I deny the right of the priesthood—I deny it before God and man—I deny the right of any man, be he parson, or priest, or clerk, or whatever he choose, to stand between a perishing sinner and God's word. Mark how I stand; I say that the responsibility of the religious upbringing of the child lies upon the parent; and if there be no parent that will act a parent's part—if the parent be a worthless, profligate, wicked, cruel, monstrous mother, on whom does the responsibility next lie? I join issue with the Catholic. He says that it lies with the priest; I say it lies upon the good Samaritan who acts the parent's part. I say that it neither lies with the priest nor the Levite that passed by on the other side. *It lies with the man who resolves by the strength of his own exertions, to save the poor outcast child.* I shall never forgive myself in this world that I did not save a child from ruin once. When there was no ragged school, what could I have done? I would have brought it, a homeless, helpless out-cast, to my own house, and before God and man, I would have felt myself bound to give it the Bible I give to my own children. What is a ragged school but a gatherer of such miserable out-casts? *They are cast upon my care,—they become a sharer of my humanity and of my Christianity. What difference is it to me, whether I save a poor child from the wreck of society or from the wreck of the sea?* I would like to know the difference. It were a mercy to some of them that they perished in the wreck of the sea, rather than in the wreck of society. Let the meeting put the case: I strip myself and plunging head-long into the billows, buffet them with a strong arm till I reach the wreck. I take a boy that has hung to it; I bear him to the shore; I take him home through the crowd who watched my rising and falling head, and blessed me with their prayers. Forth steps a Roman Catholic priest, and forsooth, because you ship contains a number of Irish emigrants, he claims the prey of my humanity—the boy that clings to his preserver's side,—he would take him away and bring him up in what I think dangerous error. Now I have two answers to give to this demand. My first is, *I saved the boy.* The hand that plucked him from the wreck is the hand that will guide him to heaven; my second answer is, *to point him to the wreck where there are others perishing.* I tell him to strip like me, and to save those that are perishing there. I have heard a story of a man who had a little ewe lamb, which ate of his bread and drunk of his cup, and lay in his bosom, and was like a little daughter unto him; and I say, if I adopt any poor, perishing, homeless, helpless out-cast—that out-cast is my little ewe lamb, and, with God's help, I will resist the man that would take it from me."

The soundness of *the principle,* here so strikingly illustrated,

was enthusiastically and all but unanimously approved, by one of the most numerous and intelligent popular assemblies that could be found in Christendom—there being literally but *five* individuals present, to express a feeble hesitating dissent from the strong and clear convictions of the overwhelming majority. But apart altogether from such a striking corroboration of it, we have always considered the principle itself to be one whose soundness could never be competently disputed or called in question. A Christian Government, therefore, which generously interposes its authority, while it grudges not to lavish a fair proportion of its resources, in the attempt to rescue poor hapless unoffending out-cast children from a death of unparalleled cruelty, plainly acquires towards them all the parental rights of guidance and of guardianship, and consequently the right of training them up in that religion which itself professes as the only true and saving faith.

But there is still another class of rescued victims, namely, the class, which, in a loose sense, may be said to have reached the *marriagable* or *legal* age. What is to be done with them? How are they to be disposed of? During the period of infancy, pupilage, or non-age, the right of control on the part of parents and guardians, is, in all things lawful, altogether absolute. But when children arrive at the age of puberty or majority, they are plainly entitled to assume the responsibility of their own conduct; in which case, both the responsibility and the right of parents and guardians wholly cease. Earnest counsel may still be given, and salutary influence exerted, and all manner of means employed for the promotion of their welfare; but the exercise of absolute authority is clearly at an end. And what holds true of the rights and duties of parents and guardians generally, holds equally true of the rights and duties of the British Government, with reference to its wards—the rescued Meriah victims.

Now, it affords us very sincere pleasure to be enabled authoritatively to state that the conduct of Captain Macpherson, and the Government of which he was the accredited agent, in the disposal of these hapless persons, whether old or young, male or female, was very much in accordance with the incontrovertible principles of rectitude involved in the preceding general considerations.

The victims of both sexes, who had been *stolen* from parents that could be discovered, were, in every such instance, restored to their families. Those whom their unnatural parents had sold, were not, save in one or two very special excepted cases, restored to them, because it was all but certain that they would sell them again.

The males under age, whose parents or natural guardians could not be discovered, and who consequently remained under the sole tutelage of Government, were variously disposed of in such ways as promised most for their benefit. In the year 1843, and subsequently, when Captain Macpherson acted as head assistant to the Governor's agent, Ganjam, he gave of those children to all the Christian House-holders, whether European or East Indian, who offered and engaged to support and bring them up usefully until they could maintain themselves. Of the rest, for reasons unknown to us, he gave a few for *bona fide adoption* by Mussulmans whom he knew to be men of substance and good character. In this mode of distributing a portion of them, he acted according to the rule which he found in existence, of giving only one victim to each individual applicant.

Mr. Sutton of Cuttack having applied for a large number (150) of victims, Captain Macpherson transmitted his application to his own superior, Mr. Bannerman, who alone could warrantably deal with it. On Mr. Bannerman's leaving the district early in 1844, and Captain Macpherson's assuming temporary charge of his office, the latter found that nothing had been done in the matter of Mr. Sutton's application. He then at once addressed the Madras Government, proposing that it should empower him, *to distribute the victims in considerable numbers amongst the several Missionary and charitable institutions, that would engage to support, train and educate* them—giving to each institution according to its apparent means of making effectual and permanent provision for them. Before receiving any reply to this communication and under the direct instruction of Mr. Anstruther, who soon succeeded Mr. Bannerman, as acting agent, he gave some eight or ten boys into the charge of the Military Chaplain at Vizagapatam, who made them over to a Missionary there, from whom they effected their escape back to Captain Macpherson, a few months after; when, with the Chaplain's consent, they were delivered to the Baptist Missionaries at Berhampore.

At last, the Madras Government wrote, in reply to the letter of the beginning of 1844, that its desire was, that such of the victims as were not otherwise already provided for, should, if possible, be re-united, if not to their families, at least to their tribes or race; and directed Captain Macpherson to report if this could be accomplished. In reply, he stated, that they might be ingrafted on the low country Khonds by settling them in their villages, and setting them up, each with a plough, and a pair of bullocks, and a year's seed, with a grant of a piece of jungle land. The Government adopted this proposal, and sanc-

tioned the expenditure of *fifteen* rupees a victim, which its execution would entail. Before, however, the plan could be fully carried out, Captain Macpherson was compelled by ill health to leave the district. But it is specially worthy of note, that throughout the whole time, a *school-master* was employed by him to teach the boys to read and write Uriya—the language already spoken by some, and more or less understood by the majority of them, and the only one containing any ready made books; and this the agent found, by occasional examination, that they were very fairly taught. The females were also employed in spinning thread; but the results of their labours in this department did not amount to any thing very considerable.

As to *adults*, or those who had reached the age of puberty, they were variously disposed of, under sundry checks and guarantees for their welfare. Young men became servants or apprentices, or were set up as petty farmers, in the manner already indicated. Of the rescued *females* all, with a very few exceptions, were of marriagable age or just approaching to it. Many of them were married to male victims and to persons of inferior caste in the low country, receiving small dowries of ten or twelve rupees from the Government. Of the rest, four-fifths were married to Khonds of substance and influence in the infanticidal tribes; and arrangements were made for a like disposal of the remainder;—all, all, under the strongest securities for proper treatment and adequate provision—any failure or short-coming in the stipulated contracts or engagements being fore-ordained as sure to incur the serious displeasure of the Sirkar, or supreme Sovereign Power.

Here, however, it is proper to remark that it would not be doing full justice to Captain Macpherson merely to say, that he distinctly contemplated the educational training of such of the rescued victims as were under age and capable of benefitting by scholastic instruction. His design was greatly more expansive than this. His fixed purpose was, as early as possible, to carry *education into the hills*—his great object being, through the moral and religious advancement of the Khonds, by educating them, to complete and render permanent the change in their ancestral faith and usages, which he had first brought about through personal, social and political means. While he was in Calcutta in 1845, he repeatedly wrote to his chief assistant, Dr. Cadenhead, expressing his great anxiety that some measures should be adopted as speedily as possible to attempt to establish *Schools on the Hills*. To effect this, the first thing to be done, was, to reduce the Khond language to writing and exactness, in order that it might be properly taught to the persons who

should be fit to undertake the office of schoolmasters, so that they, in their turn, might be duly qualified to communicate with their pupils. Towards the end of 1845, therefore, Dr. Cadenhead began the acquisition of the Khond language—but had been able to make comparatively slow progress from the numerous demands upon his time and attention. The increasing difficulties in the agency compelled him again and again, temporarily to suspend his labors in the matter. Nevertheless he persevered; and eventually he succeeded in collecting and writing out in the Uriya character, an account of the manner in which the Meriah rite is performed, and of its origin—as nearly as possible in the words of the religious songs or hymns which are chaunted at the time of the sacrifice by the parties engaged in its performance; an account of the origin of a feud between two tribes and of the sacrifices and ceremonies to the God of War on the commencement of hostilities—of the battles—and of the return to peace; an account to the Khond view of the creation of man; an account of the Khond reasons why men, but not animals, are doomed to labor; four purely Khond fables, and two fables translated from the Uriya. All these, extending to about fifty closely written foolscap pages in the Uriya character, are translated word for word into Uriya—each Uriya word being placed exactly underneath the corresponding Khond word, after the Hamiltonian interlinear style. Dr. Cadenhead is now in a position to translate these pieces into English, word for word, in a few weeks, and to complete an already half finished grammar from them. He has also written out a short Vocabulary of a few hundred words, not included in the above accounts, songs and legends,—a vocabulary, which could have been enlarged at pleasure. The intention was, on the language being thoroughly mastered, to translate interesting pieces which convey general information, with moral and religious extracts from the Bible and other approved books, adapted to the capacity and religious position of the people; and when qualified teachers were raised up, to proceed to the establishment of schools at suitable points in the Hills, in which the Uriya and Khond languages would be taught through these translations. It was also intended to teach as much arithmetic and other branches as might seem necessary. Of course these arrangements were considered merely as pioneering operations—tending to pave the way for the more efficient and systematic labours of those, whose more peculiar vocation it is to bestow the inestimable blessings of a liberal and comprehensive Christian education.

Surely this statement of the laborious preparatory efforts and enlightened *designs* of Captain Macpherson and Dr. Cadenhead

can scarcely fail to exalt them in the estimation of all right-hearted men; while they cannot but serve immeasurably to enhance our regret at the cruel arrest which, for a time, has been laid on the progress of these extended philanthropic schemes. In the meanwhile, we trust that the Government of India will not lose a day in obtaining and publishing so singular a collection of Khond Literature, as that which is now in the sole possession of its truly meritorious and indefatigable author—Dr. Cadenhead. That the Government is not blind to the importance of reducing the Khond language to a written and grammatical form, is undoubted. Of its due appreciation of this object it has given the most positive proof. Some time ago, as we have been credibly informed, an officer on the South West frontier applied for leave to devote himself exclusively, for a certain definite period, to the task of collecting and arranging Khond vocables and phrases, which might form the materials for Dictionaries and Grammars of that hitherto unknown tongue. His work not having been satisfactorily completed within the prescribed time, he asked for, and, if we mistake not, obtained a farther extension of his leave. Here, then, is the Government giving ample proof of its sense of the unquestionable utility of the object by sanctioning a special agency, at a considerable expense, for its accomplishment. But, before the institution of this new and expensive agency at all, that very object had been already voluntarily undertaken and virtually accomplished, free of all expense, by Dr. Cadenhead and his assistants. How it came to pass, that, before burdening the state exchequer with the needless cost of the more recent agency, it did not occur to the responsible authorities to inquire, what progress, or whether any, had been made by Captain Macpherson and his co-adjutors in the acquisition of the Khond language, it is not in our power adequately to explain.

Before finally concluding these statements, which have unexpectedly extended on our hands, we would fain endeavour once more to draw attention to the *enormous waste of human life* in Khondistan, from the two-fold atrocity of *human sacrifice* and *female infanticide*; in order that the abolitionary efforts of our Government and its agents may be better appreciated. On the singular and unparalleled horrors of the *former*, by which every year *three* or *four hundred* of innocent human beings are savagely torn in pieces, we have heretofore expatiated.* And now we would implore our readers to realize, if they can, the *extent* of suffering and loss of life, from the equally abhorrent

* See Calcutta Review, No. IX. p. 59-63.

practice of *female infanticide*. By minute inquiries on the spot, during the agent's first visit, it was ascertained, that, "at the lowest estimate, *above one thousand female children* must have been destroyed annually in the *three* districts of Pondacole, Gulodye and Bori alone!" And subsequent enquiries, as we have seen, instead of diminishing, tended only to augment this aggregate.

What a shocking picture of humanity have we here! What a prodigious waste of innocent life at the very dawn of being—and that too, within so limited a space!—a waste, the extent of which it is difficult for imagination itself adequately to realize! Talk of famine, with its biting hunger and sinking leanness—of pestilence, with its raging virulence of disease—of war, with its horrid devastations:—and who will not mourn over the wreck and the ruin which ever mark the train of these ruthless destroyers? But these monster evils are, in their visitations, comparatively rare, and in their causes, comparatively intelligible. The sinful negligence of a people, or the aggravated misdeeds of their rulers, may, under a righteous overruling providence, at length evoke the judgments of high retributive justice, in the frightful forms of famine and its grim attendant pestilence. The uncontrolled lust of plunder, or power or fame, may fire the breast of the savage conqueror with matchless and destructive energy—hurrying him along, with the impetuosity and speed of a resistless hurricane—and impelling him unconsciously to fulfil his fatal destiny as "the scourge of God" to the guilty nations. In this way, famine has numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. During the year that has now gone by, it is said, directly and indirectly, to have diminished the population of Ireland by two millions; but never before have we read or heard of such a famine in that unhappy land. Pestilence or the plague has numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. But of really great, universal, or œcumenical plagues, authentic history records but four,—that vulgarly designated "the plague of Athens," merely because of the intensity and extent of its prevalence in that devoted city—and those still more spreading and destructive ones which so memorably signalized the third, the sixth and the fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. War, whether of plunder or of conquest, has also numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. Who can reckon up the hecatombs of "untimely slain" that were strewn in the rear of Tamerlane's earthquake invasions? But in the records of Asiatic ambition and Asiatic crime, we read but of one Tamerlane. In the terrific wars of Napoleon, it has been calculated that upwards of two millions must have perished in battle, siege, conflagration or disastrous flight. But since the

days of Alaric the Goth, Genseric, the Vandal, and Attila the Hun, there has been but one Napoleon to scourge the European nations. From these appalling tragedies, enacted on the public stage of this world's history, we next turn to a region and a people, heretofore unheard of in "story or in song"—to the sequestered glens and smiling valleys of Khondistan, with their aboriginal races of rude but unsophisticated men. And what do our eyes behold? Spectacles, intrinsically not less appalling, though vastly more inexplicable, than those at whose portentous magnitude we have now been taking a cursory glance—spectacles, of unmitigated cruelty, bloodshed, and death! Fixing our gaze on the present, and seeing in it only the sensible type of the past, which ascends upwards, till, like the "Fame" of Virgil, it muffles its head in the clouds and obscurities of an undated antiquity,—we have presented to our view, crowds, yea, literally, myriads or rather millions, of hapless beings perishing before their time!—perishing, not from famine, or pestilence, or red-stained war—the ordinary rods that are wielded for the chastisement of a sinful rebellious world,—but perishing, as the trophy-victims of fatally erroneous opinions! *There*, as the result of one class of errors, we find hundreds of adults systematically reared for the slaughter—hundreds annually offered, with savage brutality, as propitiations to an imaginary but sanguinary deity. And as the practice has prevailed from time immemorial, it must now reckon up its victims by myriads of myriads! *There*, again, as the result of another class of errors, alike pestiferous, we find hundreds of unoffending innocents annually massacred by the hands of those who instrumentally gave them being; and who, therefore, were bound by every obligation, human and divine, to feed, nourish, and cherish them. And as this practice also has existed from the earliest periods, it, too, must reckon up its victims by myriads of myriads. What a frightful conclusion, then, are we compelled to arrive at! Looking at a single obscure and narrow nook of this mighty land, we find two revolting practices in busy and constant operation, which furnish an ascertained annual average of about *fifteen hundred* victims, barbarously slain. And this annual average, calculated only from the commencement of the Christian era, supplies the amazing aggregate of *nearly three millions!*—three millions, thus mercilessly swept away from the stage of time, by the inexorable requirements of a sanguinary superstition or mistaken honor;—when, all the while, high heaven has been jubilant with choral songs of "peace on earth and good will to the children of men!" Would that, with reference to the hydra-headed tyrannies of Khondistan, and every other

region of this magnificent empire, we could warrantably adopt, in all its plenitude, the glowing language of the poet, and with him exultingly exclaim :—

"'Tis past. Too long oppression's tyrant race
Have ground her children with their iron mace !
Too long has silence heard her whisper'd fears,
And glens impervious drank her flowing tears !
'Tis past. Her bosom stung with conscious shame,
Awaken'd Albion re-asserts her fame ;
Inclines in pity to a groaning land,
Wrests the foul sceptre from the spoiler's hand ;
And greatly lavish in the glorious cause,
Grants with her JONES, her science and her laws.
But chief Religion, venerable maid,
Raptured repairs where first her footsteps stray'd,
When down to earth she came, an angel guest ;
And man, yet pure, her genial presence blest.
On guilt's dark brow her glittering cross appears,
His sullied cheek is wash'd with pious tears ;
And Ganges, hallow'd still for holier ends,
Death-stream no more, his wave baptismal lends.
E'en now from yonder strand I see them move,
The mild evangelists of peace and love ;
And bear (strange merchandise,) to Asia's shore
The gospel's bright imperishable ore :
Unsold to deal its unbought wealth, their plan ;
Their traffic, to redeem the soul of man.
Her banner'd cross victorious Albion waves,
Beneath that symbol strikes, beneath that symbol saves.
O beauteous queen ! O dear-loved mother-isle !
Thine is each gallant aim, each gen'rous toil.
For thee, while fame her wreath of am'ranth twines,
And with her palm thy native oak combines,
The succour'd orphan lisps his little prayer,
And the slave's shackles crumble in thine air.
Hold then thy high career. Be this thy art,
Not to corrupt, but meliorate the heart :
Where'er mankind in Gentile darkness lie,
Instruction's blessed radiance to supply ;
O'er the oppress'd soft mercy's dews to shed,
And crush with ruin the oppressor's head.
O haste your tardy coming, days of gold,
Long by prophetic minstrelsy foretold !
Where yon bright purple streaks the orient skies,
Rise Science, Freedom, Peace, Religion, rise !
Till, from Tanjore, to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bask the glowing land ;
And, (Brahma from his guilty greatness hurl'd
With Mecca's, Lord) MESSIAH rule the world ! "

ART. II.—*The History of the British Empire in India. By Edward Thornton, Esq., author of India, its state and prospects.*

"YOUR Homer," said Bentley to Pope when reminded of his obligation to take a copy of the little poet's famous work, "oh! yes, I remember, a very pretty poem, but you must not call it Homer." An exactly similar conviction has impressed itself on our mind after a perusal of the work we have prefixed to the present paper. Mr. Thornton has given us a very pretty narrative, but we must not call it History.

Mr. Thornton's work has now been before the public, in part, if not entirely, for seven years: he has been reviewed, quoted, and expounded in various quarterly, weekly and daily publications at home: his strictures on the Indian press and his narrative of the Auckland and Ellenborough administrations have been made the subject of a separate paper in No. IX. of this Review. He has also been called to account for his neglect of Lord William Bentinck. Mr. Impey in breaking a lance with him has presented us with the spectacle of a son nobly doing battle for a deceased parent's memory, and has enlisted, if not our entire approval, at least a great measure of our warm and hearty sympathy in his behalf: in short, Mr. Thornton has received that measure of attention which in the case of less elaborate or important publications would render superfluous all further notice from us.

Some preliminary explanation is therefore necessary for thus taking up a subject which has so long been before the public. Voluminous Histories of India are not to be placed on the same shelf with Mr. Hutton's imaginative tour in the East, or with the pleasantly written but somewhat flippant "Letters from Madras." They are intended for a second or even third perusal and for frequent reference: and the present work, coming from a person of Mr. Thornton's capacity, and stamped with the Court's approval, who have, we understand, presented a copy of it to every member of the Civil Service—may yet fairly claim some portion of our time, while we endeavour to show how the History of the British Empire in India should be written, and in what respects Mr. Thornton has gone wide of the mark.

The critic may be permitted to consider Mill's well known paradox on the qualifications for an Historian inapplicable to the present case We are not called on to inquire whether a genuine History of ancient Rome could be compiled from

Baker's Livy and Murphy's Tacitus, or a true picture of Hindu and Mussulman supremacy from Sir William Jones' Manu and Briggs' Ferishta. Mr. Thornton was standing on almost an English soil, and had moreover peculiar opportunities for arriving at the truth. Indian affairs for a considerable period had been his study: the archives of Leadenhall Street, we may safely conclude, unlocked their stores at his bidding: every authentic document that could throw light on our policy at any interesting period, seems to have been placed at his disposal: and his social position brought him in contact with many well informed individuals, who could supply facts and anecdotes, drawn from indisputable sources, and well calculated to correct, amplify, or illustrate the text of History, where either inaccurate, meagre, or obscure.

Whatever, therefore, may be the advantages of residence in the country, or conversancy with the language of the people, about whom the Historian is to write, the want of such residence or knowledge, in our opinion, would not have absolutely disqualified Mr. Thornton for his task. He was not going to discuss Manu's Social or Akbar's Revenue system. He had not to lament the illegibility of old Sanskrit manuscripts, or to extract truth from the pompous and inflated periods of a Persian Historian. His skill in deciphering medals and inscriptions, his acquaintance with Hindu architecture, his general knowledge as an antiquarian, were never likely to be called into question. He had not to undertake long journies for the purpose of settling by personal investigation some disputed point in the topography of the seven hills, or some undecided question relative to the long walls of Athens. Seated in his study he could avail himself of all that others had either written, collated, or endured. And if it be asserted, and with show of reason, that a few years passed amidst the scene of his future labours will give the writer that familiarity with the manners, customs and physical aspect of a country which only some few of the highest historical minds can realise at a distance, it may on the other hand be affirmed that brief residence or cursory tours are apt to convey a partial and one-sided impression, and that the modern historian so circumstanced, will come to his task imbued with a party-view of men and matters, which it will require the most judicial fairness entirely to remove.

With narratives, accounts and despatches written in the English language, such as required no accurate scholarship to decipher, Mr. Thornton, had he possessed some of the true qualifications of an historian, might have given us something approaching to a good History of British Supremacy in the East. By skilfully

combining the narratives of others, by seeing with the eyes of eye witnesses, he might have demonstrated to the incredulous that it is not wholly impossible for untravelled writers to pourtray distant scenes and events in all their vivid reality. But a careful perusal of Mr. Thornton's work has satisfied us that he is entirely wanting in some of those genuine and primary qualities, without which an historian can no more be manufactured, than Cicero, according to a generally received opinion, could have been made into a poet.

The peculiarity of the rise of the British empire in the East, and the character of its History so dissimilar to that of any other nation, will not have escaped the notice of the most superficial reader. That a handful of men, sent forth from a remote Island in the German Ocean, should in the space of one short century, conquer and hold an empire vastly larger than the averages of European sovereignties, is a fact of which the existence would impart liveliness and interest to the driest and most pedantic narrative. But on the other hand when we dismiss all recollections of undaunted courage and triumphant skill, it is obvious that Indian History wants much of that, to which the Histories of Rome, England, Greece, and France owe one-half of that fascinating power which rivets attention. Modern Indian History must be written in close connection with that of England, and must therefore be void of a distinct nationality. The interest with which we watch over the dawn of civil or religious liberty, protracted struggles between patrician and plebeian orders, the encroachments of monarchical authority, or the contests of factions animated by different motives, but equal zeal, cannot, obviously, be excited by the perusal of any work on the Company's rule.

No History of a colony, however large the field of action, or considerable the interests at stake, can ever equal the charm of a narrative in which are displayed the domestic and foreign policies of a vigorous republic or a flourishing monarchy. We do not mean to assert that the History of India at any epoch during the last hundred years, is not ten times more interesting than that of Denmark at any period of her existence, or than that of Sweden, except under Charles XII. But a colony in which the springs of action do not move of themselves, where the historian can never depicture the youth and education of princes, where a Senate is not filled by those conspicuous characters, whose eloquence or statesmanship have consecrated them to posterity—such a colony, though well worthy the appellation of an empire, can scarcely stand out as the subject on which a master-pen can be most worthily employed. Our viceroys too,

though figuring more prominently on the historical canvass than many independant rulers, are, yet in a position widely different from that of European sovereigns. It is true that the events of the administration are written down in their name. No minister is at hand to intercept the fame or the obloquy which results from their measures. In the history of the provinces they annex, or the prostrate sovereigns whom they spare, will be read the tale of their own ambition or their own statesmanship, their own weakness or their own clemency. But as a set off against this plenary power, their advent is as unexpected as their tenure is limited. They reach their high place, like the Italian Popes, generally at an advanced period of life, and they quit it with abruptness. To-day no man can prate of their whereabouts. To-morrow the mysterious Company issue their fiat and a new ruler appears on the stage. In this quick succession of potentates, the vision of a great and independent kingdom rapidly passes away, and although the interests of whole races may have hung on the exercise of brilliant and acknowledged talents, the kingdom is still nothing but a dependancy, the sovereign is no more than a viceroy.

Yet, if Indian History has not the materials afforded by monarchical succession, parliamentary eloquence, the strife of parties, and the other causes of self-government, it presents, on the other hand, certain distinct features, to which hardly any period of ancient or modern times can lay claim. That it affords angles as salient, tableaus as dramatic, and subjects for philosophic disquisition in their way as alluring as those of the ascendancy of Pericles, or of the reigns of the Stuarts, those who have carefully studied the subject will most readily allow Such a contest of discipline against laxity, unity of purpose against divided counsels, fair dealing versus crooked diplomacy, established law against irregular despotism, has perhaps never been seen since History commenced. Those who are interested in campaigns, and the details of battles and sieges would of course find an ample field whereon to expatiate. And those who think that History should aim at something more than a mere enumeration of feats, however heart-stirring, would naturally look in a work of this kind for a few episodes on the rise and progress of the several races with which England has come in contact, and for those questions of internal and domestic policy, which constitute one-half the charm of a narrative of facts. A few digressions skilfully introduced into the body of the work, on the manners and language of the different races in the Peninsula: a short account of the native army and its constitution : a graphic picture of the phy-

sical aspect of Bengal, the North West Provinces, or the Deccan: some statistical details as to their staple produce: an exposition of the system of law and the general civil administration: a notice of the attempts to ameliorate the intellectual condition of the subject inhabitants,—anything in short which could prove that the author had an eye for geographical details, knew when and how *to paint*, or had entered into the disquisitions of practical political economists, would have redeemed the work from its present character, which most certainly is that of a mere narrative of the battles through which we have fought our way to supremacy in the East. A writer of History, should, we need hardly say, have attentively perused the master pieces of great writers in his line. But we see nothing in these volumes to indicate that Mr. Thornton has caught the least portion of that happy discursive spirit, and marvellous power of condensation, which form two of Gibbon's finest qualifications: that he possesses in the smallest degree the faculty of looking over the scene of remote operations with the penetrating eye of a great military commander: that he can by intuition seize on the strong points of the picture before him and bring them out distinct and clear, with the pencil of the lamented Arnold. He was treading, it may be objected, a very different path to that which the great writers of antiquity or of modern times had trod. But, we reply, Indian history has its points of interest which a skilful writer would not fail to invest with their proper colouring, just as a skilful artist, who would not give to an English landscape the warm tints and the changing light and shade, or the blue sky of Italy, would yet impress on his canvass with equal distinctness, the grey wan autumnal air of Britain's rural scenes, and follow analogously the example left him by the master-pieces of Claude.

We will now endeavour to point out as we proceed some of the deficiencies most conspicuous in Mr. Thornton's work. And the one that first strikes us is that of symmetrical proportion. His history is comprised in six portly volumes, and thirty-two well filled chapters. From the first appearance of La Bourdonnais' fleet off the Madras Coast, which event, Mr. Thornton seems to take as his starting point, to the recall of Lord Ellenborough, is as exactly as can well be, one hundred years; the most eventful period, perhaps, in the whole History of the Peninsula. For a careful record of events of such importance, six volumes would not be too much, but we are at a loss to understand what Mr. Thornton intended by prefixing to his history a chapter of rather more than seventy pages in extent, containing a voluminous note on the four classes of

Manu, a very cursory account of the great Mohammedan Emperors, and a still more summary notice of the break-up of Aurungzebe's mighty power. It was clearly not the author's intention to attempt a supercession of Elphinstone, or in any way to trespass on the earlier Hindu and Mussulman dynasties. He does not direct our attention to the numerical proportion of Hindus to Mussulmen, or to the changes in caste since the great Hindu Lawgiver's time: nor does he at all allude, save in the briefest space, to any traces which either religion may have left, whether in the way of architectural monuments, works of public utility, or domestic and social institutions. A chapter,—in which the most striking peculiarities of the two creeds were briefly but graphically noticed, and their respective strongholds pointed out: which should tell us how far the old Hindu village communities flourished in all their primitive integrity, and what innovations either in the way of language, intercourse or system of Revenue had resulted from the influx of Mussulman conquerors; which should, in short, have told the English reader something of the character of the hundred millions of the Peninsula,—would have been as becoming a preface to Mr. Thornton's volumes as the masterly first chapter of Gibbon is to the Decline and Fall. There was room too, we think, for a more extended notice of the causes from which the unwieldy empire of Delhi went to pieces, than what we have now before us. But a discussion on Aurungzebe's character, and a brief account of the sack of Delhi by Timur, though certainly not what we expected from the title of the work, are all that we get; and the first chapter, consequently, agrees with the subsequent narrative about as well as a rapid disquisition on the Saxon Heptarchy would agree with a History of England commencing with the Revolution, or a discussion on the rois fainéants with one of France dated from the Treaty of the Pyrenees.

Mr. Thornton is not unimpressed by the curious spectacle presented in the concurrence of the European and the Asiatic systems on one common ground. British vigour, and oriental torpor, British manliness and eastern subterfuge, British decision and Indian time-serving, formed a picture too remarkable to have escaped the penetration of a writer who has certainly scrutinised the spirit of one part of Indian Politics at every period of our rule. But it is on this very point that we bring against Mr. Thornton one of our heaviest charges. Doubtless that tone of mind is highly commendable which weighs the moral delinquencies of nations, by the same scales in which the character of individuals is balanced. History has no higher function than the arraignment of erring statesmanship and dis-

honesty of purpose, at the bar of posthumous opinion. But the judgment passed should be invested with a decent solemnity of expression, and avoid the least appearance of flippancy, or sarcasm. Neither flaw in the conduct of individuals, nor blot in the councils of states, have escaped Mr. Thornton's condemnation. The failings inherent in eastern races, and the temptations incident to early colonists in strange countries, meet not the slightest mercy from this unrelenting judge. Mahratta duplicity, Hindu superstition, Bengali pusillanimity, the wavering of raw levies, the characteristic vagueness of eastern state papers, the pacific policy or the hesitation of viceroys, the covetousness of adventurers, are denounced by him with one and the same unfailing sneer. The advocate of free trade, and the seeker of jaghírs, the native leader who vents his rage in unseemly expressions, and the French adventurer guilty of cowardice, find themselves classed under the same condemnatory ban. Once indeed we light on a paragraph expressing in suitable and dignified language the verdict of history, on the want of that faith which "holds together the moral elements of the world." After an account of the mediation of the Mahratta chieftain, Morari Row, with regard to the cession of Trichinopoly, Mr. Thornton, (Vol. I. page 143,) passes sentence in the following words:

"This intrigue has been treated at a greater length than it 'would deserve, did it not afford a curious illustration of the 'state of feeling too common amongst the native states, and of 'the difficulties with which European statesmen have to con-'tend in the course of negotiations, where the avowed and the 'secret objects of the parties engaged are at variance, where 'promises are given without the slightest intention of redeem-'ing them, where the most elaborate schemes of deception and 'chicanery are formed and carried into effect, where no credit 'can be attached to the most solemn professions, and where an 'intense selfishness unchecked by any restraints of morality or 'honour, is the sole principle of action."

We have not the least sympathy with that class of Indian politicians who talk in the Rookery of St. Giles, as if they were dealing with the Atlantis of Bacon. And in the above, as a felicitous illustration of the disadvantages under which we labour in one-half of our dealings with native Princes, we most cordially agree. But after the deep voice and the stately demeanour of Tragedy comes the unseemly language of Farce. On numerous subsequent occasions Mr. Thornton breaks out into invective, much more befitting those wordy orators and frothy pamphleteers, whom on another occasion he so unsparingly denounces, than

of a grave and dignified writer of history. Some things so utterly trivial that a newspaper reporter would hardly have thought them worthy of notice, he drags prominently into light: others, which would have been sufficiently condemned by a passing line of rebuke, he visits with half a dozen of withering sarcasm. To enumerate every instance of this indecorous habit, would be as wearisome as it would be uninstructive. It cannot have escaped the notice of any person who has read the work with even common attention; and so given is the author to this failing that on one or two occasions we are unable to decide whether his words be those of mock praise or of genuine sincerity. But in order to verify our strictures, and prove that it is not merely once or twice that we meet with these offences against good taste, we note down the following instances where this irrepressible tendency breaks out. A sentry of Clive's who takes refuge in a dry well: Monichund, the Governor of Calcutta, who fairly turned to flight when a cannon shot passed close to his howdah: Mír Cossim as "high minded and disinterested:" a brother of Mahomet Ali's, "whose courage beat high when no danger was to be apprehended:" a body of Native Horsemen under Major Calliaud for refusing to face a French squadron: the French commander, M. Conflans, for a rapid journey on horseback: a soldier, whom Orme declares to have been one of the bravest men in the army, for wavering in one of those unaccountable panics, to which even the best levies are occasionally subject: the select committee for taking presents: Hastings for using a "pious ejaculation" in a letter to a friend: Purseram Bhow, a Mahratta leader, for praising the virtue in others, which he did not practically follow himself: Tippoo's vakils who tender the security of their oaths for the performance of a stipulation, and Lord Cornwallis who accepts the tender: a Gossain who preferred a jaghír to meditation in a lonely cell: Scindia for expostulations couched "in a high moral tone:" Hastings in his old age for vagueness on the great question of propagating Christianity in India: a Mahratta power for employing the language of piety in an article of Treaty: Toolsye Bhye for her doubtful parentage: and the Marquis of Hastings for his "simple-minded credulity,"—are scarce one-half of the individuals or occasions whom Mr. Thornton selects for the exercise of a talent, which perhaps might be tolerated in an harangue on the hustings, or a speech from some "chartered libertine" on the opposition benches, but in a grave history of six volumes, is utterly and incontestibly out of place. Mr. Thornton, we doubt not, has been an attentive reader of the "Decline and Fall." Though wanting on some occasions

in the true philosophic curl of the lip, and the solemnity of the Gibbonian sneer, he could not, on the whole, have proved himself more truly inoculated with the worst quality of one of the greatest of historians.

We lament more over faults of this nature than over any amount of mis-statements, or any errors of reference. Erroneous dates may be rectified, contemporary authors once more examined: old facts can be adjusted, new sources of information followed up: and a second edition will set every thing to rights. But these *asperæ facetiæ* leave the *acrem sui memoriam*, which hardly any amount of labour can erase. They are in fact woven into the very texture of the work, and like the coloured garments of the barbarous tribe mentioned by the old Greek chronicler, the dye will not perish save with the material itself.

Thus much on one of Mr. Thornton's most crying offences. We now proceed to take up the next in the catalogue. We have heard repeated complaints of the exclusively military character of these volumes, and in reality the author does not seem to have aimed at much more than a correct and elaborate narrative of our successive campaigns, each one of which, in the politics of its day, was to have been the last. In his accounts of battles and sieges, or harassing marches, Mr. Thornton is often graphic, and sometimes approaches near to eloquence. But in the enumeration of the contingents furnished by each ally: in the detail of preparation: the sum total of the forces, and the order of march, he is too often unnecessarily prolix and minute. The memory wearies itself in vain efforts to grasp the various items in the numbering of a great army, preparing for a campaign: the eye is fatigued by the recurrence of the same amplification in regard to quotients and contingents in almost every page: the ear is stunned by the constant discharges of salvos of artillery, by the platoon firing, the defence of breaches, and the clashing of bayonets. It is little else than "war's rattle" and the "groans of the dying" from one end to the other. No doubt there are many occasions in Indian History where it is pleasing to posterity to know the exact amount of troops whom their forefathers deemed equal to the swarming hordes of the native opponent. We are thankful to the historian who tells us how Clive with some three thousand men, routed the Nawab's fifty thousand at Plassey: how the Duke's force at Assaye was opposed to an enemy more than four times its own number: how many fighting men we counted at Buxar: with what fearful odds we contended at Lasswari. We pause too, over the ill-fated Affghanistan expedition to mark the instructive note at the foot of the text, where the author briefly but clearly

enumerates the regiments who were consumed in the retreat from Kabul. These are subjects where minuteness affords scope for sentiments of honourable pride, or for mournful, though salutary, contemplation. But Mr. Thornton has carried his researches into general orders and flourishing despatches to an extent, we believe, unequalled by any other historian, ancient or modern. There is hardly a Captain sent with a detachment of troops to effect some junction, or hold some part of the enemy in check, but we have the exact number of his troops, the tale of his guns, and the very weight and quality of the metal as carefully set down as if the fate of a great empire had hung upon his motions. If a hill fort is captured, Mr. Thornton tells us to a fraction the exact amount of the spoils that fell into the hands of the victors: if an expedition sets out by sea, we are favoured with the particulars of the manning of the vessels, the number of the lascars, the inches of the mortars, and the very direction the guns were pointed. Had Mr. Thornton occupied the situation of the prize agent, or of the commissariat officer, or of the military auditor general, he could not have displayed greater anxiety to arrive at correct statistical details. We trust that on this point there is little danger of our being misunderstood. We have every sympathy with an author who patiently wades through files of official documents and strings of gazettes to get some doubtful fact explained, or to arrive at some conclusion which may set off his narrative. We have a greater reverence for the indomitable research of Gibbon in spite of his meretricious style, than for the lucid transparency of Hume's narrative, when clouded by his frequent inaccuracies. But we must have the judgment that extracts, digests, and combines incongruous elements into one compendious whole. Without skill in rejecting and arranging, that which is made up of statistics, however accurate, can never become history. As well might we expect, without aid from the artist's or sculptor's cunning, to see the colours of the palette arrange themselves into the outline of the human features, or the rude blocks of the gallery become instinct with the life and beauty of the Apollo, or the terror imaged in the Laocoon group.

But we have graver charges to prefer than that of mere prolixity. We complain that the workman is ignorant of his own craft. Mr. Thornton deliberately refuses to avail himself of one of the finest openings in History—the felicitous disquisition on subjects arising in the course of the narrative, but yet not actually forming part of the body of the work. We shall prove our charges on Mr. Thornton's own confession. On arriving at the Nepal war we are told that the Gúrkha tribe had, in a

comparatively short period, established for themselves a very formidable power. This being the first occasion when they had even been mentioned, we had looked naturally for some short account of their rise and progress. But, says Mr. Thornton, "The origin and early History of this tribe does not fall 'within the province of this History: it will be sufficient to 'say that for a series of years the Gúrkhas had pursued an 'aggressive course of Policy, and with no inconsiderable suc-'cess. The dissensions of the Rajahs afforded ample oppor-'tunities for its prosecution, and there was no deficiency of 'promptitude in embracing them. In every quarrel the Gúr-'kha prince appeared as umpire and mediator, and these 'functions he invariably rendered subsidiary to the aggrandize-'ment of the house of which he was chief. The Gúrkhas 'thus acquired an extent of dominion and a degree of power, 'which combined with the disposition they had manifested, 'rendered them dangerous neighbours to the British Govern-'ment, whose frontier they bordered for about eight hundred 'miles."

This to our mind is not the way in which history should be written. We have no business, it is true, like the simple-minded and truthful Father of History to note down on our tablets every legend called up by the aspect of an old temple or tower, or every tale of ancient kings with which an inventive priesthood may regale our listening ears. But to render a work compact for reference, as well as inviting for perusal, there are no means more legitimate than short and graphic sketches of the nations and countries which border on the principal theme. A disquisition on the Gúrkhas, their language, customs, the physical nature of their country, and the means by which they had acquired ascendancy, would have been a most welcome relief from the perpetual din of battle. "It seems to me," said a great historian, "that a Roman History should embrace the History of 'every people with whom the Romans were successively con-'cerned: not so as to go into all the details, which are generally 'worthless, but yet so as to give something of a notion of the 'great changes, both physical and moral, which the different 'parts of the world have undergone." Now we cannot but think that a History of the paramount power in India should follow exactly the same plan, and give a brief notice of every tribe, with whom we have successively come in contact, so as to afford some idea of the changes which India has hitherto undergone. There would be no difficulty in observing a just symmetry by keeping in view the relative proportions of Rome to the History of the World, and of Britain to that of India. We

are not quite sure whether Mr. Thornton felt himself incompetent for the task, or believed such attempts foreign to the true scope of History. But we have the confession from his own mouth, "not within the province of this History." Nothing, in fact, seems to have charms for him but smoke, escalading, staked palisades, trenches full of dead bodies, and all the horrors of battle fields. As the appetite of a tiger that has tasted blood, is said to be whetted, so does this author's unconquerable desire for carnage seem to be increased by his warlike narrative. Like the war-horse, he discerns the battle from a far, and, rushing on, turns neither to the right nor the left until his cherished aim be accomplished. We may conclude that, according to this view, should Mr. Thornton write the administration of Lord Hardinge, and the Sikh campaign, he will not favour us with the least preliminary notice on the rise of the Khalsa, and the consolidation of their power at Lahore. The peaceful Nanak, the stern Hargovind, the warlike Tegh Bahadur, even the great lion of the Punjab, will have no place in his historical gallery. To trace the Akali gradually extending his sway in the country of the five rivers, while at the very same time and under somewhat similar variations of fortune another great power was silently spreading from Govindpore and Cossimbazar to Benares and Delhi: to show what causes kept them so long apart and for a time warded off the concurrent shock of the two states:—these subjects will possess no attraction for the lover of battles. The picturesque blue dress of the Sikhs: their famous watchword—Wah! Guru ji ka Khalsa: Wah! Guru ji ka Futteh: their peculiar religious tenets: the Gourmukhi language and the Granth; are not even to be touched on by the warlike pen. The Sikh campaign, like the Gúrkha war, must sound no note of preparation in these pages; there must be no previous warning save from the distant guns of the advancing enemy, and the first charge at Múdki should be the first intimation to the reader of the deadly conflict between the two great powers which had at length commenced.

We submit that, according to Mr. Thornton's own estimate, there is little or no exaggeration in thus prophesying the nature of his continuation of Indian history; and yet, we ask, what thoughtful reader would deem such a history complete?

It is not an historian's province to enter too minutely into the biographical details even of those characters who preside over the course of events. But we look with some anxiety for a few of those particulars which enliven the uniformity of a political narrative, and have not inaptly been termed the gleanings of the historical field when the harvest has already been

stored. In a narrative of events of a century or so old the charm of well-selected anecdotes is indescribable. The course of time has just been sufficient to invest personal details with something of the texture of poetry, while it has not run long enough to deprive us either of interest in the chief actors, or of reliance on the sources of information. As the historian descends to the generation immediately preceding our own the nature of anecdotes undergoes a change. There is more selection, and less of romance. Some few witnesses who either saw or fought are still available: note books and journals have not yet suffered from the ravages of time: the variety of oral and written information is more abundant: the 'strong historical imagination' is less called into exercise. We proceed a step further and a further change is the result. We are no longer dealing with events, the latest living actors in which have altogether passed away, or only survive here and there. We are come to times in which our brothers or our companions have borne their part: we can mark the eagerness with which deeds of daring are related by the eye-witness or the principal. Here, obviously, it is the historian's part to select. Anecdotes in hundreds come at his call: the pruning knife must be used: he has only to test and separate from the mass instead of exploring for the chance of meeting with some interesting personal trait.

Mr. Thornton's History embraces a period in which anecdotes of the three kinds mentioned above might fairly be included. From those men whose brave deeds fired the youth of our grandfathers, to the generation immediately preceding our order, and to the very times in which some of our readers have played a conspicuous part, every thing was at his disposal. He could make his selection from anecdotes of an hundred years old, from those narrated by the Indian cotemporaries of Wellesley and Harris, from the latest club or drawing-room gossip of the last ten years. He might have told us more of what Governors and Commanders said and did, and a little less of the ponderous minutes they wrote. A characteristic saying, a prompt action, illustrative of the man, would have given additional zest and liveliness to even the more stirring parts of his story. But Mr. Thornton appears to have thought all such either beneath "the dignity of a general History," or incompatible with the peculiar path he had chalked out for himself. Of Clive's sanguine temperament, and early vagaries we had expected at least some passing notice. But our expectations are damped at the very outset. Such "instances are on record," we are told, "and might easily be quoted, but

'as they form part of the personal not the political History of 'Clive, it is more important to advert to such incidents as are 'connected with public events and have the further advantage 'of giving indications of those qualities, which were more fully 'developed at a future period." We protest against the political view of History which this passage takes. We are not to give publicity to idle and frivolous anecdotes, or to pursue retired Viceroys into their retreats at home, and drag the circumstances of their private life into the broad day. But a dish of History without well-chosen anecdotes we have always regarded as incomplete as a Gastronome would regard venison without its fat, or turtle soup without its attendant punch. And Mr. Thornton seems to have had not a few anecdotes at command, though we are fortunate if we get them scattered here and there in a foot note. Would indeed that we had been favoured with a few more stories such as that of the extravagant President at Calcutta who demanded, and was refused, a chaise and pair: or that of the late king of Sweden when a sergeant at Cuddalore, or that of the gallant Sale when hand to hand with an Affghan Fanatic between the gateway and the town at the storming of Ghuzni. We will venture to say that a larger sprinkling of anecdotes such as the above would neither have lowered the tone of the narrative, nor exercised the patience of its readers, one quarter so much as undignified sneers at sentries who abscond at the bottom of wells, or prolix encomiums on the forbearance of the British resident in remaining within Scindia's camp after clear indications of his hostility.

To every one of the six volumes is prefixed a map of the Peninsula pointing out the extent of our possessions at the various periods of our rule, and distinguishing the protected states from those annexed, or entirely independent. The British possessions are coloured red and there is a sort of quaint, but at the same time grave and not undignified humour in thus reproducing, in six successive acts, the drama of European aggrandizement, and placing before our eyes the mysterious red mark, which from diminutive beginnings has spread like one huge fiery plague spot over the greater part of the land. This conception we deem no more unbecoming to an historian than the only jest he was ever heard to utter was to Douce David Deans. But here again we are compelled to make some strictures. The military operations in which Mr. Thornton deals so largely, are obviously not confined to one part of the Peninsula, but range with our progressive advances, from the Bay of Bengal to the snows of the Himalayas. Thus in the first volume they are almost exclusively confined to the Madras Presidency and

the plains immediately around Calcutta: in the second we have Hyder's wars and the Rohilla campaign; the third leads us to the operations in the Dekhan and the North-west provinces: in the fourth we get to Nepal and to the Bombay side of India, and so on through the remaining volumes. Did it never occur to the author to specify more minutely in the particular map of each volume the localities which that volume described? When describing Coote's successes or our first reverses before Hyder, he might have been more minute in noting towns and forts on the Madras coast; when he had got our troops into the mountain passes of Nepal, he might at least have noted down on the map the exact position of Katmandu. On a tolerably close inspection the names and places appear almost the same in every single tome. We have many well nigh needless, while those most wanted, are not there. Some recur in every volume, which for reference might be useful to the Indian functionary, but on which the general reader would scarcely cast a glance. On the other hand Argaum, Assaye, Lasswari, and some of the most famous battles are actually not indicated in any single one.

After the quality of patient research we look upon that of a good geographer, as the one most essential to the historian. But we discern nothing in any part of this work to indicate that the author can send that keen prospective glance over far distant scenes with a facility so highly lauded in Thucydides or Cæsar, and so much lamented as not to be found in Livy or Polybius. There is nothing of that restless desire for a consecutive view of the line of march, or the scene of extended military operations: no truth loving impatience at all vague and uncertain descriptions of ground over which writer and reader must travel together. Set Mr. Thornton down before Gawilghur or Bhurtpore, and he is, we allow, both pains-taking and accurate. But in impressing his readers with a notion of the physical aspect of a country, he entirely fails, and of this failing we become vividly conscious in the account of the Nepal war. There was surely room for some interesting and almost picturesque description of the Deyrah Dhún, and of that remarkable belt of jungle, which yearly sends forth its deadly exhalations, and lining most of our Eastern Frontier from Behar upwards, is known as the Terai. How graphic in a true Historian's hand would have been the scene now tenanted by the tiger and the buffalo, but represented by tradition as once that of flourishing towns and extended cultivation: where the delay of a single night at certain seasons of the year is death: where the Ryot burns for agricultural purposes whole tracts

which he had burnt the year before, and which he will have to burn again in the ensuing season, and where at the least deadly period, on the outskirts, he hastily dibbles a few furrows in the soil, deposits his seeds for the chances of the sunshine and the shower, and hurries away from the influence of the unerring miasma. Not only is there nothing which impresses with a vivid conception of the nature of the country in which our troops were engaged, but there is evidence which induces us to believe that Mr. Thornton had himself no very distinct idea of the relative position of districts and capitals. Not that we detect any striking inaccuracies, but we discern a repeated vagueness and become lost in our attempts to follow Mr. Thornton in his windings. Sarun, Bettiah, Sikim, Almorah, Gorrukpore, are scattered at random through the pages, without a single explanatory note of their respective distances from each other or from the Nepal Territory, and the irresistible impression which this leaves on our mind is that the author had not mapped out in his mind's eye the march of the army under Ochterlony, but had been content with the names and places as mentioned in the official despatches.

The same characteristic is evinced in other parts of the work. When alluding to the disturbances in Chota Nagpore in 1832, Mr. Thornton says that "Chota Nagpore is a Zemindary forming 'part of the Ramgurh district, and which with its subordinate 'pergunnahs comprises an area of about ninety-five miles in 'length, and eighty in breadth." This is all accurate enough. But it is not every untravelled reader who can tell the exact situation of Ramgurh, or who has ever even heard of its name. Yet there is no further intimation of the position of this tract, one of the finest in India, than the above. We are left to guess whether it is east, west, or north of Calcutta, or of any other well-known locality. Why did Mr. Thornton not tell us that Chota, or lesser Nagpore is so called in contradistinction to the capital of Berar: that it comprises a splendid tract of country with occasional elevations of table land 2,000 feet above the level of the sea: that it extends from north to south in one line at a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles west of Calcutta: that it is bordered by the flourishing districts of Bengal and Behar on the east, and on the west is lined by the huge jungles of Berar, and that, comprising many small principalities and feudatory Rajahs, it is, as a whole, known to Indian Residents by the name of the south-west Frontier Agency?

Again when devoting, rather needlessly, some ten pages to the outbreak of the Ferazis in Baraset under Titu Mir in November 1831, Mr. Thornton plunges *in medias res*, at the

commencement of Lord William's administration by saying that "amongst the stirring events which demand notice are the disturbances in Baraset." Mr. Macaulay has brought to notice the remark that one of Gibbon's greatest faults as an historian arises from his presumption of two much knowledge on the part of his readers: in other words that he tells a story by imputation, supposing in the reading public some previous acquaintance with the true facts of the narrative, and the main points of the case. The above, to our thinking, proves incontestably that Mr. Thornton is imbued with the very same vice, and that he relies on every body's knowing every thing connected with the situation of Baraset, or else that, as before stated, he lacks the military-historical eye for country, and will complacently set down his readers, without previous explanation, bewildered in a totally unknown land. No doubt to many persons the name of Baraset suggests at once a complete picture, which requires not the elucidating aid of any cicerone. Every denizen of the Ditch knows that Baraset is a district of which the sudder station is about fifteen miles north-east of Calcutta, as well as every cockney, who has never crossed the border, knows the situation of Richmond Hill, or that of Pope's villa at Twickenham. But for the benefit of Englishmen never in India, or even of those who have never visited this side of it, we submit that if the miserable Baraset affair be worth any mention at all, it should be mentioned with its titles and additions. As it is, we defy any person, unacquainted with localities, to gather from Mr. Thornton's account any clear indication of its whereabouts.

To review a work of this magnitude in detail would demand more time than either ourselves or our readers can well spare. Our endeavour has been to show how far the author proves his own disqualification not so much for Indian History, as for History in general. And we therefore have selected those faults and lamented the absence of those qualities, which would either be deprecated or hoped for in any similar work relative to any country in the world, ancient or modern. Still we may be pardoned for a rapid summary of the viceroys, whom like Banquo's Kings, the author calls up before our eyes.

To Clive Mr. Thornton does adequate justice. He neither strives to gloss over his well-known adoption of the most unscrupulous means, nor detracts from his sterling generalship and undaunted bravery. Here and there the first of Indian generals, "the Captain Clive" who "settled Asia for us," as Lord Chesterfield expressed himself, comes in for his share of sneers, and for imputed rapacity or meanness, is, in the words of the

old satirist, "suspended," on Mr. Thornton's "unwrinkled nose." But ample justice is done to his foresight, to the unflagging zeal which neither the heats of the Carnatic, nor the drenching rains of Bengal could quell, to the marvellous influence which shed its powerful charm over his followers, native and European, to his skill in combining intractable and heterogeneous materials, to his unshaken firmness, and his indomitable courage. We could wish however that the famous mutiny of the Bengal army had not been dismissed with such unexampled brevity. To our minds the readiness and determination with which Clive met this formidable conspiracy, so far from affording "neither instruction nor pleasure," recalls vividly to our mind the famous mutiny of Cæsar's Legions, and is a piece of history in the life of "the daring in war," second only to the defence of Arcot, or the great victory in the plains of Lower Bengal.*

Warren Hastings meets, to our thinking, with hardly justice enough. To the grasp of his mind, his great habits of business, and his judicious reforms in civil administration, some passing testimony is borne. But here again we have to join issue with Mr. Thornton on points already noticed. Under the Government of Hastings the administration of the country was in a transition state. We had begun to turn our attention to something more than dustucks and betel-nut, pawn and salt monopolies. We had to collect a large landed revenue every year, but we left the arrest and punishment of criminals and the whole machinery of executive Government in the hands of the Nawab Nazim. The curious spectacle of this divided empire with its manifest abuses: our anxiety for rent, and our disregard of those by whom it was contributed; the first dawning intimation that the trading company had succeeded to the possession of a great empire with all its responsibilities—these are points over which a philosophic historian would delight to linger. But this was evidently not dreamt of in Mr. Thornton's philosophy. All we glean from his pages is that Hastings found the revenue and judicial establishments ineffective, that he did much to reform the internal administration, and that his labours became the ground work of subsequent improvements. Neither does the author seem to have been aware of the peculiar advantages with which Hastings succeeded to his high place. No subsequent viceroy, with the exception perhaps of Sir Charles Metcalfe, has ever united the same great and compre-

* We remember having read a History of the Bengal army, published periodically in the pages of the *Calcutta Star*, somewhere in 1844, in which this famous mutiny was worthily and adequately treated. The impression left was that both of "pleasure and instruction."

hensive views, and so minute and practical an acquaintance with the routine of Indian business. Hastings had been a regular trained servant of the Company. His acquaintance with the revenue and other important questions, was equal, if not superior, to that of Sir George Barlow, or Lord Teignmouth. On the other hand, though not a general like Clive, nor a statesman quite of Wellesley's calibre, his views were worthy the head of a growing empire. He alone appreciated the true nature of our position, and the aims suitable to our policy. Other subsequent Governors may have entertained ideas as lofty: none had so well mastered the detail of an Indian administration. He came to his post with comparatively little to learn: at home on perwanahs, hasbal hukums, tancaws and taluks. His official knowledge, prompt and ready, gave no colouring of littleness to his policy as a Governor. He would be as efficient at the Revenue Board as he was great in the Council Chamber. He was, in short, the practical man of business and the Governor-General of India.

But of this striking feature Mr. Thornton tells us little, nor does he give us much regarding his personal character. It is described by the terms "stately, cold and artificial," but an invidious foot note again tells us that it "does not fall within the province of History." We must once more protest against this view of History which only looks at generals, of seventy years ago, through the smoke and noise of a battle field, or at statesmen through the pomp and additions of their office.

Clive and Hastings are to our minds the two great and prominent figures in the moving tableau of our Indian drama. Placed in circumstances such as can hardly ever occur to any other Viceroy, removed by distance from the reach of cotemporary partiality or cotemporary virulence, with something of greatness in their very irregularities, and certainly with some excuses which even the strict moralist will not refuse to admit, they afford materials such as the historian of 1842 will hardly find elsewhere. Mr. Thornton has executed this part of his task not altogether without skill, but his work is still very far from the true power and beauty of History. Perhaps too the recollection of *those two* almost inimitable biographical essays, forces itself on us, and suggests the comparison which cannot be other than disadvantageous.

Passing over Mr. Macpherson's brief sway we come to Lord Cornwallis, whose moderation in Mr. Thornton's eyes is a most grievous sin. To his famous settlement we may advert hereafter.

The military operations are, like all others, detailed with fidelity bordering on minuteness, and on the two different occa-

sions of our appearance before Seringapatam, the author is quite at home in redoubts, breastworks, enfilading batteries and storming parties. Sir John Shore's administration is cursorily treated, and we agree with Mr. Thornton that his character, though marked by much amiability, does not present any striking materials for the pen either of the biographer or the historian. Wellesley's reign is obviously that on which the greatest pains have been spent. It occupies no less than five chapters, and with the exception of a short account of Ceylon matters, fills the whole of one goodly volume. The differences between the Great Statesman and the Court are honestly set forth, and the reader rises from the perusal with a conviction that in the discussion of this splendid and stainless proconsulship, the impartiality of an historian has not been forgotten.

The Minto reign is, as our readers know, mainly occupied with wars essentially foreign and productive of no particular change in the relations of the British power with native states. We must however remark, that in his account of the Java expedition Mr. Thornton has not thought it worth while to allude to the death of the lamented Leyden, though we do not see how a small tribute to departed talent could have been out of place in any history whatever. To Lord Minto, however, the narrative does ample justice, and his successor the Marquis of Hastings, has in Mr. Thornton's temple, a niche second only to that of Wellesley. Lord Amherst is dismissed without much praise or censure, and it is rather difficult to ascertain the author's exact sentiments on this point. At this epoch we begin to tread on dangerous ground, and it is from henceforth that we shall find much to blame in Mr. Thornton's views. Of four well-known subsequent Governors, two, Lord William and Lord Ellenborough are painted in colours about which there can be no mistake. Of Lord Metcalfe we shall say but little. His epitaph has already been written by one whose testimony will probably outweigh the strictures of the company's historiographer. The small but eloquent tablet in the Berkshire village church, the graceful lines which bear testimony to the skill with which the departed statesman successively ruled England's three greatest dependencies, the tribute paid to perished worth by the unbought admiration of public communities as well as by the spontaneous outburst of private esteem and affection, all this has already been on the lips of our readers and renders further vindication of Metcalfe's memory superfluous on our part.

Of Lord Auckland's merits, "for obvious reasons," no estimate can be made. Hence we must conclude that propinquity

to the events which a writer describes, as well as the danger of unnecessarily wounding the feelings of surviving actors in the drama, renders History cautious and restrains the voice of condemnation, or of entire acquittal. To this we readily agree, and allow that when the events which led to the Affghan war, are honestly stated, the reader may very well form a judgment for himself. But it is curious that this praiseworthy feeling does not seem to have in the least restrained Mr. Thornton when presiding at the trial of Lord William Bentinck, or at that of Lord Hardinge's predecessor and relative. With the former, however, he goes to work in a more subtle manner. To his eyes the administration appears almost a blank. From judicious retrenchments, from vigorous reforms, from the establishment of new courts, from the simplification of civil and criminal business in those already established, from enquiries which ultimately led to the abolition of the transit duties, from the employment of native agency, from the extension of native education, from the noble institution of the Medical College, remembered by the Hindu population to this day with the deepest gratitude, Mr. Thornton turns away with studied and dignified contempt. Even when there are grounds for unmixed approbation we find faint praise accorded amidst qualifying doubts and damnatory hopings. Poor, we had almost said, mean, are the terms in which the writer alludes to the great act of Lord William's administration, when with sentiments beyond his age he overthrew the rite endeared to bigotry, intolerance, selfishness and the vilest passions of our nature by an existence of two thousand years: a rite as unauthorized by the time-hallowed precepts of antiquated legislation, as it was opposed to the eternal and unwritten injunctions of natural Law: a rite which the first Hindu lawgiver had never sanctioned, and the wisest of Mussulman Emperors had well nigh forbidden.

We have interrupted in some measure the order of succession, but, last of all, we come to Lord Ellenborough. Here the vow of silence which the author had imposed on himself in the case of Lord Auckland, seems entirely forgotten. A year had scarcely elapsed since Lord Ellenborough's recall: Mr. Thornton in summing up informs us that "it is difficult to speak with the freedom which may be used towards the statesmen of a former age," and follows up this declaration of forbearance with a page and a half of unmitigated stricture. In this sort of grave irony Mr. Thornton is obviously an adept. After the imputations of levity, fickleness, vanity and childish display against Lord Ellenborough in which he indulges, it is rather difficult to understand what may be his ideas as to liberty of speech. After his gentleness

with Lord Auckland, we are at a loss to conceive why the author should ruthlessly sacrifice a nobleman of a subsequent epoch, to his undaunted love of truth Assuredly *ne quid veri dicere non audeat* is the historian's first and greatest duty, but to make distinctions where men are still living, to preface the sentence of condemnation by the words of mercy and forgiveness, to stab with a smile and poison reputation with a mock defence, smacks much more of the Candours and the Sneerwells, than of the grave writer of history. We have never been admirers of that part of Lord Ellenborough's policy, which, to borrow a coin from Mr. Grote's mint, we must term his siderocracy. And Mr. Thornton, writing at the commencement of 1845 could not foresee the deadly struggle which signalised its close. But those who may eventually write the history of Lord Hardinge's reign, will no doubt ponder thoughtfully over the wise and statesman-like letter which Lord Ellenborough's masterly pen indited on the Gwalior Campaign. They will linger over those sentences pregnant with meaning and foresight, in which is foreshadowed the possibility of a campaign on the Sutlej, while an hostile army of 20,000 infantry, with horse and ordnance, might have thundered at the very gates of Agra. Meanwhile those who please themselves in anticipating the verdict of history, may possibly think that Lord Hardinge's well-earned success was not altogether unmfluenced by the wise decree, which laid it down as a principle that a well-equipped army, with a park of artillery should not be permitted to exist in the very heart of the Peninsula, and at six days' march from one of our most populous cities.

We have thus glanced over the judgments passed by the author on successive potentates, and it would appear that distance is the only security for reputation under Mr. Thornton's fiat. The older heroes derive some little benefit from the mists of time and the course of years. Some justice is done to men placed in situations of considerable danger, and assailed by temptations of no ordinary magnitude. But as we descend to recent times, prejudice, narrowness of views, unjust imputations, careless and well-nigh wilful oversight, assume a more powerful sway. The historian disappears altogether, and in his place rises up, regardless of Dr. Johnson's well-known sentence of condemnation, the mere writer for a party.

We now resume our examination of what is not to be found in Mr. Thornton. We have above cursorily attempted to shew what dependance can be placed on what there actually is. The only chapter in which the details of a civil administration are at all canvassed, is that which touches on the Cornwallis settlement. That the permanent settlement was a hasty measure,

that it has not produced the results hoped for by its founders, that the judicial arrangements introduced at the same date have been mended and tinkered in every imaginable way at repeated intervals, we are prepared to admit. But we again and again deny that the contemplation of these incidental matters possesses little "either of interest or instruction," or that a similar sketch of the plans followed in other parts of our empire and under different Governors would not have duly been appreciated by every judicious reader. Nothing of the kind, however, meets the eye. We are indeed told that, "not withstanding the multiplied and difficult military affairs which engaged his mind," Lord Hastings "had directed his attention with success to various questions connected with the civil admistration of the empire, more especially the complicated subject of revenue." But, this is all. Some thirty pages in one case and the above few lines in the other, are all that can be spared for the two Governors of India whose administration can never be worthily handled by an author who deems these topics uncongenial.

No man knew what was due to History better than Voltaire. Some of the very qualities, which, when unregulated, made shipwreck of his faith, became when prudently exercised, his most valuable qualifications as an historian. His eagerness for truth when prejudice stood not in the way, and his lofty intellect, which ranged with pride not untinctured by kindness of heart, over the diversified interests of humanity, produced works amply sufficient to disprove the rash judgment passed on him by cotemporaries: Voltaire n'ecrivera jamais une bonne histoire. He had seen, almost within his own generation, a great Empire consolidated and disciplined by the genius of one individual: a city as splendid as Calcutta raised on the dreary swamp and the deadly morass: a succession of provinces obeying one rule as numerous as, and more extended than, those gradually added to the Company's Empire. The commencement of his History of Russia is accordingly a rapid, but graphic and accurate description of the sixteen divisions swayed by the great Autocrat. Their climate, physical aspect, the character of their inhabitants, their monuments of art, their local superstitions, their population, revenue, costume and manners, are described with that happy expressiveness and that luminous condensation which are two of Voltaire's worthiest attributes. A pregnant summary of the same kind is just what we should desire for the Company's rule. Voltaire, we believe had never visited Russia, any more than Mr. Thornton has India: yet the one could extract from the archives of St. Petersbourg, when transmitted to him, facts

and statistical information such as we must conclude the other to have seen and neglected amidst the voluminous records of the India-house. What two valuable chapters might not have been made on the various races, languages, the different climates and produce, as distributed over the great Peninsula! The rice plains of Bengal, and the wheat fields of Hindustan: the Teak forests of Tenasserim: the uncleared tracts of Assam: the baked districts of the Dekhan: the mountainous ranges that skirt or intersect our Empire: Oude returning to its primeval jungle: Berar's unexplored forests: Ellora's caves: Jagannath's temples: anything remarkable in nature, Hindu superstition or Moslem magnificence, might surely have formed matter for those happy disquisitions, which tell us the exact amount of our ignorance and knowledge, and the length to which discoveries have hitherto gone. Here, we might have had two or three lucid pages showing us the difference between the Ryotwari, the limited, and the perpetual, settlements, as ruling in Bombay and Madras, the Upper, and the Lower Provinces: there, a page or two telling us in what districts Hindi, Bengali, Tamul or Mahratta were spoken: in this place, the native states should have been designated not merely by a few lines on the map, but by a few paragraphs in the body of the work: in that, some allusion should have been made to those remarkable tribes, who as Khonds, Paharris, Bhils, or Coles, stand before us as descendants of the primitive aborigines. Now, the Political economist should array before him the twenty millions of India's revenues with their sources, and give us some little insight into opium and salt: now, the philologist and philosopher might mark the boundaries of different dialects, and trace the effect which climate and local situation have on the moral and physical attributes of races. Without mystifying either himself or his readers with endless subdivisions and denominations of land tenures, without a deep knowledge of any single oriental tongue, without attempting to turn History into an Encyclopedia, Mr. Thornton, we fearlessly maintain, might have proved to the enquiring world that the Company have had some more worthy ulterior object than campaigns and annexations, that History has some nobler scope than the mere delineation of battle fields.

In the course of this work, it must however be stated, there occur sundry collateral topics of a different kind, which either from their intrinsic importance, or from their value as precedents, call for detailed notice at the hands of our author. That many such are worth examination in an Indian History, no one will deny, and that Mr. Thornton has handled most of them with skill and equity, we are most willing to admit. They bear in

fact a strict analogy to questions, which have become standard subjects for discussion in any History of England. The exclusion of company's servants from the highest office in the empire, may as fairly come under the Indian historian's remarks, as the Hanoverian succession or the act of settlement may be canvassed by an English writer. The summary hanging of the killadar of Talneir deserves enquiry as ample as the much disputed execution of Byng. In the Bareilly disturbances of 1815 are involved principles as important to India as those arising from Lord George Gordon's riots in 1780, and the conclusions drawn from a contemplation of the Barrackpore mutiny are such as would do credit to Basil Hall if moralising over the fearful Tragedy at the Nore. On these and several other incidental topics, Mr. Thornton's deductions are marked by a spirit of soundness and reason which really does him credit. Would that he had extended his researches to those which are as certainly the appendages of history as the above are the legitimate resting places in a common narrative!

We confess at times to a feeling well nigh approaching despair when we think over the vast capabilities of history, and the aggregate of qualities requisite to form an historian. The indefatigable research, the skill in digesting, the magic charm which invests a shapeless mass of dull material with vigour and beauty, the sympathy with suffering good which is proof against undue weakness or partiality, the dispassionate judgment on times gone by which are represented in all the reality of passing events, the keen intellect touching successively on so many of the departments in the wide field of knowledge, the lucid style, the union of the imaginative and the reasoning faculties,—are qualities, any one of which, would secure its possessor a fair position in isolated departments of literature, but whose combination in one and the same person appears well nigh ideal. It may therefore at first sight seem hard to demand from Mr. Thornton a work bearing the evidence of such united excellence. But we have endeavoured honestly to set up some standard according to which Indian or other Histories should be written: and on the whole we think that rule salutary, which judges literary or other works by the touchstone of master pieces in their several lines. Those who would attempt the historical novel must not wonder if they are tested by the criterion of Scott: those who would indite the ten foot heroic verse, must prepare themselves to be matched against Pope's refined delicacy. The goal, though unattainable, should always be kept in sight by artist, author, or sculptor. Should, however, Mr. Thornton decline a contest with the great names of a former

age, to whose authority we have appealed in the course of this paper, we cannot promise him victory if he would enter the lists with any of the Historic writers of the present day. In the language of Chivalry his spear must ring against the shields of tried and stalwart opponents. No Ralph de Vipont will present him with an easy contest and a secure issue. He must encounter, like the Disinherited knight and with a far different result, the sturdy Front-de-Bœuf and the haughty Templar. To drop illustration, his painting wants the colouring and animation which Mr. Prescott bestows on his detached scenes: his disquisitions are very far from the *curiosa felicitas* of Mr. Grote: his narrative, though easy in its flow, does not attain the freedom and the liveliness of Lord Mahon.

But the great fault of this work, as a history, is it exclusively military character. Squares of infantry in the front, cavalry on the wings, a hill foot in the distance, a perspective of elephant batteries and howitzers, a pyramid of shot, a pile of shells, are the main objects in almost every single landscape. Military histories have certainly been written ere now, but Cæsar could not tell us how he conquered Gaul, without also telling us some of the peculiarities of the wild tribes whom he conquered, nor could Thucydides write an account of that memorable struggle between the two principles of ancient Greece, without embodying in his work the soundest political maxims, the liveliest remarks on national character, the most ennobling eloquence, the most valuable information on social and domestic policy. It is of course open to any one to write merely one part of History, just as Sallust wrote the Jugurthine and Napier, the Peninsular war, but there is nothing deceptive in these titles, to disappoint the aroused expectations of enquiring readers. In the present case the large space devoted to one topic but ill accords with the author's expressed dislike of the military propensities of a late Governor-General, and we seriously recommend it to Mr. Thornton's consideration, whether after due erasion of his last two pages, he may not appropriately dedicate his ensuing edition to that lofty but eccentric and wayward spirit, who ruling everything by the sword, would have "beaten down opposition," but was himself beaten down at last.

Still we would not wish to part from Mr. Thornton without some words of praise. His narrative is full: his military operations are never wanting in accuracy. Here and there he introduces episodes almost dramatic in character, whose rarity is their only fault. Of this kind are, the scene where the sons of Tippoo are received by Lord Cornwallis at the head of the

British army, one or two of the incidents in Monson's retreat, and a graphic picture of the sufferings of our army from thirst during the march to Kandahar in 1839. Nor must we refuse some portion of applause to one who has grouped together the many brave feats of our native armies and their captains. These volumes do indeed tell us what the sepoy can do under the British officer in whom he has confidence. We do not merely allude to the trophies won on well known fields, so much as to those isolated acts of bravery, to that contempt of danger when it stands in the way of duty, to that resolute spirit which endured privations to the last extremity, or led handfuls to scatter an embattled host. Actors, in scenes like these, are by Mr. Thornton well rescued from oblivion, and the eye rests with most satisfaction on the famous defence of Arcot by the young civilian-soldier, on the bravery of Fitzgerald at Sítabuldi, on that of the sturdy sergeant who defended the mud fort till it well nigh crumbled in ruins around him, on some of the dashing feats of young officers in the late Affghan campaigns. To do Mr. Thornton justice, as a military history, his work has left no particulars unexamined, no one deserving name unrecorded.

We must take leave of Mr. Thornton with an assurance that a perusal of his volumes has afforded us amidst very considerable disappointment, no small occasional satisfaction. The days are past when Dr. Johnson could declare that it was a new thing either for Governors-General of India to patronise, or for gentlemen connected with the India House, to engage in, literary pursuits. As a book of reference on military and political matters, Mr. Thornton's work will often be taken down from our shelves. But as a work that should prove to the unbelieving how the great Company have ever respected the rights of property and the prejudices of caste and creed: how amidst the most stirring campaigns they have still kept in view the advancement and prosperity of their subjects: as a work that should give accurate statistic details or lively information on great social problems: as a work which should demonstrate the encomiums on Shah Jehan uttered by Mussulman historians, to be the veriest flattery, and the enlightened policy of Akbar to be the mere unaided and ineffectual attempts of one great and good man: as a work which should exhibit something of what History undertakes, and posterity requires, we cannot hope that Mr. Thornton will be taken in hand, unless by the Company's unrelenting opponents. Viewed in this light, and for these historical ends the administration of the Leadenhall dynasty has yet to be written.

ART. III.—1. *Quarterly Review, No. CLXIV.*

2. *North British Review, No. XVI.*

3. *General Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, 16th August* 1832; *and minutes of India in the Military Department.*

4. *The Marquis of Hastings' summary of the operations in India, with their Results, from the* 30*th April* 1814 *to the* 31*st January* 1823.

5. *Circular letter from T. Hyde Villiers, Esq., dated India Board 2d February* 1832, *and the replies thereto from Lieut. General Sir W. K. Grant, Major Generals Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Pritzler, and Sir H. Worsley, Colonels Sherwood, Pennington, Limond, Mayne, and T. Munro, Lieut. Colonels Salmond, Colebrooke, Hopkinson, De Haviland, and E. Baker, Majors D. Wilson and J. Nut, and Captains J. G. Duff, Page, and Balmain.*

6. *Inquiry into the state of the Indian Army, by Walter Badenach, Esq., Captain Bengal Army. London,* 1826.

7. *Malcolm's Political History of India.*

8. *Life of Sir Thomas Munro.*

9. *Narrative of the Bengal Army, by Captain Williams.*

10. *Orme's History of India.*

11. *General Orders of the Governor-General of India in Council.*

12. *General Orders of the Right Hon. the Commander-in-Chief.*

13. *Bengal Army List.*

14. *East India Register.*

IN the *Quarterly Review* for March is an able article on the Military Establishments of Great Britain; and as many of the observations contained in that article appear to us applicable at the present time to the condition of our establishment in Bengal, we wish to draw attention to that article, and point out what we consider to be some of the more prominent defects in the formation of our Eastern Army. These observations would apply to the armies of the other presidencies as well as to that of Bengal, but it is principally to the latter that we wish to confine our attention. The *Quarterly Reviewer* finds fault with the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to investigate the items of expenditure on the Home

Military establishment, but hopes that good may come out of this appointment, by the attention of the Committee being also directed to the consideration of the fitness of the Army and Navy for their work.

In India we have no similar carefully prepared estimates of the probable cost of the Army and Navy for the current year, and no Select Committee to which to submit them, except when the Government, pressed for finances, orders the assembly of a Committee to retrench whatever is in their power: and there can be no doubt but that in their zeal for the financial improvement of the state, these Committees are too apt to cripple its real powers by applying the pruning knife too indiscriminately to its Military establishment. A reaction is then sure to take place, and greater expense is eventually incurred by hastily prepared and ineffective armaments, because conducted on too small a scale for military operations. Still we cannot altogether agree with the Reviewer that the effect of submitting such estimates to a Select Committee of the House of Commons will be so injurious, as he would lead us to infer is his opinion. On the contrary we conceive that it is the duty of the House to inquire into not only the fitness for their individual purpose of the Army and Navy, but more especially into the items of expenditure of each and every establishment under the crown: and the Reviewer himself shows the necessity of this inquiry into the expenditure under the Board of Ordnance, which he terms "the most costly and the clumsiest working of our establishments."

We should like to see a financial Committee, composed of Civil and Military Officers of the Indian Establishment, appointed to inquire into the items of expenditure of this Board and of the different Magazines and Dockyards in the United Kingdom. The Report of such a Committee would, we consider, be one of the richest things imaginable. The Indian Army, with all its establishments, has already passed through the ordeal of an examination before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and it would be but fair to return the compliment. We throw this out as a hint for Jos. Hume, Esq., when the next estimates are brought forward.

Reading as we have taken the liberty to do "India" for "England," how strictly applicable are the following passages of the Review to our Empire in the East. Thus—"the point 'at which India ought to aim in the arrangement of her 'military establishment is, that she shall have at all times on 'foot and in a state of *perfect efficiency* such an amount of 'force as shall give confidence to her Government in its nego-'tiations with the Native powers, and insure both the Paramount

power and its innumerable dependencies from the hazard of sustaining a *coup de main* [or being insulted by some refractory chief]. When states are circumscribed by lines of frontier, more imaginary than real, they must always stand towards their neighbours on every side in an attitude more or less of distrust; the safety of each depends upon its *readiness to enter at any moment upon a campaign;* and a campaign once opened, no matter on which side or for what purpose, must be accepted as the first of a series of movements in a war of conquest."

The Italics in the above extract are ours, as we wish to touch more particularly on our general deficiency in this important point of perfect efficiency and readiness; for we may say in the words of an eminent writer* and practical reformer of the present day, that as we feel as strongly as any one can do that efficiency in the Public Service is more essential than cheapness; nay more, we contend that efficiency is the greatest cheapness. Our principle may be summed up in a single sentence; with so wide an empire and such mighty interests at stake as we have to care for, inefficiency in any branch of the public service would be nothing short of imbecility.

As the Reviewer states with respect to England, so in India we may also presume it to be a maxim, that a war of conquest or even of aggression is a sort of game that she should never play again of her own free choice or option. We hold that the well-being of this country depends on the preservation of the British rule intact, and except for its defence therefore, there can be no conceivable inducement to engage in war. This maxim has been inculcated on every Governor-General that came to India, and has been as uniformly set aside; and consequently we must conclude that the very existence of our power in the East must be maintained by continued war: unless indeed we suppose that motives of ambition and vain glory do continually creep into the minds of the rulers of this land, and that the Government is held by men who come but to reap their laurels and depart. But this we cannot believe, for though it might be insinuated that as far as this country is concerned they are at best but foreign rulers serving for rewards of some kind or other; either for glory or titles or wealth, and that in general, they have not even the advantage of being chosen from the ranks, of the Civil and Military services of India, who from long residence in the country become in some measure naturalized and identified with the best interests of the country, but that on the contrary our

* Economist, June 10, 1848.

Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief do usually pass but one Olympiad of their lives amongst us and depart, and that to such men motives of ambition or vain glory must act as strong inducements to plunge the country in expensive wars or squander the resources of the state in vain parade and empty show, or in acts which will conduce to raise them in the estimation of their own party, and give them influence in the British Parliament, as power and influence in the Roman senate was often gained on the confines of the Empire;—still we remember that these rulers are British born and British bred, and we trust that not a few of them do seek nobly and honorably the true welfare of this land; and while they endeavour to extend the renown of the British Empire in general, are not forgetful of the interests of India in particular, or of the people of Hindustan committed to their care; and we are free to confess that their position in this country is often difficult and trying, seeing that the interests of the British Empire, or rather the party questions of the rulers for the time being of the British Empire, and the interests of India separately considered do often clash, and more especially in the commercial policy of the empire. Could the virtual sovereigns of this country free themselves from these British State trammels and gain some insight into the actual working of politics in India, ere they come to rule, it would doubtless have a more beneficial effect on our expenditure than all the committees that ever sat on Indian affairs.

Thus although in general it is not the interest of this country or of the paramount power to extend its rule over the adjacent kingdoms or provinces, still in justice to the people over whom we rule it may be at times necessary to do so. For example, it is not to be expected that the people in Bengal are to be at the expense of keeping up vast armies for the purpose of preserving peace in the Punjab, when by the annexation of that kingdom to the empire it would be made to defray its own expenses. It may not be the fault of the British Government that the Sikhs are unable to govern themselves, but we feel certain that it is the duty of every paramount power to deprive their enemies of the means of attacking and disturbing the peace of the realm when once they have by commencing hostilities brought the war upon themselves; and we hold further that it is the duty of the paramount power to provide permanently for the Government of any tributary state, incapable of governing itself, and which by its constant rebellion openly defies the paramount power and materially weakens the resources and injures the commerce of the peaceful portion of its dominions. Not but that we are fully aware of our present extended posi-

tion and our consequent weakness; concentration is strength, and every addition to our empire can only increase our difficulties. We are now like a tree extending far and wide its spreading branches, while weak and hollow at the core;—our provinces large enough for kingdoms, our roads and means of communication throughout the country very imperfect; the circulation in our system far too slow. We want more of nervous vital energy in our Government; and these objects can only be gained by connecting in the most efficient manner our distant provinces, and thus virtually concentrating our power; for in this respect we may say that what is true in physics is also true in politics or in war; and if the intensity of light diminishes according to the square of its distance from the illuminating body, so does the force of the governing power; so that if by railway communication we can move through the same space in one day that we do now in ten, we increase the real governing power of the country one hundred fold. To render therefore our establishments effective and efficient we require the best means of communication of modern times, we require in fact Rail-roads, not for commerce or for convenience, but to strengthen our empire. Some may think this subject very irrelevant to the heading of our article, but we hold it to be true, that to be enabled to concentrate the strength and power of the state on any menaced frontier, more rapidly than the enemy can do, is half the science of war; and to enable a Commander-in-Chief to do so, he must have roads and communications of the best kind, as without them the most expensive armaments are useless; unable to reach the required point except in scattered detachments, and at distant intervals of time, they are liable to be attacked in detail, and also afford the most unskilful enemy leisure to concentrate and prepare for action. Lord Hardinge is said to have calculated the gain in power of a Rail-road from Calcutta to Delhi at four regiments, but we should say that had he rated it at forty regiments, he would have been below the mark.

It is not too much to say, that had a Rail-road between Calcutta and Delhi or the frontier been in existence during the last year, the present disturbances in the Punjab would either never have taken place, or had the Sikhs, in ignorance of the vast increase of power which such a road to the frontier would give, ventured to show hostile intentions, such an amount of force both in men, horses, ammunition, stores and artillery, could in a few days have been poured on their country, and that too at comparatively a small expense, that all ideas of resistance would have vanished. This is the secret of our success, that we have usually been able from some hidden source to bring to bear upon our refractory neighbours a power which they never dreamt of; as Hyder Ali is reported to have said; "it is not

what I see but what I do not see that I am afraid of." A Native power has nothing to rely on but its own resources either in men or money. It is seldom able to borrow from other powers, and never from its own subjects; consequently on the occasion of a reverse, it has nothing to fall back upon; but the Company's Government has invariably in its need been able to obtain supplies both in men, money and materials, from sources which their enemies could never command. This is the superiority of our rule and the secret of our success, and it is for the Government, by the adoption of the best scientific means, to increase and prolong this superiority. Affairs in Europe might in a few years be in such a state that neither men nor money nor warlike material could be drawn from home at pleasure, and the Government here would be left to its own resources, and then would come the trial: at such a time to have our army instantly available along the whole line from Calcutta to the frontier, would more than double its efficiency; and this we unhesitatingly say is now the first duty of the Government to provide for.

The *Quarterly Reviewer* has devoted his article to the consideration of that which he considers to be the weak point in the construction of the English army, which he looks upon as greatly deficient in Artillery; in that opinion we fully coincide with him, and consider that he has ably proved his point. We must in like manner endeavour to turn the attention of our readers to that which in our opinion is *our* most vulnerable point, and which we fear has of late been too much neglected, if not lost sight of altogether.

Living as we do in the midst of peace and plenty, and surrounded with all the luxuries of life, we are far too apt to forget the sandy nature of the soil on which this vast fabric of our empire has been reared. Where can we find in all the records of the past any parallel to the extraordinary nature of our power in India? We have conquered Asia from Point de Galle to the trans-himalayan sources of the Sutlej, and from the Straits of Malacca on the East, far west to Candahar, chiefly by the force of a Native army raised in the country. There is on record no such empire, and no such rapid rise to power so absolute, and so supreme, formed by such means. One hundred years have not elapsed since the occurrence of an event, which by its barbarity aroused the indignation of the leaders of that day and spurred them on to the conquest of the country. On that occasion our whole establishment in Bengal was confined in one room 18 feet square; and within seventy years from that day we had on foot an army of 2,60,000 Native troops, including 45,000 cavalry, with 1,000 pieces of artillery, besides our English troops; so vast and so rapid was the growth of our power in

a country which has been well described as the richest and most important part of southern Asia, the seat of civilization from the earliest times and the fabled abode of opulence and wealth ;* a country peopled by many warlike Hindu races, besides the Mahomedan population spread over the whole of India, who are, we may say, even to this hour almost to a man against us.

That one nation should conquer another is neither wonderful nor a thing for any one to be surprised at; but that a small body of adventurous merchants, who were often in debt, and often in difficulties, should be led on to the conquest of the most fertile part of Asia, and that too by the gallantry and unexampled zeal and fidelity of their sepoys, themselves the Natives of the conquered country, is truly wonderful.

Giving, as we may well do, the highest praise to the officers of that Company who raised those troops and led them on to victory, by attending to their prejudices, flattering their pride, and praising their valour ;† and allowing also for the energy and example of the few British soldiers and sailors who formed the nucleus of our infant army in its earliest days, we still look back with an almost incredulous wonder to the history of our earlier wars, as detailed by Orme and the other writers of those days. That the people of India should so far forget their Native rulers and princes, as to enlist in the service of foreigners and adventurers, who had come to their shores for trade ; and that having once sworn fealty to them they should consider their obligation so binding and so sacred as to conquer their own country for those foreign merchants, does at first sight appear most extraordinary and unaccountable. And when we review the faithfulness and zeal and patience of those troops in their adopted service, when suffering hardships of a nature‡ almost unparalleled, often 20 months in arrears for pay, and supported by a scanty allowance of rice in the midst of famine and desolation, we are filled with the highest admiration for them. At the same time the thought occurs to an Englishman, that they must have first proved unfaithful to their country thus to enlist under foreign banners, and we are led to seek the causes of this anomaly. How were they such traitors to their country and how are they so faithful to us ? But on this point we must not judge them by our English rules of feeling, for they own no country beyond their native village, and therefore never having experienced that feeling of affection for it, which an Englishman has, they never have been traitors to it.

How is it then, we ask, that we have engaged the services of those men ? what specious arts did we employ ? what extent of treasure did we lavish among them ? To all such questions

* Alison. † Sir J. Malcolm. ‡ Sir J. Malcolm.

the only reply is that the affections of the men were gained by the kindness and consideration with which they were treated by their European officers, who being few in number, but generally speaking very efficient, tried every means that could conciliate the regard, excite the pride, or stimulate the valour of those they commanded.*

Upon this basis was our power established in the space of one century, for in 1746 our first sepoys were entertained during the siege of Madras.† To this groundwork of our power we must therefore look to note the weakest points in our establishments, for we fear it has been too much neglected and forgotten of late years that we owe our empire to the exertions of our Native army. By some it has been warmly maintained that this empire was won by the sword, and we agree with them, for the records of all our well-fought fields attest the fact; by some on the other hand our power has been called the rule of opinion, and with them also we can agree, for it was by the opinions of the Native army in our favour that we have won it; and we now turn to the consideration of the great body of this Native army in Bengal, which judging from the past seems destined to make still more important conquests than any it has yet gained.

We now proceed therefore to consider wherein our establishments are defective, when compared with what an army in the field should be, consisting, as the Reviewer says, of "infantry, 'cavalry, and artillery in just proportions, with engineers, artificers, pontooners, corps of guides, and we know not how many 'supplemental bodies more; and also still incomplete, if there 'be not attached to it as many horses, waggons, and other means 'of transport as the hazards of service might require. Again 'armies to be effective must have magazines within their reach, 'to yield supplies of every thing, whereof the wear and tear 'in a campaign are incessant, and the want of which renders 'useless both the skill of a commander and the courage of 'his troops. Accordingly the armies of France, Austria, and 'Prussia are organised in time of peace into separate corps under 'their separate leaders; each corps has its distinct portion of 'the empire to guard; each consists of so many battalions of 'infantry, so many squadrons of cavalry, so many batteries of 'cannon, and so many brigades of transport and pontage; they are 'fully equipped, disciplined, horsed, and supplied; and all have 'their respective alarm-posts, or points of concentration named, 'to which a day or two would bring in the most remote of their 'detachments, and from which less than a week would find them 'ready to open a campaign either of defence or aggression."

* Sir J. Malcolm. † Sir J. Malcolm.

Such should be the composition of a modern army; but we are not sure that the system thus sketched out is quite so perfect in either Austria or Prussia as the Reviewer would lead us to suppose; that of France we look upon as at present disorganized, and therefore not to be taken into consideration.

The natives of India then compose the bulk of the infantry of our establishment. Many suppose that without the European portion of this force, the Native is not to be depended upon. Such is by no means our opinion. Physically as a race they may be inferior, and thus are not capable of so much endurance as the sons of a hardier clime; and in some few instances the European can be more depended on than those who are often engaged in fighting against their own countrymen; still it is notorious how true our Sepoys are, and in our first wars in the Madras presidency none behaved better than they did, and many instances of the most intrepid courage could be produced; and in Bengal the metal of the men was pretty well tried in Monson's retreat and at the first siege of Bhurtpore, where the natives almost outshone the Europeans. There is therefore no fault to find with the material of which the infantry is composed. There is sufficient spirit, endurance, and faithfulness in our Sepoys to make good soldiers, provided they are properly handled; and here lies the difficulty. In a periodical work like the present, we can but slightly touch upon some glaring deficiencies of much importance at the present time in each branch, without attempting to lay before our readers a too minute and tedious inquiry; and here we wish to strengthen our opinion by that of one eminently qualified by his services to judge of the comparative value of the different branches of the service, and who, after forty years' experience in every grade, and almost every staff situation in the army, and after serving both in civil and political employment in almost every part of India, came to the conclusion, and recorded his opinion that India, as it was gained, so it must be governed by the sword. Sir John Malcolm in his reply to a question proposed by the Select Committee of the House of Commons records his opinion, that "our empire in the east has 'been acquired, and must be maintained, by the sword. It has no 'foundation, and is not capable of having any made, that can divest 'it of this character; and if the local army of India, but above all 'the Native branch, is not preserved in a condition which, while it 'maintains its efficiency, preserves its attachment, no commercial, 'financial, fiscal, or judicial systems we may improve or introduce can be of permanent benefit; the success of these must depend upon the continuance of internal tranquillity and exemption from foreign war. We may create happiness or misery,

satisfaction or discontent, by the excellence or reverse of our civil and political rule. We may by good government diminish the elements of sedition, and in a degree disarm the hostility of Asiatic princes; but we never can expect active support in the hour of danger from the mass of the population of India. A passive allegiance is all they will ever give to their foreign masters; and even this allegiance, the more they become enlightened, and are imbued with feelings which our intercourse with them must impart, will become more uncertain. It is therefore to the army of India we must look for the means we possess, not only of maintaining our power, but of preserving the great benefits we have already conferred or may hereafter confer upon the millions subject to our authority; no considerations therefore, should ever induce us to forget for one moment, the paramount and vital importance of our military power; and this conviction must lead to every effort being made to strengthen those ties by which we can alone attach an army of so singular a construction. Resting upon its high spirit and unshaken fidelity, we can proceed with confidence to every improvement in other branches of the administration of our vast possessions; but should this main pillar of our strength be impaired, the whole fabric of our strength will be in danger, and all our plans and schemes will prove abortive, leaving nothing but a record of that folly which cherished good intentions, but slighted or mismanaged the principal means on which the power of putting them into execution depended." And that by 'the principal means' alluded to above, was meant the Native army in particular, and not the English portion of it, is evident from the following extract:—

"The Native troops in the service of the British Government of India, who exceed 180,000 men, constitute the real strength of our empire. Some may think otherwise. I must however state, that all my recent experience confirms the opinion I have elsewhere stated, that "An army so constituted, and formed of men of such tempers, may appear very susceptible of being corrupted, and made instrumental to the destruction of that power which it is employed to protect; but of this there is no danger, unless in the improbable case of our becoming too presumptuous in what we may deem our intrinsic strength, confiding too exclusively in our European troops, and undervaluing our Native army. From the day of that fatal error (should we ever commit it), we may date the downfall of our Eastern empire. Its finances would not only sink under the expense of a greatly increased European force; the Natives of India in our ranks would lose the opinion which they entertain of their own consequence to the Government they serve; and their whole tone as an army would be lowered in a degree that would impair our strength far beyond any addition it could receive from the superior efficiency and energy of a few more English regiments."

We know that the Native army now on foot, including irregulars of all kinds, is considerably above 180,000 men, and it must be

evident to the most unreflecting mind that if such an army is necessary we must study the temper and disposition of the men; we must not harass them to disgust them with our service: we must give them their due meed not only of pay and allowances but of honour and trust; we must not show that we distrust them, that we honour the European soldiers above them, and far less show by any of our acts that we combine European troops with them to insure their fidelity. Whether we will or not, we must trust them; then let us do it in a noble spirit, show them that we rely on them, and that we honour them for their services, by giving them posts of trust and not solely orders of merit, which honours, though good in themselves, are devoid of all real value in the eyes of men of spirit, when they see their European comrades preferred before them in the time of action, and themselves objects almost of suspicion to the Government they serve. Sir J. Malcolm shows that even in 1790 and 1791, the Native army suffered by the employment of European troops; we quote his own words:—

"In the campaigns of 1790 and 1791, against Tippu Sultan, the sepoys of this establishment showed their usual zeal and courage; but the number of European troops which were now intermixed with them, lessened their opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and though improved in discipline, they perhaps fell in their own estimation. The Native army in some degree became a secondary one, and the pride of those of whom it was composed was lowered. I am neither questioning the necessity of the increased number of His Majesty's troops which were employed in India at this period, nor the propriety of allotting to their superior strength and active courage services of the greatest danger, and consequently of pre-eminent honour; I only speak to the effect which the change made in the minds of the Native army. The campaigns of Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows were certainly not inferior, either in their operations or results, to those of Sir Eyre Coote; but every officer can tell how differently they are regarded by the sepoys who served in both; the latter may bring to their memory the distresses and hardships which they suffered, and perhaps the recollection of children who perished from famine, but it is associated with a sense of their own importance at that period to the Government they served, with the pride of fidelity and patient valour. The pictures of these three distinguished leaders are in the great room of the Exchange at Madras; to that of Coote (I speak of ten years ago) when a battalion comes into garrison the old sepoys lead their families. Wallis and Meadows (these are the names by which the two first commanders are known to them) are pointed out as great and brave chiefs; but it is to the image of their favourite, Coote, the pilgrimage is made, and the youngest of their children are taught to pay a respect bordering on devotion to this revered leader."

And to this decline in their spirit and affection, he attributes in some degree the mutiny at Vellore, which was thought by many could not have taken place, had the ties which formerly existed in the Native army not been much weakened, if not entirely

broken. We are by no means alarmists, but we feel certain that our whole power in India depends on our Native troops, and that, as Badenach says, "our hold on India principally depends on their attachment to our Government. If we secure their allegiance we need not fear the invasion of any foreign enemy, no matter how great may be his resources, or dread the danger of domestic insurrection, from whatever class of the population arising—without it, our tenure of Hindustan is not worth three years' purchase."

Were it not madness then on the part of Government to shut their eyes to this plain fact, and to trifle with the affections of their troops; or suppose that by the administration of sweetmeats and sugar plums, or orders of merit, or extra pay, they can keep men in order? Men of spirit demand to be trusted, and power and responsibility according to their rank must be conceded to them, and Europeans and natives of the same rank must be treated with perfect equality.

Our former extracts from Sir J. Malcolm's writings allude to the Native troops generally; but speaking more particularly of the class of soldier of which the better part of the Bengal native infantry is composed, he says, "the approach even of a European force would strike no terror into the minds of the men of whom I am writing, and acting with British troops and led by British officers they now advance with almost as assured a confidence of victory against a line of well disciplined Europeans as against a rabble of their own untrained countrymen. They might fail; but they are too bold and too conscious of their own courage and strength ever to anticipate defeat;" and he fully corroborates our opinion previously expressed, that the spirit of the men has been shewn better under reverse than in victory, when he says, speaking of the very instances we had selected, that in the only two great reverses that occurred during the war (that of 1803 and 1804), the retreat of Colonel Monson, and the siege of Bhurtpore, the courage, firmness and attachment of the Native troops, were more conspicuous than in its most brilliant periods. Here we may remark, that the manner in which Lord Lake treated those men,—who in the hour of retreat and danger, when their European officers were worn down with the effects of climate and fatigue, said to them in a noble spirit, "keep up your heart, Sirs, we will take you in safety to Agrá," and who lived to fulfil their word,—was in the true spirit of a soldier. He embodied them in a reserve, and gave them every opportunity of signalizing themselves, and this confidence was amply repaid by their subsequent conduct, especially that of the Gallis or Lalpulten at Bhurtpore. Here this corps, the 2d battalion of the 12th regiment,

became the admiration of the whole army; it not only drove back the enemy who had made a sally to attack the trenches, but effected a lodgement, and planted its colours on one of the bastions of the Fort. This work was cut off by a deep ditch from the body of the place: and after the attack had failed, the 12th regiment was ordered to retire, which they did reluctantly, with the loss of seven officers and 350 men, killed and wounded, being nearly half the number they had carried into action. And we cannot help recording here an anecdote of the Duke of Wellington, in illustration of a similar military spirit or tact in calling forth the energies of the men. The circumstance has probably long since escaped his memory, to whom such deeds are frequent and familiar as to breathe his native air. In 1800, Wellesley, then no title-honoured man, though an officer of rank and in command of an army, was in pursuit of Dhúndí, and engaged in subjugating the Nuggur territories; part of the force under him, was on one occasion occupied in taking some petty fort. The scaling ladders being too short, ropes and bamboos were called for to lengthen them, and a European non-commissioned officer and some natives disputed whose business it was to carry them, each party considering such work beneath them. The Duke impatient, rushed to the spot, seized the materials in his arms and carried them himself; at once rebuking them and reminding the whole army that the meanest office was ennobled by the performance of it, and that nothing could detract from the dignity and position of the real soldier. A lesser matter has often led to serious consequences, and it is this tact of managing the men, that shows the true commander. This anecdote was communicated to us by an eye-witness of the scene, a time-honoured relic of those wars, who still, or did till lately, still survive. But have we fallen from our high estate? and is the spirit of our men gone? Far from it. That spirit nursed and cradled by the oft-repeated deeds of countless ancestors that fought and died ere Britain and its sons had well emerged from grossest barbarism, is far too deeply seated to be lightly lost. These men are soldiers born and soldiers bred; their pride is arms. And yet we hear not now of such actions as the taking of the strong fortress of Masulipatam in 1759, with 346 Europeans and 1,400 sepoys; or even of such as the attack at Almorah of 800 sepoys under Nicolls, when they defeated 3,000 Ghúrkhas; or as the defeat of the Rohillas, near Barreilly, amounting to 12,000 men, by a detachment of the 27th regiment Native infantry, part of a provincial battalion, and 400 Rohilla horse, with ten guns, amounting in all, to less than 1,200 men;—we point out these instances because Native troops were almost solely

employed in them, and because it is the fashion lately to suppose that the victories gained by us against superior numbers, have been solely through the agency of our European troops; and a certain undefined feeling of suspicion and distrust is abroad respecting our Native troops. We confess that, with some few exceptions, when the spirit of the men appears to have been called forth, a falling off has decidedly shown itself. Though the spirit has not gone, yet it has not been exerted for us as heretofore. But what causes have operated so injuriously upon our Native army? Does it not behove us to pay every attention to so important a subject? Though it is not for us to lay down what the Government should do, we do but chronicle the facts as we receive them. Some few causes for this Native apathy and indifference to our service, to give it no harsher term, we have hinted at above; and we now proceed to consider what also appears important on the subject. It has gradually become a matter of general complaint, that the Government, in one way or another, have virtually deprived the Commanding Officers of corps of all power; and as a natural result of this measure, rendered them unable to do any thing towards preserving the affection of their men. How few men now know their Commanding Officer's name! And we may inquire, do all Commanding Officers know even the names of all their Native Officers? And if so, what interest does he take in his men? We feel that when a Commanding Officer is an actual cypher, he cannot take much interest in his men, and we fear that he is often thus reduced. The sepoys worked better under the old system, and were more attached to their officers and to the service, and Government had it in their own power to select good officers and remove bad ones. Formerly, a Commanding Officer was all-powerful in his corps; now, to show their total want of power, we are assured that it has happened to more than one Commanding Officer to receive an imperative missive from head-quarters, to re-admit into the service a man that he had deemed unfit and had discharged. But lest we should be thought to be stating these things, merely for the sake of proving our point, let us inquire what evidence was given before the House of Commons, on the subject of the former as contrasted with the present powers of Commanding Officers of Corps, Colonel Greenhill says, "When I entered the service in 1795, 'and joined a corps in 1796, most of the corps were in single-corps 'stations; few of the companies at head-quarters, most of them 'detached. The Commanding Officer then had unlimited powers; 'the men looked up to him accordingly with great respect, 'and never thought he could do wrong, many abuses were prac-

'tised by him, but they were not thought wrong. I do not 'advocate these abuses; he had the power to make and the 'power to break, and he promoted Native commissioned 'and non-commissioned officers as he himself pleased, not 'always agreeable to seniority; he felt the strongest interest 'in their welfare, and treated them with the greatest kind-'ness, although very often with a good deal of violence; they 'saw no person superior to him; superior military authority 'never interfered, and civil authority could not interfere; they 'respected him accordingly. All their disputes were settled 'by punchayat or arbitration; punchayat has been forbidden 'lately, and now, when the corps comes to a large station, 'the subadar finds his Commanding Officer of no consequence, 'frequently hears him rudely spoken to on parade, and not 'able to prevent the issuing of orders which are sometimes 'obnoxious to the feelings of the sepoy." Nor is this testimony a solitary one. Colonel Hopkinson forcibly says, "the power 'and influence they (Commanding Officers) formerly had in their 'own corps has been taken from them, and the soldier has been 'taught to look for every comfort and advantage, not to his Com-'manding or other Officer, but to head-quarters. That this has 'broken the chain that held together the European officer and the 'sepoy is certain; and that it has annihilated the strong attach-'ment that did subsist between the sepoy and his European 'officer, is equally so. So long as a sepoy looks up to, and relies 'on, his Commanding Officer alone for his happiness and com-'fort, so long will he respect, and endeavour to obtain and keep 'his good opinion and favour, but no longer. This, however, is 'most delicate ground to tread on; suffice it to say, that I be-'lieve all old Indian Commanding Officers agree, that unless the 'Commanding Officer of a Native Corps is every thing, he is 'nothing.

Even Mr. Henry Russell, a Civilian, shews that formerly the officer commanding a corps was a person of importance, "he had 'his muskets, his artificers, his commissariat, his tent equipages, 'and his followers of every description. The profits on the 'bazars were his, the contract of the tents was his, and these 'things, however irregularly, swelled his allowance, and made 'him of immense importance in the eyes of all to whom his 'will was law;" now he may be snubbed and insulted almost with impunity, and if not a favorite at head-quarters, could not even get a havildar promoted, though he might have saved his life. His allowances are curtailed, and he is altogether placed in so inferior a position, that many staff appointments are preferable except on service, so that it is necessary for Government to ob-

lige officers holding staff appointments on attaining a certain rank to join their corps; which is thought a most unfortunate thing by them to be obliged to do. It is indeed used sometimes as a punishment, sending an officer back to his corps; and when Government acts thus, how can they expect to induce officers to like their regiments or the men that they command. We would say, if a man is not fit for a staff appointment of some kind or other, he is not fit for any regiment—for if he will not take pains in the one situation, he will not do so in the other, and must be a disgrace to both. We find now many Captains in the army, holding staff appointments, better off than Lieut.-Colonels commanding corps on half batta. This should not be. The former eminent authority from whom we have so largely quoted, gives it as his opinion that "the armies in India would never be in a healthy or proper state, until the command of a regiment was made decidedly preferable for an officer to any staff station, except the heads of the respective departments."

But do the Principal Assistants to the Commissioner of Assam, Tenasserim, or Lahore, or do the agents at Harouti, the Bhutti Territory, or Jypore, gain either in importance, real dignity, or emoluments, by receiving the command of their respective corps? We know full well that they do not; and yet most of their appointments are or may be held by Captains. They probably fully deserve to hold them, and to receive every farthing of their allowances, and we do not wish to see them lowered, but we consider that Government should attach such importance or privileges to the command of a corps, as to make it decidedly preferable to any such staff appointments, which can by no means be considered as the heads of their respective departments.

Now, to show how all this acts upon the Indian army, let us look to the recruiting system in India, and compare how it is managed with that of the system which prevails in the army at home: and we will not give one word of our own opinion on the matter. In the last number of the *North British Review*, at page 511, the Reviewer speaking of recruiting in England, after giving several pointed illustrations, says, "the system is a 'voluntary' system, with nothing that is 'voluntary in it, but the first precipitate plunge—the folly of 'an hour which is pregnant with the repentance of years. 'Think what it is that has consigned so many men to a hope-'less life of military servitude. Think of the efforts made to 'entrap the raw material of a soldier—the gilded bait which 'is cast before his eyes—the wiles which are employed to delude 'him of the little reason that he has—the craft that is put forth

'to catch and the violence which is exercised to keep him. 'What can be more discouraging than his first initiation into 'military life? If thought be not stagnant within him—if in 'the fulness of his suffering all power of reflection has not 'utterly died—he must soon become painfully conscious of the 'fact that his new life is a cheat and an imposture. The time-'honoured couplet descriptive of the pleasure of being cheated 'has to his case no application. It is all misery from first to 'last—head-ache at the beginning, and heart-ache to the end. 'He has enlisted in heedlessness or in pique. He has quar-'relled with his sweet-heart or been dismissed by his employer. 'In a state of mind peculiarly susceptible of such impressions, 'he has been dazzled by the gaudy ribands and the shining 'accoutrements of the recruiting-sergeant. Every strip of co-'loured sarsenet streaming from the cap of the seducer—every 'well-polished plate and buckle that glitters on his person—has 'a separate spell to lure the victim to destruction. The stirring 'notes of the drum and the fife seem to summon him to a career 'of glory. He is intoxicated before the *treat* begins—before 'the first glass, proffered by the tempter, has been tossed off 'in the tap-room or the drinking-booth—before the man of the 'gay ribands has begun his attractive survey of the *arva beata* '*divites et insulas*, over which lies the path of the soldier. It 'has been all over with him, we say, long ago. The voice of 'reason—the voice of affection—the voice of conscience—they 'have all been drowned by the merry music of the recruiting 'party. The man of the ribands stands treat like a hero, and 'talks like a demi-god. It is "far above singing" to Hodge. 'He is all a-gape with wonder and delight. Another glass, 'another story, and he sees in the ascending clouds of tobacco-'smoke great battles fought, great victories accomplished—a 'manhood of glory and an old age of honoured ease. He is 'prepared to believe anything that is told him: his credulity 'would grasp even a Roman triumph, with himself for the hero 'of it, if ribands were only to set him upon the track. But no 'need of that: he has taken the shilling without it; he has sold 'himself to the recruiting-sergeant; he has "gone for a sol-'dier;" and a hundred thousand of these gone creatures make 'the finest army in the world." And at page 537, speaking of the Indian Army, he says, "the other is a truly voluntary 'service. There is no fraud, no violence practised to recruit 'it. Men of good family and good character enter the ranks 'with pride, with pride do they remain there, with pride too 'they see in old age their sons taking their place."

Now we fully admit that the English Army is the finest in

the world. But their recruits are bound to their officers by ties which Natives know not; country, home, religion, parents, custom, sanction, all bind the hearts of our English soldiers when toiling in a foreign soil for those they serve. The Indian recruit knows nothing of this, he is bound simply by his pay, and his affection to his officers. Simply mercenary troops, it must be allowed, are amongst the worst we could have; as their fidelity would be dependent upon the length of the purse, which is rather short at present in India. Our chief reliance therefore must be on their affections; but if we make the command of a corps of comparatively little value, or deprive the Commanding Officer of it of all means of gaining the affections of his men, or change him from corps to corps whenever it suits the convenience of the Adjutant-General, or curtail his allowances, or permit any junior official in office to reprimand him, because perhaps his regiment is not quite so well dressed as his neighbour's, or their caps not quite so new, or because his officers have not all got the new regulation coat or the Albert hat,—we thereby lessen the pride of the soldier in his Commanding Officer, who has little means of making himself feared or respected, or any inducement to pay any attention to the thoughts or the feelings of the black fellows he commands. Most Commanding Officers will take some little pride in having their corps well dressed, and seeing to the general appearance and style of manœuvre of the men; but few comparatively now care to attach their men to them, or would hesitate, as far as the men are concerned, to exchange their own corps if on half batta, for a corps on full batta. But we blame not them, but the system which causes this estrangement between the Commanding Officer and Officers generally and the men; and we consider it a matter of great importance, as it is beyond all question that the attachment of the troops for the Government is in proportion to their attachment to their officers, and that this attachment has been of late greatly weakened. The Native troops do not distinguish always between the power of Europeans; and any of them who reflect at all upon our system of Government must see that the officer who commands them to-day is frequently high in office under Government the next day, and may hold the highest offices in the country, and they very naturally consider that if the Commanding Officer does not care to have them attached to him, the same man when he becomes a member of Government cannot care for them either. We thus see that it is in great measure through the officers that the recruits are induced to enter the service, and to continue attached to it when they have enlisted, for the Government cannot compel men to enlist, and it is only through the men actually in the corps that

others are induced to come, and if the men of the corps either dislike their officers, or get disgusted in any way with the service, they will be little likely to recommend the service to their relatives. The native officers have also much in their power as to the enlistment of recruits, and we still think, as was said in a former number, that great injury is done by not providing some definite duties and commands for the Native officers in our army. They are now almost a burden to the state, and have nothing to look forward to; on the contrary no place or office should be barred to the Native soldier.

Though far be it from us, while we foster the Native, to degrade our own countrymen. There are hundreds of appointments in the Public Service in all its branches, for which our artillerymen and privates of the European Regiments might qualify themselves, and for which, they who have served the state, and distinguished themselves in the ranks of those corps, have a far higher and better claim than many of the class of uncovenanted servants. Let the authorities at Home carefully select the recruits they send out, and with sufficient encouragement good men will be induced to come. Too frequently the most indifferent characters are sent. Such men should never be permitted to enter the ranks. We would also give cadetships or commissions to well qualified and distinguished soldiers, placing them exactly on the same footing as other officers. The military rank is that which ennobles in the army, and no other principle should ever be permitted to prevail either among black or white troops. A judicious Commander-in-chief could always choose such men for promotion as would do honour to the service, and never feel themselves *de trop*. On a review of the whole case we think the policy of the Government in weakening the power and importance of the officers commanding corps has been bad and cannot be too much condemned. We wish not to revive the faults of the old system, or to permit the abuses that it gave rise to, in permitting Commanding Officers to make a monopoly of their bazar and to take contracts, but we wish to see them placed in a position befitting their rank.

Another great evil, which the Native Infantry more than any other branch of our establishment has to complain of at the hands of Government, is one under which soldiers are peculiarly liable to suffer when ruled by civilians, and which is most injurious to the spirit and *morale* of an army. It consists in the employment of this branch in all the petty duties of the country, escorting treasure, guarding jails, treasuries, stores, and such like civil duties. These duties cannot always be otherwise provided for, but Government should endeavour by a system

of exchange operations to do away in part with the necessity for their treasure escorts, and no large amount of treasure need then be kept in one place, nor would such strong guards be required;—and in many places, where sepoys are now employed, chuprassees could do the work equally well and at less expense to Government. Let Government entertain chuprassees for the work with a liberal pay, the same as a soldier's pay, and then they will get good men, and Government will still even then be gainers, as there are many allowances and privileges which sepoys have and which chuprassees do not enjoy, which make sepoys more expensive to Government than chuprassees. For instance, corps must be moved periodically, and Government lose all their services while on the march, whereas chuprassees are entertained on the spot and are always stationary. But whatever means are employed by Government to relieve their sepoys, something must be done, and that speedily; for the men are now harassed and wearied out even in time of peace, and unable to learn or practise the real duties of their profession. Put your race-horses in dray carts, and they will soon lose much of their spirit and pride; and what is a soldier without pride and *esprit de corps*, but like a hack fit for mere routine? Far be it from us to say that the Bengal sepoys have so far degenerated, but we need not insist on the evil tendency of the system, or what it must eventually lead to were it not for the frequent calls to arms.

Observe the show and daring of a regiment after successful action, especially under officers they like; and see the same men after years of dull routine or station duty. Out two nights in three with endless guards and endless drill, they do not appear the same men, they become dull, dispirited and disgusted with the service. Their officers who led them to action either gone home or gone to the hills, or as a reward for their services removed from their corps and appointed to situations on the staff, while the men who bore the burden and heat of the day are left to toil on comparatively neglected;—and this we may say, in reply to a local weekly cotemporary, is one reason why our men are less devoted to their officers, and less daring to defend them; and why as a class they are inferior to those who fought under Clive, Lake, and Wellesley. Is there not too much reason to complain that our army is scattered over India for purposes of Police till the moment of danger comes, and then all is hurry and confusion where order and regularity should alone prevail? The Commander-in-chief ordering one day, the Governor-General countermanding the next: one regiment ordered from one station, one from another, and no body of troops moved to-

gether to act in concert;—some think the present system good, because when once we get our regiments together after much trouble in collecting stores of ammunition, provisions, and grain, and twisting off the tails of half the bullocks in the province in the vigorous efforts made by their drivers, either to escape the merciless gripe of the commissariat officer's chuprassees, or when caught by them, in vainly striving to keep up with the troops, we still contrive to scramble through our difficulties and gain our object. But what greater burlesque on war can we imagine than this; the lean starved cattle of the ryot taken to drag our ponderous stores or accompany perhaps a regiment of cavalry or troop of horse artillery, marring by their inefficiency the movements of the whole. We allow that when brigades have thus been brought together, however badly or inefficiently, and that when once they fairly get before their enemy, they beat them, as we trust British troops, whether black or white, always will do, when led by British officers; and though we may sometimes knock our heads against a wall, yet on the whole we uniformly conquer, and our empire rolls on unceasingly; still we contend that things are not as they should be, and that we have more care to preserve an outward appearance of success, than to maintain an inward healthy tone of action in the army and the government of the country generally. The natives are looked upon as mere machines fit food for powder, and we go on conquering and to conquer. And here lies the evil, and a reckoning day must come, so let us in time beware of extending too far without adequately providing for the military occupation of the country, and maintaining the efficiency of that army by which we gained it. Lord Cornwallis's remarks in 1795 are still more applicable at present, "that 'the Company's military arrangements have by no means kept 'pace with the gradual increase of their territories, and the 'consequent occasional augmentations of their establishments." We wish not now to touch upon the policy of the Government respecting the North West Frontier, but we simply ask who now holds the military rule there, do the Sikhs or do the English Government? and if the latter, how are the duties provided for? It matters not one straw whether the territory is annexed or not: if we hold the military occupation of the country, we must provide for the duties, and how has this been done, and how do the Government now propose to provide for the future?

In 1846, ere the Government had well recovered from the first panic into which they were thrown by finding that a handful of troops could not as of old disperse the many legions of the foe, Lord Hardinge gave orders for the formation of ten levies of a thousand men each, and six companies of Native artillery, with a view

apparently to increase the Native army to the extent of ten corps of the line, and one battalion of artillery, as appears from the orders for the formation of the companies of Artillery. This measure gave promotion to 100 Subadars, 100 Jemadars, 600 Havildars, and 600 Naiks in the line, and six Subadars, twelve Jemadars, thirty-six Havildars, and thirty-six Naiks for the Artillery.

He also gave orders for the formation of 18 Infantry Depot Battalions and four Depot Companies of Artillery; giving in the infantry branch promotion to 222 Native Commissioned Officers, 444 Havildars and 444 Naiks, and providing for the enlistment of 11,100 Sepoys in the Corps furnishing the drafts, and for 7,200 men in the Infantry Depots, and the due proportion in the Artillery Depots, as detailed in General Orders of the 29th January, 1846. Commandants, Adjutants, Sergeant-Majors, and Quarter-Master-Sergeants were appointed to all these several Depots or Levies, and every one supposed that the arrangement would be permanent; when lo on the 2d March, 1846, a sudden order comes countermanding the whole, and "as you were" is the order of the day.

Now we say that this is not the way to win the hearts of the men, or to diffuse, as it should always be our object to do, a feeling of respect for and confidence in the measures of our Government amongst those classes whence our Recruits are principally drawn. Is it not indeed tampering with and playing with the feelings of the men thus to raise and disband with the stroke of a pen? On the issue of that order the hopes and expectations of more than 30,000 men were raised, who from the operation of it would have received either advancement or employment, and it is not to be supposed that a simple countermand could restore things to the same *statu quo*, nor could the Government compensate them for their loss. But although the regular army was not increased, a large addition was at that time made to the Irregular Cavalry, and some additional regiments of Irregular Infantry were raised, and the irregular system was considerably extended; and it now remains to be seen what the Government intend to do in future, whether they will go on increasing their irregular army till the regulars become regular and then the bubble bursts. So long ago as 1826, when the irregular force amounted in Bengal to 10,000 men, Captain Badenach speaks of it as very much weakening the regular army.

For the information of our readers in England we may describe Irregular Corps as simply those, for which no establishment of officers is allowed, but officers are taken from Regular Regiments either of Artillery, Cavalry or Infantry, to do duty with these

irregular corps. Many of these Regiments have done and will still, we trust, do good service, especially the Irregular Cavalry, but we have written to but little purpose if we have not shown the necessity of having Officers permanently attached to their men, and no system therefore that admits of shifting officers from corps to corps can be good; but as this is a subject of considerable importance at the present moment, when all men are alive to the necessity of an increase of some kind to the Native army, we give in detail from the Army list the following list of Regiments officered from Regular Corps of the line :—

	No. of Officers doing duty with it.
Kilat-i-Ghilzie Regiment raised in 1842	with 6 officers.
The Regiment of Ferozepore raised in 1816	„ 2 ditto.
The Regiment of Loodianah raised in 1816	„ 4 ditto.
Calcutta Native Militia raised in 1795	„ 2 ditto.
Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion raised in 1795	„ 8 ditto.
Hill Rangers raised 1792	„ 3 ditto.
Nurseree Rifle Battalion raised in April 1835	„ 3 ditto.
Sirmoor Rifle Battalion raised in 1815	„ 3 ditto.
Kemaon Battalion raised in 1815	„ 4 ditto.
1st Assam Light Infantry with which are	„ 5 ditto.
2nd Ditto ditto raised in 1835	„ 5 ditto.
Mharwarrah Battalion raised in 1822	„ 3 ditto.*
Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion raised in 1824	„ 4 ditto.
Arracan Battalion	„ 7 ditto.
The Hurrianah Light Infantry Battalion raised in 1844	„ 3 ditto.
1st Regiment Oude Local Infantry	„ 3 ditto.
2nd Ditto ditto ditto	„ 3 ditto.
Sibundy Sappers and Miners raised in 1838	„ 1 ditto.
Malwah Bhil Corps raised in 1840	„ 2 ditto.
Meywar Bhil Corps raised in 1841	„ 4 ditto.
Resident's Escort, Katmandu	„ 1 ditto.

Nizam's Police Corps 1 officer at present from the Bombay Service. Total 77 officers, two of which belong to other Presidencies.

We have also 18 corps of Irregular Cavalry raised at different periods, having each 3 officers attached to them, total 54 officers, mostly from the Native Infantry, with a fair proportion of Cavalry officers. We have, or perhaps we should say we had, for we are now not quite sure of their allegiance, 4 corps of Sikh Local Infantry, each having 3 officers attached, in all 12 officers, and one corps of Guides, with one officer attached.

We have next the Gwalior Contingent, with 4 batteries of Artillery commanded by 4 Artillery officers and 2 Regiments of Cavalry, and 7 Regiments of Infantry, with 3 officers attached to each, total (exclusive of Artillery officers,) 27; and 10 officers, employed in the Malwah, Bhopal, and Kotah Contingents, and 3 in the Joudpore Legion; which gives a total of 184 officers,

* One of these is from the Madras Presidency.

all picked men, employed with irregular troops out of their own Regiments; many of these Local Corps have been raised of late years, but if we look at the lists of the Native Infantry Regiments we shall find that not one Native Corps of the line, with a complement of officers, has been raised since 1825.

But we ask is this fair to the corps of the line? On them falls the drudgery of the service, and they should receive due promotion and encouragement, and by the system which has generally prevailed we contend that neither the officers nor the men receive the reward due to them for their services. If the army by its conduct in the field gains the country for the Government, it is fair that it should share in the promotions caused by the extension of the army, for the retention and military occupation of the country; and to a certain extent the European officers or a favored few of them do gain in honours and appointments, but very few of the mass of the army gain at all. Regiments are raised in the conquered country or province, and the turbulent and disaffected inhabitants are kept in pay to restrain them from plunder and other lawless courses, and the Native Sepoys of our own army who conquered the country are marched back to their respective stations to continue their routine of duty. It may be said that many of the old Sepoys of corps of the line do gain their promotion by volunteering into irregular or Local Corps; true, but in doing this the Sepoy is obliged to leave his comrades, he is obliged to leave the officer he has been serving under, and if he has one spark of the feeling of a soldier about him he does feel deeply his removal from them and from the corps where he has perhaps gallantly served. Is this the way to reward a Soldier? Is this to encourage merit? No; we should like to see the men who had served together kept together, and would, were it necessary, rather see the old system of double battalions revived again. We would rather introduce new men into an old corps, than raise entirely new corps; we would make two battalions out of one corps with all the recruits below the old Sepoys in the muster roll, so that the old men might get their "huck" or rights. We take it this would be more in conformity with the feelings of the native army. We feel that this is a much debated question by many, who prefer to raise the younger and smarter men to the superior grades of Naik and Havildar; but we do not think that much good is gained in the long run, by passing over men. If the men are well and carefully looked after they will when at the top of the roll usually make good N. C. officers. Young, pushing, forward men may appear to more advantage, but we prefer the old Sepoy. The promotion is sometimes now so irregular, that we have seen a

case in a battalion of artillery, in one company of which, the senior Sepoys on the roll, have 20 years more standing than many of the Havildars of the other companies. This is an extreme case, which does not often occur: still under the present system of increase to the Native army, it is only the few men, who are drafted into the new corps, that gain their promotion. The greater number of the Sepoys of the old corps never receive their promotion at all, while many of the young hands in the newly raised corps are rapidly promoted. This the Native army do not like. But let a Regiment having distinguished itself in action and by long service to the state, let it in all the pride of victory, when it suits the exigencies of the state, be permitted, as the reward of past service, to embody on itself as it were, a second battalion, in which the most deserving Sepoys would all find promotion; this extra battalion to receive the name of the corps, and to be officered by some of their own officers, giving however the full proportion of European officers; and let it be enrolled as a permanent addition to the line; thus raised the men would have a name and reputation to preserve and hand down to their successors; and issuing forth as it was fabled of Minerva of old, from the temples of Jupiter, ready armed, and endowed with the prestige of victory, they would have a respect for themselves and confidence in their own powers, which recruits can seldom attain to. But it must not be supposed from this that we wish to cry down the services of the irregular corps; on the contrary we think, that they have many of them, and especially the Irregular Cavalry, done right good service to the state, and well deserve the medals they have won: and we hold that they too, in many instances, have been treated unjustly, in not having officers permanently posted to them. The appointments to many of these Irregular Corps are but stepping stones to political and other civil employments; and wherever this system most prevails, we find the corps comparatively inefficient. The Irregular Cavalry generally affords free scope to the Native habits of the troopers, and being on the whole a more dashing service, and one which is more liked by its officers, the command of a corps is thought worth retaining as long as possible, and consequently it is better officered; and in efficiency, to say the least, is fully equal to the Regulars, showing wherever officers take pains with their men and really strive to gain their affections, how much can be done, and illustrating fully how important it is that inducements should be held out to officers to remain permanently attached to corps, whether regular or irregular, and that the officers should look for the advancement in these corps by their own exertions and by the gallantry of the men they command.

Away, we say, with that system which would separate an officer from the men with whom he has served, and by whose valour he has risen. Give the officer rank and honour and wealth in the corps, but leave him in it. We would let him even attain to the rank of a Major General, with a corps of Irregular Cavalry, if it were possible to do so; to be as a mark of pride to the corps, —but our system is one of such beaten regularity, and we are so enslaved to forms and customs, that it is difficult to awake the mind to the realities of things. It would put the whole of the auditor general's establishment into a ferment to see an officer of such rank retaining such a command and with allowances proportionate to his rank; and yet it could be easily effected by permanently brigading two or more corps, and virtually leaving the command with the senior officer, who should also command his own corps. Let there be no such system as cannot safely be deviated from, upon occasion, when required. Our whole military establishments are too much hampered, and hindered by what we call a paper Government, which lays down rules and regulations framed for other nations, and for bygone times, as guides by which we now should govern and retain this empire we have won. And now, ere we leave the subject of the Native Infantry, let us say one word respecting the management of the cadets who now come out fresh from school to command men grown grey in the service. Previous to the regulation of '96 all officers were sent to the European Regiments, and were selected from it, then to command, or do duty with Native corps, making in fact corps of the line, staff appointments in our now wide acceptation of the term, and giving certain privileges to the officers selected to be with the Native troops. Sir J. Malcolm questions much the good effect of the change of system on the temper and attachment of the Native army, and we do think it stands to reason that young men must be taught ere they can teach; that they must learn to obey, ere they can command, and that no officer should be permitted to join a Native corps, till he had served, and been drilled and disciplined, under smart officers, and had qualified himself by acquiring a knowledge of the language. The present system of treating cadets cannot be too much condemned: they were formerly kept in Fort William, and that was not found to answer; they were next sent to do duty at Barrackpore, and that did not answer; and then they were sent higher up to Benares, which appears to have answered no better, judging from several circumstances that have lately transpired there. We believe it is now intended to send them all at once to their corps, but why, we would suggest, if there are not a sufficient number of European corps in the Com-

pany's service for these young officers to do duty with, where they might be drilled and kept in order, should not permission be granted for cadets to do duty for limited periods with corps in Her Majesty's Service; where a stricter system of discipline is and should be kept up than is either useful or expedient in Native Infantry Corps. The great principle contended for, is, that officers should be induced to esteem employment in a Native Infantry Corps, in the light of an appointment, and not as at present be anxious to leave their Regiment to gain an appointment elsewhere.

In the present crisis of our power, therefore, we would keep this principle steadily in view, that whatever corps are raised should be permanently raised, and officered by men permanently attached to them, and not liable to be removed from them; for the one great evil of the irregular system is, that it permanently provides for an officer being removed from the corps with which he is doing duty as often as his own corps may go on service, or as often as his services may be required in other departments. However, there is no doubt, but that in all departments more European controul is required, which must be got in some way; and in no branch is this deficiency more felt than in the Artillery. But as we treated so fully of this corps in a former paper, we do not wish here to enlarge further on the subject, except to take a passing glance at what the *Quarterly Reviewer* states regarding it, as far as his remarks apply to this country.

It is on this branch that modern armies must most rely. With insufficient Artillery we can effect but little; every thing here must be of the best kind, and the men well trained to use their weapons. It is not however so necessary here as in England to keep up a greater proportion of Artillery than of horse and foot; but we should never be below the mark, for if in England, as the Reviewer states, you cannot make a tolerable gunner under two years, or hope to render him master of the complicated arts in which he is expected to excel much under three, what must it be in this country with deficient means of instruction and an inferior proportion of officers? We are not aware that the Bengal Artillery have as yet any means for the instruction of their recruits in any of the complicated arts they are expected to excel in, and we have heard it said by an officer of Artillery that were you to change the coats of any Regiment in Her Majesty's Service from red to blue, the Government would acquire as good Artillerymen as any in their ranks. This was doubtless said in bitterness of spirit as a reproach on the Government, which expects so much from such inefficient means, but we fear that it was in a great mea-

sure true. Here, as well as at home, it is thought that men of the line can be easily converted into Artillerymen; it will be as well therefore with reference to the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief of the 4th April, 1846, on this subject to quote what the *Quarterly Reviewer* most justly says, respecting the instruction of Infantry in the great gun exercise, and as to their fitness for Artillerymen.* "It is very well for amateur professors to talk of being able in an emergency to convert your Infantry soldier into a gunner or a bombardier; but some vague dream of the sort appears to have touched of late certain of our military authorities; and we find, in consequence, that the great gun-exercise has become a portion of drill with which the infantry soldier is supposed to make himself acquainted. They who subject the recruit to this fresh manipulation, may depend upon it that, as far as regards practical usefulness in war, they are taking a great deal of pains to very little purpose. No doubt you may in six weeks' time teach any man who is not deficient in common intellect, how to work, sponge, load, lay and fire a garrison gun. But these operations, though individually and collectively of vast importance, do not make him an artillerist. The first accident that occurs, the first shot that strikes his carriage or his rammer, renders him powerless. He could not fit on a new wheel, were you to hand it to him; he would not know how to make shift with any other tool or implement than that which his drill master has taught him to handle. As to dealing with a touch hole somewhat run, or throwing hot shot, or keeping his powder clear of sparks, his first attempt in either of these branches of art would probably end in such an explosion as must not only silence his gun but himself too, and many of his comrades."

The small dependence therefore that this Government could place on men of the Native Infantry merely taught to load, sponge or fire, must be apparent to every one; nor do we wish to see our sepoys, who have quite enough to learn as it is, subjected to this fresh manipulation. It is quite foreign to a sepoy's habits to undertake a duty of the kind. Let each recruit be properly trained for his own duty, and let him perform that duty: though we are sure that if occasion required it, plenty of volunteers from the line would be found to serve a gun, and probably with as much efficiency as if they had been compelled to learn the drill.

* Ten men per company of the European and Native infantry to be instructed in the gun drill in view to their Services as Artillerymen being available when required in the field.—*G. O. Commander-in-Chief, 4th April*, 1846.

With reference then to this order of April 1846, we ask, is our Artillery on that efficient footing that we can now dispense with all increase in the number of the men? But if not, and especially if the Government propose to themselves as a measure of expediency and for the peace of our frontier to add the Lahore dominions to our empire; or even nominally, as they now virtually do, to assume full military rule throughout that province, and dispersing all the soldiers of the Sikhs to raise their own army for its Governance—do they, we ask, expect that they can with a stroke of the pen of a Governor-General form Artillerymen fit for service? If, as our Reviewer says, an Artillery recruit cannot, at the most rapid rate of going, be sent to his duty under eighteen months, or two years; and if even at the Headquarters of the Bengal artillery, as we are informed, no means of any kind have as yet been furnished by the Government for the instruction of recruits, who are, as they arrive, drafted to the upper provinces, and sent to their troops and companies there to pick up their knowledge of their art as best they may; and these same troops and companies, though many of them weakened by such raw levies, are supposed to be and counted on as fit for service; if this state of things exist, and we fear that it is so, we hesitate not to say that not an hour should be lost in carrying out the order of the Court of Directors for the formation of a depôt of instruction, and in preparing a body of recruits sufficient for the formation of any future battalions that the Government may require. It is very true that these battalions when formed, would require officers, who have equally to be instructed in their profession; and it may be argued that they too should be sent out from England to learn these duties, and that this would in fact be to make an increase of the Artillery at once; but to say nothing of the injustice of increasing one branch of the army previous to another, we may urge against the supposed necessity for this measure that officers of the Artillery are usually instructed at Addiscombe in several branches of their profession, and are supposed to have studied it, and also have more means of gaining information than the common soldiers, and consequently would make greater and quicker proficiency. With respect to what the Reviewer says as to the training of recruits for the Royal Artillery, we cannot here at present, from want of the requisite information, speak accurately as to the course pursued or laid down, if any such course is laid down for the uniform instruction, such as it is, of recruits for the Bengal Artillery. But we fear that it is too much as detailed in a former article, and even such little instruction as is given, is not given uniformly, but according to the will and pleasure of the Commanding Officer and

sometimes of the Adjutant of the Battalion to which the recruits are posted, or with which they are doing duty. Having in that article stated fully the rise and progress of the Bengal Artillery, as well as their present establishment both of horse and foot, and devoted many pages to the consideration of the respective merits of both branches, it is not necessary here to recapitulate our former arguments. We must however revert to one or two points, and one is the imperative necessity of horsing all light field batteries, and at once abandoning the notoriously inefficient system of bullock draft. Government usually delay to horse their batteries till the last moment. Even as we write, with the Punjab in a flame, has the order been received for horsing two batteries in that province, and we may ask are the horses to be trained when on actual service? Has the Government "reflected upon the pains that must be used before you 'can venture to harness horses to artillery, so that they may be 'able to bear not only the noise of great guns, but the fall of 'innumerable projectiles about them, and the crashing of the ma-'chines which they may be in the very act of drawing.' This measure admits of no delay, but is one of immediate practical necessity. As we know not at what moment these batteries may be required, it is necessary that whatever proportion of artillery the Government may think proper to keep up it should be efficient.

Another point we may remark on is the distribution of this corps, which, in common with the regiments of the line, suffers from being detached and cut up into driblets and dispersed over the country not in any proportion according to its requirement for service, or for instruction, but in order that barracks and cantonments which were formed at an earlier period of our empire, and which should now be abandoned, may have their usual proportion of men. The system hitherto has prevailed of constituting a certain extent of territory a divisional command, whether it contains one or ten regiments. But we question much the soundness of this principle, for this truly makes the army a system of police instead of an efficient instrument of war.

The whole of our effective force is lotted over the provinces like policemen in a town, not one division, not one brigade, except those specially formed in the Punjaub, is capable of movement in any direction at even a month's notice. It is not formed for movement, and it is well worth the consideration of Government whether a much smaller force capable of immediate movement in any direction, and efficient in all its details, would not be more powerful than a larger one, which is not so efficient; and at any future increase of the army, especially in that country which now is, and must long be considered an enemy's territory, this

instant readiness for action, of each and every branch of the service, is what should be primarily considered. But the miserable inefficiency of the present means of carriage, and the invariable necessity of entertaining and raising marching establishments previous to taking the field, will always cripple our movements. 'Ready, aye ready' is a soldier's best motto, and in the end, this will reduce, instead of increasing the expenses of the state. Rebellion will be nipped in the bud, and never blossom or bear its gory fruits. We should then not hear of an insurgent city defying the majesty of the state, and successful in its defiance, amidst months of preparation and alarm, affording to its secret friends time and fitting opportunity to show themselves in their true colours. An army is not a thing that we can lay up in store and take out at need in all respects efficient. To be of good service, it must be daily used and handled. Look to the commencement of all our wars and mark the series of blunders they show, and their usually successful termination. Count what those blunders cost us. Reckon up the millions lavished in Burmah, or more recently in the Afghan campaign. Look at the errors committed in Nepaul. Will these events not teach us wisdom?

What do we require, and at what state of efficiency should we aim? That a regiment might be ordered at once on service at a day's notice? No, but that a division fully equipped, should be able to take the field from its parade ground. Tested in this way, it will be found that almost all our staff are more for Police purposes than for war; it is not so much a standing army that we have as a local army capable of being formed into large detachments for service. Look to the Quarter Master General's establishment and their principal duties, are they not those connected with the permanent cantonment of the troops instead of their duties in the field. It is said, that when we invaded Afghanistan, there was not a correct map of the country in the whole army. Napoleon's boast was his portfolio of maps,* and without them who could carry on extensive operations?

* In the middle stood a large table, on which was extended the best map of the theatre of war;* and on it were stuck pins, with heads of different colours, to represent his own and the hostile columns. It was the duty of the director of the topographic bureau, to have the map with these pins laid down the moment that head-quarters arrived at any place; and almost always the first thing which Napoleon did, was to call for the map when he arrived; for he held to it more strongly than any other want of his existence. During the whole night the map was surrounded by twenty or thirty wax candles constantly burning, and a fine compass stood in the middle of them. So frequently did the Emperor call for the map when out on horseback, that Caulaincourt had a portable one, which he kept constantly tied to his button across his breast;

* For the campaign in Saxony in 1813, he made use of the admirable map of Petri, of which he had felt the value in the campaign of 1806; and occasionally of that of Blackenberg.—ODELLEBEN, i. 137.

The corps of Engineers we have not yet considered, nor the Cavalry; but in one article, we have not space sufficient to do justice to our subject, as each branch would require a separate article to itself. The former corps is far too much confined to the civil duties of the country, to be of much service in the hour of war. This corps should be divided into civil and military branches, or certain members of it should be distinctly appointed for military duties. In connection with, and in addition to the extensive series of maps, which should be with the Quarter Master General's department, the Chief Engineer should be in possession of accurate plans of every fortress against which we were likely to be engaged. He should from his office be able to show its strength and its weak points, to have ready calculated what amount of artillery on any common occasion would reduce the place, and from what point it might be most readily assailed.

We should be glad to devote a whole article to the consideration of the Commissariat, and other departments connected with the Army, and the system employed in those departments. Here we have no space for the subject, though it is most important, nor would we allude to the Commissariat here, were it not to notice the great want of preparation observable in that as well as all other departments. It is most probable, that the establishments are not equal to their work, and more is expected from them than they can possibly perform, but from whatever cause it arises, take the facts as stated by a correspondent in the Delhi paper of the 1st November from Ferozpore:—

" 'The country for 50 miles round Ferozpoor is a perfect, barren, waste without the vestige of a shrub or tree, or even blade of grass; the Cavalry and Artillery are all pitched along this and the opposite sides of the river for the convenience of forage, and the commissariat cattle, though obliged to work, are dying of starvation for want of proper food. It is lamentable to behold the wretched state of the country; the road from Lodianah to this is strewed with carcases of cattle to a fearful extent, sufficient, espe-

and he often was required to unfold it ten or fifteen times in the course of a forenoon.*

* * * * * * *

The Emperor had, with great pains, collected a magnificent set of maps, the finest probably in existence, which was his constant companion in the campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, Friedland, and Aspern; but it was lost during the Moscow retreat, and its place was never afterwards adequately supplied. The collection, however, though of a secondary character, which was made for the campaign of 1813, was very considerable, and two officers of approved talent and fidelity were constantly in charge of it, and at hand. So peremptory were the orders of the Emperor, that they should be constantly near his person with their portfolios, that they were never more than a few yards distant either from his cabinet, his carriage, or his charger; and, being well aware of the importance of their functions, and the numerous occasions on which they were required to produce their treasures, they rode over, without ceremony, every thing that came in their way.

* Odel. i. 135, 137.

cially near some of the villages, to cause a pestilence; not less than hundreds in one place; and yet a large army is assembled here, without a day's preparation. Capt. Ramsay has now with him Capt. Newbolt, Major George Thompson, Capt. Hobday and one or two others, and it is to be hoped they may be able to lick the Commissariat into shape, but they will have an awful trouble; at least 10,000 camels, and from 30 to 40,000 bullocks are required, but they will not get *now* as many hundreds from the West of the Jumna, and almost all the arrangements at present in force contemplate the purchase of provisions, &c. from the East of that river.'—Had proper measures been taken in proper time, a very large portion of what is now an enemy's country might have been made available for the maintenance of the army at half, if not one-third, the cost that must now be incurred."

Such is what met the eye of a spectator at Ferozpore, in the latter end of October, and though we cannot go the length with him of supposing that no preparations had been made for the forces collecting, yet we quite think that sufficient means are seldom placed at the disposal of any department, and that the whole of our military establishments in this respect require revising; and that when orders are issued for military movements on an extensive scale, those who issue the orders being quite unacquainted with the minutiæ of the working of each department in the army, neither know the time necessary that must elapse ere these orders can be obeyed, nor think it necessary to give the requisite information to the several departments in time sufficient to carry them into effect; and consequently, in the end, when the movements are expected to take place, the greatest confusion occurs. It is just as necessary for a general to know the time necessary to lay in his supplies, as it is to know the time required by a body of men to march a certain distance across a plain, so as to enable him to time the movements of any other body that he may wish should act in concert with them.

There is one department, however, which ere we conclude this article, it is necessary to say a few words about, and that is, the Military Board, because it is in many points very similar to the Ordnance Board at home, so that many of the observations of the *Quarterly Reviewer* most aptly apply to it.

From the evidence we have been reviewing, given by numerous able officers to the House of Commons, we consider that it is well established that the system of the Military Board does not answer well. In two points it is precisely similar to the board of Ordnance. It is the clumsiest working of our establishments, and as an inevitable result of working by departments, it is invariably behind hand in all it undertakes.

We may trace the real origin and growth of the system of the Military Board in Bengal to the jealousy of the Home Authorities, and to the idea that prevails, though we think

erroneously, that the more checks are multiplied, the less chance there is of fraud and chicanery, and that the more supervisors and inspectors over each officer there are, the better his work must be done: we may characterize the Military Board as one great system of supervision; and under its controul, numerous departments and offices are placed, we will not venture to say how many, nor do we well know ourselves, but what we do know, we wish to lay before our readers. It is nominally divided into four large departments, the Miscellaneous, that of Public Works, the Commissariat and Ordnance Commissariat, in each of which departments, a large body of Commissioned Officers are employed, besides a host of Non-Commissioned Officers and workmen and establishments of all kinds, and the most minute accounts in all these departments pass through, and require the sanction of, the Board in some shape or other; and almost all changes and improvements of the most simple kind, in all the departments, must be recommended by the board ere they will be sanctioned by Government. Supposing any slight alteration required in any public building in a cantonment, the cost of which is above the sum of 25 rupees; the officer requiring it submits the matter to the officer commanding in the cantonment, who, if he orders it to be done, may pay for it* if it is not sanctioned by the Board. He consequently, not liking to incur responsibility respecting what concerns him not, next forwards the matter to the General commanding the division, who in turn, submits it to the Commander-in-chief; and if he thinks it necessary to forward it, it is sent to the Government, who transmit it for opinion to the Military Board, and they have probably to ask the Superintending Engineer of the division, who asks the Executive Engineer; the board at last give their opinion; the Government sanction, and the work is ordered to be done, but this sometimes does not take place till long after the officer applying for the work has left the station; and very often when in reality there is no further occasion for the work at all. A work for instance may be required during the rains, but the order for constructing it, may not be received till the middle of the cold season. Now in all this, much needless labour is incurred, and consequent loss and expense to Government, which can only receive a certain amount of labour from each officer in the service, and consequently if the time of any one officer is uselessly expended, as much dead loss is in-

* All expenses incurred under authority of Commanding Officers for the conveyance of Military Stores, or any wise connected with the provision or custody of Military Stores or Military Buildings, will be referred for adjustment to the Military Board.—*G. O. by Government*, 1813.

curred, as his salary for the time amounts to: the expenditure of man's faculties and intellects uselessly, is like the expenditure of coal, or wear and tear of a steam engine, when not profitably employed; and Government are just as great, if not greater losers, in employing their officers on high salaries, on duties which do not benefit the state, as they would be, if they were to keep their steamers paddling up and down the Hugli in front of Calcutta, expending their coals and wearing their engines for no useful purpose. But independent of all this frequently fruitless result, we have been taught that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, and we doubt not but that this axiom is also true in more matters than Geometry, and that multiplying offices for papers and accounts to run the gauntlet through, is not more sensible or more conducive to the due discharge of the public business, than it would be to forward the despatches from Calcutta, for Bombay, viâ Lahore. Whoever is virtually at the head of any department, should be responsible to Government for the whole details of that department, and setting any one else to watch him will only increase expense, and cause confusion.

But the system at present appears practically to be that the heads of departments are united together to watch one another. Thus the Commandant of Artillery we may call the head of the Ordnance Department, and he and the Chief Engineer, or head of the department of public works, and the Chief Commissariat Officer, are all members of the Military Board, and expected to take their part in supervising each other's departments.

Formerly the Board had no stipendiary members, but Lord William Bentinck so far modified the system as to add two stipendiary members to it, and we verily believe that this change has kept the Board in existence to the present hour. As it is, how can, we may ask, a member taken from the Cavalry or Infantry branch of the service, know sufficiently of the details of the Ordnance Department as to say what quantity of stores are sufficient for the manufacture of such works as a number of gun carriages; or how can the Commandant of Artillery sign a confidential report mentioning the services and detailing the qualifications of all the officers in the Commissariat Department, whom he may never have seen, and many of whom he has perhaps never before heard of. Sir John Malcolm in his Minute on the subject of the Military Board at Bombay says, "I am quite 'satisfied that a complete change of system, which divides among 'the different departments to which they belong the duties now 'performed by the Military Board, will essentially tend to pro-'mote both the economy and efficiency of the public service.

"Such change, I am further satisfied, will immediately de-

'crease expense and establishments, and enable Government to 'introduce shorter and more simplified forms, consequently 'much easier of check and control than they are at present. 'Not only the heads, but the different branches of the service 'will have their character associated with the success of a system 'which reposes a confidence which cannot be abused by an indivi- 'dual without, in some degree, implicating the branch of the 'army to which he belongs. Much has been done within late 'years to give elevation of principle to the public service of 'India. Great abuses have been corrected, and no sources of 'indirect profit are now sanctioned by usage; many establish- 'ments and rules therefore, which were essential formerly, may 'at present be deemed not only unnecessary but calculated to 'have evil effects. With such impressions, and on the grounds 'of the facts I have stated, I shall proceed to lay before Govern- 'ment the plan I propose for the execution of the duties of the 'Military Board, merely stating, that I consider it to be quite 'indispensable to complete the reform so happily commenced 'on the Commissariat and other branches of the military expen- 'diture of this Government.

"It is, in my opinion, desirable that the heads of every other 'department should also have a certain fixed responsibility attach- 'ed to them individually, from which they consider themselves, 'and are in fact, relieved, by acting in the name of the Board.

"The commandant of Artillery might be vested with authority 'to control all matters connected with the Ordnance department, 'exercising his power over the Grand Arsenal, Gun-carriage 'and Gunpowder departments, holding himself responsible to 'Government for regulating every thing connected therewith.

"The chief Engineer, in like manner, and on the same princi- 'ple, might be vested with authority for controlling all matters 'connected with estimates for buildings and repairs, submitting 'them direct to Government with his observations upon them.

"The Quartermaster-general also to be vested with authority 'for regulating, under the orders of his Excellency the Com- 'mander-in-chief, every thing connected with his and the Barrack 'departments."

And he then drew up a series of orders suspending the functions of the Military Board at Bombay, and directing that the heads of departments, then members of the Military Board, should be severally invested with authority to regulate and control all matters connected with their different departments.

Now we consider this a sensible business-like method of proceeding: making each servant of Government in his own department, to be himself responsible for the due performance of the

duties of it, and giving him liberty and latitude of action, so that he may, as occasion requires it, act with promptitude and decision, and not shilly shally and wait for orders and refer to his colleagues. There is in India a too great dread of responsibility. No man will venture to move hand or foot for fear of the consequences: each is bound by iron laws which should he transgress he is sure to rue it; the rules of the Service are often so complicated, especially in the Auditor General's department, that few understand them, and many an honest soldier has had to fight his battles over again ere he could touch his pay; and the consequence is, that where officers have the chance of losing their pay before them, they do not like to run any risks in ordering things, on their own responsibility, or advancing money which on many occasions is required. We lately read of one case now pending in the Courts of law at home, in which an officer of high rank in the Bengal Service is claimant for a large sum advanced by his father when in the Service in Oude, which money has never been paid to this day, and possibly never will, for without vouchers and documents and technical papers of their own devising, nothing will pass through the Honorable Company's Audit Office. We feel sure that this is the error of system; that it is a system, well intended to guard against careless and remiss habits, and that in reality this Government under whose shadow we repose is far too liberal and high-minded ever to wish to do the least injustice to any of their officers; on the contrary we consider that they are liberal in the extreme, and we sincerely hope that their tenure of power in India may long be continued to them.

In this article it might have been supposed that we should have touched on the often-mooted subject of the transference of the Indian army to the crown, but this is too intimately connected with the subject of the Queen's troops in India, which is far too wide a range to take in this article, which we must now conclude in the words quoted in the Quarterly—*Si vis pacem, para bellum.*

[For the sake of those who may be unacquainted with the meaning of the Native terms here and there used in this article, we must explain that "Sobadars" and "Jemadars" are Native Commissioned Officers of small rank, with but little or no real power, commanded on all occasions by even the junior Ensign in the Army or even an English Non-Commissioned Officer. "Havildars" answer to our rank of Sergeants, and "Naiks" to Corporals. Three English Non-Commissioned Officers are usually posted to each Native corps.]

ART. IV.—*India's cries to British Humanity, relative to Ghat murders, &c., by James Peggs, late Missionary at Cuttack, Orissa.*

IT may appear to some a singular fact,—but it is not the less a fact on account of its apparent singularity, that although the intercourse between England and India has been carried on with little or no interruption for 300 years, and although during the last hundred years many thousands of our countrymen have lived and died in India, yet at this day the people of England and the people of India know very little,—so *very* little that we should not be very far wrong if we said *nothing*,—of each other's habits and character. The days have indeed gone by when the intelligent Hindus believed the Honorable East India Company to be a respectable matron; and the day has gone by also when the intelligent English stuffed the portmanteaus of their friends coming to Calcutta with notes of introduction to their friends resident in Bombay, requesting the latter to shew to the former any little attention in their power, in the way for example of inviting them occasionally to a quiet tea-party, or giving them permission to shoot over their grounds. These days have no doubt passed away, and it is only the very unintelligent either of the Hindus or of the English that could possibly fall into such mistakes now; but still it is true at this day, and will probably continue so for not a few days to come, that the people of India and the people of England are in a great measure strangers to each other. Regarding this as a great evil, and persuaded that such a state of things could not have existed so long without blame being due to the one party or the other, or perhaps to both, we must be allowed to say in vindication of our own countrymen that the main part of the blame does not lie at their door. Had the Indian people been in England as long as the English have been in India, and had they been possessed of as much desire to obtain and as much willingness to communicate information regarding all kinds of matters as the English are endowed withal, we cannot doubt that each people would have known vastly more of the other than each actually does know of the other at this hour. The Hindus are a people self-separated from the rest of the world. Between them in their present condition and the rest of mankind there can be no association. Their religion, which enters into every act of their lives, and, we might almost say, into every feeling of their hearts, has a tendency to isolate them entirely and absolutely, and in proportion as

it is influential, does in very deed isolate them, from all other men. It thus happens that many men, and men of active minds and enquiring habits too, live for a quarter of a century in the very midst of the people, and at the end know very little more about them than they knew when they first cast their eyes on the green banks of the Ganges. Yea the chances are ten to one that the little that they suppose themselves to know, they know erroneously.

Such, doubtless, is one of the main causes of the conflicting and irreconcileable accounts that have been so often given to the world of the character of the Hindus. The facts on which the accounts are based may have been ascertained with tolerable correctness, but they have not been the whole facts of the case. The inferences have been deduced from a partial induction; the generalization has been wider than the facts. Thus from the fact that the Hindus, or at least many of them, abstain most determinedly from the shedding of animal blood, it has been inferred that they are by far the most humane and gentle of all the sons of men: and from the fact that they were in the habit of sacrificing human victims, and burning widows on the pyres of their husbands, it has been as confidently concluded that they are one of the most brutal and blood-thirsty races on the face of the earth. Now about the facts there was no mistake at all. It is perfectly true that the Hindus in our territory did, as long as they were permitted by our government, and that many of those out of our territory do still, burn the live widows of their deceased friends; and it is also perfectly true that many Hindus will not on any consideration kill even a noxious insect, while very few of them could be induced by any means whatsoever to be parties to the slaughter of a cow. But while the facts are correctly stated, the inferences, one or both, are incorrectly drawn. Were it not so we should have the same men at once the most humane and the most inhumane, the most cruel and the most gentle of our race. But this cannot be. The truth is that both the inferences are erroneous. Inhumanity had little or nothing to do with the *Sati* rite; humanity has as little or less to do with the vegetable diet of the Hindu. It was not from any natural or acquired blood-thirstiness that the Hindus slew their widows; it is not from any natural or acquired blood-abhorrence that they refrain from slaying their cows. It were perhaps little less erroneous to suppose that the ladies and gentlemen who make their tiffin from a beaf-steak are necessarily more savage than those who fare on the vegetable products of the earth, than to suppose that the man who burnt

his living mother was necessarily less humane than the man who cherishes and sustains her, and makes up to her so far as a manly and affectionate son can make up for the loss of her husband.

The truth is that with the Hindu religion overbears nature and feeling and principle altogether. It is one peculiar excellence of the Christian system in its purity, that it is wholly a religion of principle. It teaches that "bodily exercise profiteth little;" it makes little of external observances, excepting in so far as these are the spontaneous effusions of the heart; and it provides for the rectification of the heart, so that all good works may become a willing and spontaneous service. Thus it is that the Christian, while "not without law to Christ," is in the highest and best sense of the term the only real freeman. He does just what he likes, for his God enables him to like just what he ought to do. But with the Hindu system it is precisely the reverse. It takes no account of the feelings or affections of the soul. Its demands are fully satisfied when a certain round of external observances is complied with. The good or bad state of the heart can add nothing to, and take nothing from, the imagined merits of these bodily exercises.* From this fact we derive the inference that from the character of the actions required by the system and habitually performed by its votaries, we are not necessarily to infer so depraved a state of the heart as would be implied in the performance of the actions by those whose actions were the spontaneous effusions of their hearts. We say not that the habitual performances of the actions to which we have referred can fail to produce a deadening and deteriorating influence on the feelings and affections of the soul—for this were contrary alike to all sound philosophy and to the facts which observation ascertains; but what we say is that the performance of the acts does not necessarily imply such a prior deterioration of the affections as might be supposed by those who are conversant only with a state of things, in which the external actions are, in general, tolerably correct indices of the state of the heart. The religion, which is the final source of the actions, has not in truth its seat in the affections at all. It is only through the habits of action that it enjoins, and the habits of thought that these actions engender, that it exercises any influence at all on the heart. Thus we should probably be wrong if we should hold that none but

* Such is certainly the fact in regard to Hinduism as ordinarily understood by its professors. We do not deny that its sacred books contain precepts respecting the regulation of the heart, but these precepts are completely a dead letter in the estimation of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of its professors.

a very depraved man would burn his widowed mother, and that none but a very amiable and virtuous one would support and cherish her, but we should almost certainly be right were we to assert that the act of burning would leave the man worse than it found him, and that the habit of supporting and cherishing would exercise a beneficial influence on the moral habitudes and character of the son.

It is the fact that the actions prescribed by Hinduism are usually performed by its votaries without their being actuated either by the conviction of the understanding or the affections of the heart, that enables us to reconcile what would otherwise be hopeless contradictions in the Hindu character. It is this fact that explains to us how it is that the "humane and gentle Hindu," who would be beyond measure horrified did he witness the morning's work of an English shambles, or even the forenoon's work of an English kitchen, yet constantly practices, and seems to take a kind of pleasure in, actions from which a New Zealander would recoil.

Our pages have already contributed to the diffusion of accurate knowledge respecting two of the horrid practices of Hindu economy or superstitions, viz. *Sati* and *Female Infanticide;* and it is our purpose now to make our readers as well acquainted as may be with another custom, equally repugnant in itself to all sound feelings of humanity, equally, or perhaps more, perversive of the best affections of our nature, and of more actual present interest than either of the customs alluded to, inasmuch as the one of them has receded step by step before British influence and the other before British power, till both are now shut up within the remote mountain fastnesses of the land, while this which now claims our attention is day by day practised in all our cities and in all our villages, by the most intelligent as well as the most ignorant of our fellow-subjects, by those who are most under European influence, as well as by those who have never seen a white-faced man—by those who have been trained and educated under the humanizing influence of our literature and science and religion, as well as by those who have grown on no other mental food than Sanskrit roots. The practice in question has been denominated in the work at the head of our article by a term which has become prevalent of late years—*Ghat murders*, and which indicates but too correctly the very frequent result of the custom of exposing the sick and infirm and aged on the banks of the Ganges. We ought to explain, however, that we do not desire that the term should be understood in such an offensive sense as if it were implied that those who thus expose their sick relatives do actu-

ally intend to deprive them of life; all that we mean to say, and this we shall prove, is, that this is a very frequent result of the practice.

A year ago this subject was prescribed as the theme for a prize essay to the senior students of one of the noble educational institutions in Calcutta, and through the kindness of the superintendents of that institution, and the free consent of the authors,* we have now before us the whole of the Essays presented in competition. So strongly are we convinced of the superiority of native authority on such a subject as this, that we shall derive almost the whole of our statements from these documents, sometimes quoting *verbatim* from one or other of them, and sometimes embodying their statements in our own words.

In all systems of religion which men have devised, sacred waters are recognized as possessed of peculiar virtues and entitled to peculiar honor. To account for this it is surely not necessary to have recourse to the explanation gravely set forth by more than one member of a certain modern sect, who tell us that it proceeds from an innate presentiment, or traditional revelation of the sacramental virtues of the waters of baptism! When we read grave arguments in defence of the position that the worship of water-nymphs and Dryads is a fore-shadowing of the gratitude due to God for the blessings of the baptismal waters and of the wood of our Saviour's cross, we can only say that our intellectual constitution is not in accordance with that of those who can use, or be convinced by, such arguments; nor can we bring ourselves very poignantly to regret the discordance. Surely we need not search into any mysteries in order to discover the rationale of the process by which men, having forgotten the God that made them, or "not liking to retain him in their knowledge," and set upon making for themselves gods, and worshipping and serving the creature rather than the creator, selected as one of the objects of their adoration that which is at once one of the most beautiful and the most useful of material things. Thus, and not otherwise, the noble Ganges was early honored by the dwellers along its banks as the author of all their temporal blessings, as in reality it is the instrument through which the greater portion of these blessings are conferred on them by Him who is the author of every good gift. The temporal blessings conferred through the instrumentality of the river were very naturally made use of by the instructors of the people to symbolize the spiritual blessings and gifts that men stand in need of. So apt is the similitude

* We deem it but justice to furnish the names of the successful Essayists: These were Babu Lal Behari Dé, and Babu Bipin Behari Shom.

between the injury inflicted on the body by filth and impurity, and that inflicted on the soul by the perpetration or even the conception of sin, that there is probably no language in which terms indicative of pollution are not employed to designate the latter fact, and the correlative terms indicative of cleansing to express the removal of the evil. Every one will admit that nothing can be more natural nor more appropriate than the employment of that element which is the main agent in effecting the purification of the defiled body to symbolize the cleansing of the defiled soul; and for such use of it as a symbol we have the highest of all authority. But all ritual history goes to evince the tendency of men everywhere to substitute the sign itself for the thing signified, to put that which is external and corporeal and visible in the place of that which is inward and spiritual, and invisible.

And thus it has been in Bengal. The worship of the Ganges has for ages held a high place in the national superstition, and many and various are the rites and ceremonies and habits to which it has given rise. Some of them are in themselves good or indifferent, others are at the worst only foolish and childish; but this which now claims our attention is, as shall be shewn at length ere we have done, pregnant with manifold evil, unrelieved by any conceivable good.

While the casual origin of this practice is patent to the most ordinary observation, its historical origin, as is the case with most of the traditional customs of this country, is lost in obscurity. If it be the fact that Hinduism did not originate in Bengal, as we believe is generally admitted, then we may be sure that this practice does not originally belong to it, and that it has been grafted upon it after the period of its transplantation into the Gangetic valley. And this supposition, we believe, will be confirmed by the negative evidence of the Hindu writings. It does not appear that there is any allusion to the custom, whether preceptive, historical or incidental, in any of the most ancient of these books; while allusions of all these kinds abound in those of more modern date. Among the more ancient writings we would be understood to include the oldest and most authoritative of the Puranas. One of the native Essayists attempts, with much learning and ingenuity, to shew that the custom has not prevailed for more than 300 years; but this period we think far too short.

We shall now present a long extract from one of our native authorities descriptive of the manner in which the Hindu writers speak of the practice in question, and which will shew our readers the kind of arguments by which it is enforced.

"The story," says he, "of the marvellous descent of the sacred river from heaven, originally given at great length in the Gangá Khanda of the Scanda Purán, and rendered into Bengali verse by Durgá Prasád in a popular religious poem entitled *Ganga Vakti Taramgini*, unquestionably led to the custom whose origin we are attempting to explain. From the last mentioned poem we give the following summary account:—

A certain king, named Ságar (at what time it is impossible to determine exactly) being childless, earnestly supplicated the gods to give him a son. His prayer was granted. One of his queens conceived, and instead of bringing forth a son, as the father had expected, brought forth a pumpkin. The king, highly incensed at what he considered the insolence of the gods, dashed the pumpkin against the ground. The fruit broke. But the broken fruit discovered to the wondering eye of the pious king sixty thousand sons whom he brought up in as many pans of milk. Thus the king received more than his 'heart's content.' Having thus attained the meridian of prosperity, he desired to celebrate the far-famed horse sacrifice called the *Ashwamedha*, the successful performance of which should secure to him the high throne of heaven. The most magnificent preparations were made and the most prosperous result anticipated. The sweetest minstrelsy of heaven and earth had been invited. The destined horses had been decorated with trappings more splendid far, than all that the most gorgeous oriental romances had ever represented—the kings of the whole world had assembled and succumbed to the superiority of Ságar—the brightest hopes and the most sanguine expectations of the successful issue of this grand '*emprise*' had been formed—Ságar had already imagined himself wielding the sacred sceptre of heaven when the splendid vision was dissipated. When the all but triumphant sacrificial horse had gone round the whole earth and subdued the nations into awe, he was halted on the shores of the "hoarse-resounding" ocean. When the sixty thousand sons of Ságar had unfortunately fallen asleep, Indra—the sceptred king of heaven—fearing the speedy dissolution of his supreme sway by the rise of an upstart mortal, stole the horse, descended into Hades, and tied him near the sage Kapilá, absorbed in the loftiest meditations. The host of Ságar's sons descended into *Pátala*, and saw the horse tied near a sage. All said that the sage was the thief. In an evil hour they maltreated him. The devout contemplatist, interrupted in his soul-absorbing devotions, cursed them and reduced them into ashes. The news of this sad catastrophe was carried to the king who was overwhelmed with grief. He sent his only remaining son Angshumán,

—right amiable he was—the son of his second queen, to entreat the sage to reverse the curse. The saint was inexhorable. The curse once denounced could not be reversed. But Angshumán was told that if the funeral rites of the cursed could be performed with the thrice-holy waters of Gangá which had to be brought down from heaven, they should be delivered. This, however, seemed at the time an impossibility. The old king, already bowed down with the natural infirmities of age and sorely grieved at the fate of his sons, resigned the management of his kingdom to his son, and retired into the forest where he died of a broken heart. Angshumán his son and Dwillip his grandson followed his example in their day and generation.

Bhagirath—the issue of a mysterious conjunction of the two queens of the last mentioned prince—at first a deformed mass of loathsome flesh, but afterwards changed into an angelic boy by the blessing of a sage, listened with growing interest to the romantic tale of his ancestors, and became inspired with the pious resolution of delivering them from the pernicious effects of the withering curse of Kapilá. After a series of devotions, unparalleled in the history even of Indian asceticism, Bhagirath prevailed with Bramhá to grant him a drop of those immortal waters (of Gangá) that washed the "argent fields" of heaven. Vishnu also came forward and presented him with a conch, the sound of which was to be followed by the Gangá. But the imaginative mind of Bhagirath foresaw a most serious difficulty. He was apprehensive lest the rush of the celestial Gangá from the "sublime top" of Baikuntha might annihilate the earth. Mahádeva—the third person of the Hindu Triad—soon eased him of his fears. He bore the irresistible weight of the interminable Gangá on his matted hair, whence she gently descended into the sublunary plains. Bhagirath went before sounding the conch-shell, and Gangá followed him. They went through many a realm, since rendered memorable in the Geography of Hindu pilgrimage, —through Hurdwar, subsequently the resort of innumerable pilgrims—through Allahabad, called by the Hindus Prayág, where Gangá met her sister, the divinely fair Jumna, and where, ever afterwards, sacrifices have been offered by the devout to the manes of their ancestors—through Benares, the holiest city in the world, the beloved abode of saints and gods, where the shock of earthquakes is not felt on account of its *super-terrene* position, a theatre of the most magnificent temples, pagodas, and minarets —through Tribeni, where she met two more of her sisters, and for this reason, reckoned the most holy place in all lower Bengal. Hitherto the progress of Gangá had been uninterrupted. Right before Bhagirath lay on his way a sage completely absorbed in

his meditations. He was none else than *Janhu* feared by Gods and men. Scarcely had Bhagirath observed the rapt *Muni*, when the rushing waves of the resistless Gangá touched his body. A north-wester seemed to gather on his brows at this sad and unwelcome interruption. He opened his eyes, looked on Bhagirath with a glance of withering indignation, and drank the whole Gangá in one sip. Poor Bhagirath! He was overwhelmed with grief. He earnestly supplicated the sage to pardon him. Janhu was moved. He caused the waters to gush out in torrents from his thigh. Bhagirath, right glad, bounded before, sounding the conch-shell. Gangá—the mighty river that she is—flowed majestically,—her rolling stream raised into mountain-waves, her voice resembling the "sound of many waters." She passed through *Kharda* and *Káli Ghát*, near which has since been raised the "*City of Palaces*"—the residence of impure *Mlechhas!* And now she came to her journey's end. The boundless waste of the waters of the Indian Ocean lay before. She poured herself into it by a hundred (?) mouths. The hour of Bhagirath's triumph arrived. The moment the sacred waters penetrated into the caverns wherein reposed the "mighty dead" of Bhagirath's ancestors, that very moment they ascended to heaven in glorious chariots!!*

It remains only to be mentioned that this story is believed by almost all the Hindus. Where then is the marvel that the Gangá should be worshipped, and that the sick and dying should be carried to her banks, that they, through her, might get into heaven?

Next, we may observe that the abundance of passages in the sacred books of the Hindus, in which the virtue of cleansing away sin is attributed to Gangá and the benefits of dying on her banks are set forth, is another circumstance that accounts for the origination of the custom of the exposure of the sick and the dying. Whole chapters and volumes are filled with eulogies of Gangá. We shall only quote a few passages. The following is our translation of *Valmiki's* prayer:

O thou mother Bhágirathi—sister-in-law of Párbatti—the garland of the earth—the pointer to the skies, to thee I pray. May I who dwell on thy shore, drink thy waters, feel the force of thy waves, trust in thee, look intently on thee, may I die in thee. O thou destroyer of hell! I had rather be a bird nestling in the hollow of a tree growing on thy sacred banks, I had rather be a fish or a tortoise in thy waters, than a monarch at the sound of the bells of whose fiery coursers

* The above passage is a condensed account of a whole religious poem, 8vo.

kings are filled with consternation. O Bhágirathi! thou that leadest thy votaries to heaven, when shall my body attain the blissful state of being pricked by crows, torn by dogs, devoured by jackals, rocked in thy waves, carried from shore to shore by thy stream, and fanned by the fairies of paradise? O Bhágirathi—who wert of old drunk by Janhu—thou ineffable Gangá—the blessed garland of Vishnu's feet and Shivá's head—the banner of joy—the ultimatum of felicity—the destroyer of sin, O save and purify me. Resplendent as the sounding-shell, the moon, or the whitest flower—placed beyond the reach of solar heat by the umbrageous shadow of palm and fir trees—blended with the washings of the nipples of paradisaical fairies—sporting on the head of Shivá and in the dust of Vishnu's feet—wandering through many a realm—piercing through mountain-caverns, thy waters are at once the enemy of all sin, and the source of all good. May thy waters purify my soul. I had rather be a crab in thy waters than be the master of ten millions of elephants in a country not washed by thy waters. He who repeats these verses of Valmiki every day after bathing, is delivered from all his sins, freed from the pains of transmigration, and put in the way of enjoying the ineffable pleasure of being absorbed into the essence of Brahm."

The following is a translation of a prayer to Bhagirathi, contained in a popular religious poem:

"O mother Ganges, I now bow down at thy feet, have mercy upon thy servant. O who can describe thy virtues since they are past the comprehension of the powers of man. The supreme divinity Brahmá can alone describe *some* of thy qualities. Were the greatest of sinners—the perpetrator of endless sins to pronounce the word Ganga, he, being delivered from all his sins, shall be translated to the blissful abode of the celestials. Thou alone art properly called the "source of happiness," and the "Saviour of men." Infinite sources of salvation are at thy command. In whatever state a man may die, he is saved, as is proved in the case of the deliverance of the sons of Ságar who had been reduced to ashes by the curse of a sage. It is only children that say that it is necessary to be in a state of consciousness. He who performs ablutions on thy banks not only saves himself, but also saves his ancestors, the ancestors of his mother and the ancestors of his wife. Where but in thy bosom do still-born children find their place of repose? Thou art material, thou art immaterial! Thou art simple, thou art compound! Thou art the eternal source of all."

The following passages are found in *Ganga Bákyabali:*—

"He who thinks upon Gangá, though he may be 800 miles distant from the river at the time, is delivered from all sin, and is entitled to heaven. At the hour of death, if a person think upon Gangá, he will obtain a place in the heaven of Shivá. If a person according to the regulations of the Shastra be going to bathe in Gangá and die on the road, he shall obtain the same benefits as though he had actually bathed. If a person who has been guilty of killing cows, brahmans, his gúrú, or of drinking spirits, &c. touch the waters of Gangá, desiring in his mind the remission of these sins, they will be forgiven." "The Skanda Purán," says Mr. Ward, "declares that by dying in the Ganges, a person will obtain absorption into Brahma. The same work contains a promise from Shivá that whoever dies in Gangá shall obtain a place in his heaven. The Bhavishya Purán affirms, that if a worm, or an insect, or a grass-hopper or any tree growing by the side of Gangá die in the river, it will obtain absorption into Brahma. The Brahma Purán says that whether a person renounce life in Gangá, praying for any particular benefit or die by accident, or whether he possess his senses or not, he will be happy. If he purposely renounce life, he will enjoy absorption or the highest happiness; if he die by accident, he will still attain heaven."

But there are some special passages which bear exactly on the origin of the exposure of the sick and the dying. The following is a scale of reward awarded to those that die on the banks of the Ganges. The *Kurma Purana* says, "Those that *consciously* die on the banks of the Ganges shall be absorbed into the essence of Brahma. And those who die *unconsiously*, shall surely go to the heaven of Brahma" *Agni Purána* says, "those who die when half their body is immersed in Gangá water, shall be happy thousands of thousands of ages, and resemble Brahma." In Skanda Purána, Shivá addressing Parbatti, says, "To him who dies in Gangá I give my footstool to sit upon." How can a Hindu in the face of such glorious promises and prospects forbear wishing to die on the banks of the sacred stream?

Again, we may remark that there are some *traditionary stories* —stories intensely believed by the majority of the Hindus—which serve, (if not to originate at least) to strengthen the custom into whose origin we are at present inquiring. The following is a specimen:—"On the bank of the Bhágirathi there grew a stately Banian tree, in whose ample foliage a paddy-bird had made her nest. On a certain day the tree was torn up by the roots by the violence of a storm. The bird was destroyed and its bones buried

in the deep channel of the Gangá. The paddy-bird in the next transmigration was taken up into heaven, simply because her bones had been accidentally deposited in the river. In Indra's heaven she became one of his queens. But her residence there was not perpetual. Her residence in heaven was necessarily to be in direct proportion with the time the bones took to be thoroughly dissolved and their ossific tendency lost. The time of the final dissolution of the bones drawing near, she was offered by Indra the choice of assuming any shape she liked when she came to the earth. She, wisely judging that of all animals known to mortal men the elephant possessed the largest number of massive bones, and consequently that the longest period would take for their dissolution, metamorphosed herself into that huge beast. The elephant, or rather she in the elephant, lived on the banks of the Gangá. There she lived many years and at last died; when her bones were buried in the sacred stream. She was then taken up into heaven, and for an almost endless number of years graced the bed of Indra."

The delusion, that the deposition in Gangá of a single bone of a deceased man is the surest pass-port to heaven, is so greedily believed by the Hindus, that they universally throw into the river the bones of those who had died at some distance from its sacred shores. Even the bodies of those that die on the banks of the Ganges and suffer cremation there, are not wholly burnt. Some part of the body, generally the part surrounding the navel, is thrown into the river. We shall now give one traditionary story more :—" On one of the days in which ablutions in the Bhágirathi are said to be attended with peculiar blessings, multitudes of men and women were on their way thither. On the road side there sat a blind Mahommedan by name Jaffer Khán. He asked the passers-by whither they were going. They all said they were going to bathe in the Bhágirathi. He asked what benefits they would receive by it. ' Our sins are pardoned,' answered they, ' and our diseases are healed.' Believing that by bathing in the river his sight would be restored, he made the resolution to do it. He came along the road asking every body he met with how much he had to travel more. On reaching the banks he rolled himself from the high embankments into the river, and cried out in a spirit of the most implicit faith : ' O thou daughter of the mountains, it is no great praise for thee to help the righteous ; but it shall be to thy greatest glory, if thou canst save me—a sinful wretch.' On saying this, he made several plunges in the water. The river goddess took pity upon him, forgave him his sins, and restored him his sight."

Such then being the potent, or all but omnipotent, virtue ascribed to these waters, it follows as a matter of course that to bathe in the Ganges daily is at once a duty and a privilege, and to die in its immediate neighbourhood, or actually under its waves, is a sure method of attaining everlasting blessedness. The curious tell us that it was with the view of stirring up the indolent people of Bengal to regularity in the performance of needful ablutions, that their wily legislators ascribed such virtues to the stream, thus cheating them by a sort of "pious fraud' into cleanliness. Whether this were so or not, it is not of much moment to enquire. If it were so, we must regard the notion of the desirableness of being within the influence of the waters at the moment of death as a perversion of the law which requires the application of the waters to the body, during life. And, indeed, such perversions are not rare in the history of fallible humanity. It was by a similar perversion, for example, that Christians in the days of Constantine,—forgetting altogether the object and purposes for which the holy sacrament of baptism was instituted, and imagining that all sins committed previously to its administration were washed away by the holy rite,—fell into the habit of delaying its reception to the latest possible period: Thus Constantine himself, though professing Christianity for many years, was not baptized till he was on his death-bed. If it were so, that the ancient Hindu legislators thought, by imputing a spiritual virtue to the act of bathing in the Ganges, to urge the people to regularity in the performance of those washings which are essential to cleanliness, which in its turn is essential to health, this perversion of their precepts is another instance, in addition to the thousands that might be produced from other quarters, illustrative of the position that falsehood is always an evil, and that fraud, though designed for a pious end, is always not only impious, but detrimental.

It is now full time for us to enquire what are the practices connected with this exposure, and what are the effects usually produced on the minds and bodies of the patients, by their removal from their own houses to the bank of the Ganges; and here we shall have recourse to the essay of another of our native friends, from which we shall now insert a long extract.

"Whenever," says he, "the disease of a native patient arrives at such a stage, as, according to the judgment of the natives, renders any further attempt of his recovery fruitless, the first thing that is suggested to his friends and relatives as a matter of duty, is to carry him to the banks of the river, or to use the homely phrase of the natives, "to give him to Ganges." Here we must observe, that in the minds of the orthodox Hindus, the carrying

of their sick to the river, is at all times and in all circumstances, reckoned as a higher and a stronger duty, than the seeking of means for their recovery. Their reasoning on this head, is indeed very simple. "Life and death," say they, "are in the hands of the Gods; but the carrying of the sick to the river lies entirely in our own hands, therefore we must first do our duty, let the doom of the sick be as the Gods may determine." Such being the state of the minds of the natives, the scene which next follows is highly affecting. No sooner do the native practitioners pronounce the case of a Hindu patient to be hopeless, than all the members of his family, assisted by their neighbours, begin, with all haste and precaution, to make preparations for taking him to the river; which consist in bringing that wretched imitation of a couch, called the khat for the dead, and a number of torches, if it be night; in sending for the old and experienced persons, and in giving a general notice throughout the neighbourhood. In the mean time the friends of the sick watch with great diligence and anxiety over the progress of his disease; but, alas, not because they care so much for his death, as for his dying at home. When the necessary preparations are made, a piece of cloth, which is the worst and the dirtiest in the patient's bed, is spread over the couch on which he is to be carried, and then he himself is laid upon it. Now is presented the most moving part of the scene. All the relatives of the dying sick, the females in particular, who of course are not allowed to go out of the doors, gather round his couch, beat their breasts and foreheads, some go to clasp their dying friend with their arms, others in the height of grief fall flat on the ground, while all raise a cry the shrillest that can ever be imagined. From the midst of this most distressing scene, the sick is brought out, not without much exertion, and carried to the river, the bearers and attendants throughout the way repeating loudly the names of the gods and goddesses, arranged for the purpose in a certain order. When they arrive at the banks of the river, they step down the ghat, and lay their burden close to the waters of the Ganges, then they ask him to cast a look on her wide expanse, and cause him to say, that he is come to see the mother Ganges. He is then brought upon the ghat, where either a low, damp, and miserable hut, or as is in some places the case, a decent building, but crowded with a multitude of the dying sick, and filled with all manner of dirt and nuisance, receives him. Here he is brought down from the khat, and laid on a miserable bed on the floor, surrounded on all sides with beings like himself, whose shrieks and groanings disturb his repose at every moment. A few minutes before his

death, he is again brought down on the brink of the river, where half immersed in water, he gives up the ghost.

From the above statement it is easy to perceive the unspeakable suffering and distress of the persons carried to the banks of the river. From the beginning to the conclusion of the process, we see nothing but an uninterrupted course of misery to the persons subjected to it. No one can be ignorant of the fact, that nothing is more troublesome and harassing to a patient, laboring under severe disease, than noise and tumult; and that nothing is more calculated to soothe his heart and alleviate his pains than quietness and tranquillity. Imagine then for a moment the sufferings of the poor natives. At a period, when the pains of disease become intolerable, we see them disturbed and distracted in a most violent manner, by the noise made round their beds, by crowds of people that come to visit them, by the cries of their female relatives, and what is worse than all, by hastily removing them from their own bed and room to a distant and dreary place. If they must die, why not allow them to die in peace. If we would at all deserve the name of human beings, should we not exert our utmost to secure for our friends and relatives when ill, as much rest and peace as our circumstances and the nature of them will allow? What are we then to think of those, who far from endeavouring to soften the pangs of death in the case of their sick relatives, would open to them new sources of disturbance, and thereby add fuel to the fires of disease which internally burn them? To the shame of our countrymen, who so much boast of their gentle hearts and kindly affections, be it stated, that instead of feeling ashamed at their cruel behaviour towards their sick relatives, they come forward to defend their conduct, and with great rancour charge others who fortunately differ from them, as men without hearts and feelings. Is it not the height of cruelty, say they loudly, to suffer a person to die in the sight of his nearest and dearest relatives, to whom such a spectacle cannot but be unsustainable? Who could bear the sight of a distressed father and of a grieved mother, breaking their hearts over their dying son? What heart is so callous as not to feel the necessity of carrying the sick in such circumstances, out of the view of their mourning kindred? Well, say we, after attentively listening to the harangue of our countrymen, we will admit what they say, that the shock which a father or a mother feels at the sight of his or her child's death is very great; but no one whose heart is not yet wholly petrified can admit the conclusion, which they draw from it. Any man, who has not entirely lost his senses, would at once say, that if the sick are to be kept at a

distance from their friends, it is the latter and not the former, that are to be removed. We put the question, is it not more natural, more convenient, and more in accordance with the dictates of human nature, to remove those who being sound can feel no disturbance at being removed; than to disturb the peace and rest of the dying, to whom any movement must be painful in the highest degree? Accordingly in civilized countries we find the custom just the reverse of what is prevalent in this benighted land of the Hindus.

We take notice of another objection, that is generally started by the devoted votaries of the sacred stream, indicating in a higher degree the influence of superstition in darkening the understandings of men, and in rendering them unfit to comprehend the laws of human nature. The carrying of the sick to the river, say the Hindus, far from being painful to them, proves in many cases a source of comfort and consolation. Do not many persons, continue they, on the point of death, express a great eagerness to go to the river side, and insist upon it in a manner, which clearly shows, that nothing but carrying them to the river can satisfy their minds and give peace to their last hours. Do they not beseech their friends and neighbours, saying "take us to the river, and all our pains and sufferings will disappear." Would it not then, conclude the Hindus, be cruel beyond expression, to deprive our sick friends of the only consolation which they can enjoy at the time of death, by forcibly detaining them at home? To this we reply—That the instances adduced by our countrymen, are so few in number, that they can never be brought forward to defend the custom, the cruelty of which as we have already shown, mocks the utmost efforts of imagination. These few and solitary instances, do only serve to show the power of superstition in denaturalizing the entire man, and stand as so many monuments of the victory of false religion over human nature. For by our own personal experience, as well as from other authentic sources, we know, that none but those who from their earliest infancy have been thoroughly initiated in the doctrines of Hinduism, and over whose minds superstition has spread a thick cloud of darkness; none but those old and bigotted Hindus, who have never had the opportunity of subjecting their minds to the influence of sound knowledge, did ever manifest even the slightest desire of being carried when ill, to the banks of the Ganges. But the cases where either out of mistaken piety, or as is more frequently the case, from an abhorrence to a life which in old age invariably becomes tedious and unsupportable to the wretched native, from which death alone can relieve them, any

degree of eagerness is shown, are so rare, that they ought to be taken as exceptions to the general law of human nature. But were such instances greater in number, still we would not be driven an inch backward from our position. For as our reasoning chiefly rests on the appeal which we make to human nature, we have nothing to do with cases, where the hearts of men are utterly perverted by long and continuous practice in the ways of false religion. Now—to the honor of human nature we say, and repeat again, that these instances are very rare, we mean to say, instances, in which a *sincere* wish is expressed by the sick to be brought on the shores of the Ganges. For now and then cases do occur, in which the sick being no longer able to endure the keen agonies arising from a mortal disease, ask their friends to remove them to the banks of the Ganges, knowing as they do, that such a movement is the shortest way to death, which they then look upon as their only reliever. These latter instances, instead of favoring in any way the position of our countrymen, do, on the contrary, go right against them. For as the object of the Hindus is to show—that the exposure of the sick on the river side instead of being to them a source of pain, gives comfort and consolation to their dejected spirits, which, as it is evident, can never be the case where religious motives are not present,—if even then it can—their argument does not hold true of those cases in which the desire of being exposed to the river, arises from a different motive altogether. On the contrary, they demonstrate in a striking manner, the severity of the custom which we condemn, and which it is the aim of our countrymen to defend; for as in these instances the motive is simply speedy death, it is clearly seen that the exposure to the Ganges is believed by the sick to be the readiest way of attaining that end.

Moreover, we turn round, and challenge our countrymen to deny the fact if they can, that in great majority of cases, far from any wish to be carried to the river being evinced, a rigid unwillingness is invariably displayed. How frequently do we witness men, when that dreadful hour comes in which they are for ever to be separated from their much-beloved family and home, entreating their friends and relatives in a most affecting manner, to delay the acting of their intended purpose for a while. Who could deny, that even in cases in which the sick either out of mistaken piety, or of excessive pain, at first gave their consent, to be carried to the river, but when they see the necessary preparations made and the precise hour come, the greatest and the most obstinate reluctance is shown by them, followed by repeated entreaties to be allowed a little longer to stay at home! Here we are glad to see the attempt made by

human nature to triumph over popular superstition. Now then we say, what can be more cruel than that, in the midst of the entreaties and solicitations made by the sick to suffer them to die in peace, they are violently dragged out by those who profess to be their friends, and carried to a place where no rest can ever be found.

Here we may remark in passing, that by the wide diffusion of sound European knowledge in Calcutta and its vicinity, the severity of the custom in these places is much abated. The value and superiority of English practice is now beginning to be generally understood. In wealthy and respectable native families in particular, English practice is almost universally adopted. Here by the advice of English practitioners, as much rest is secured for the sick as the power of their friends can command. But as yet, this reformation from the old wicked custom is very partial. We hail the dawn of that happy day, when this monstrous custom will be entirely rooted out from the bosom of our country, and Hindus will try to impart peace and rest to their fellow-countrymen at the point of their death.

II. The custom of exposing the sick to the river is not only cruel and barbarous, but positively destructive.

(1). When according to the judgment of the natives, the time approaches for carrying a sick man to the river, it is customary to announce into his ears, the intended purpose of his friends in the following words: "let us carry you to visit the Ganges." This custom has its origin in the belief of the natives founded on the Púranas, that a man dying in the consciousness of his being brought to the banks of the Ganges, ascends up to a higher heaven and becomes a partaker of greater blessings, than one dying in a state of insensibility. Now the evil arising from this pernicious custom is easily detected. We know, that mind and body exert their mutual influences upon each other, that in the present constitution of things, the states of the one, chiefly depend upon, and are modified by, the states of the others, and that therefore any thing causing the depression of mind, must at the same time weaken the bodily constitution. Now what effect must the announcement made to the sick, respecting the intentions of their friends to carry them to the ghat, have on their minds? What other effect can such an announcement have on the minds of the dying, than an instant lowering of the animal spirits? It is a drop of cold water, that extinguishes the last spark of life. How often do we witness, with tears in our eyes, the sick unconscious of the dangerous nature of their disease, talking and conversing with

great cheerfulness, but no sooner are the heavy tidings brought to them, that they must prepare to go to visit the Ganges, than they drawing a long sigh, turn on their sides and are never seen to speak any more. A thick cloud of melancholy is instantly spread over their countenance, and they seem from that moment to proceed on to their dissolution with more hasty strides. Here we pause, and first challenge the natives to deny the fact if they can, and then charge them not with cruelty only as before, but with the crime of being instrumental in hastening the death of their fellow-countrymen. We here arraign them not merely as beings that are cruel in disposition and cruel by habit, but as perpetrators of a crime to which a degree of *moral guilt* is always to be attached; though in this as before a degree of cruelty is manifested by the Hindus towards their sick, that can hardly be imagined, much less expressed. For is it not the height both of cruelty and injustice, to cause the spirits of the sick to droop, and thereby hasten their death, when they, already sunk by disease, stand in the greatest need of stimulants of all kinds, physical as well as moral?

(2). Again, we know on the authority of medical men, that disturbance of any kind is not only vexatious to a patient, but materially injures him, and makes his case positively worse; and the greater is the disturbance the more serious is the evil that flows from it. When the constitution of a sick individual is much debilitated by the severity of disease, even the sound arising from the conversation of two persons talking in the ordinary tone, strikes his ear, with a degree of violence sufficient to disturb his rest, and render him more irritable, and thereby add to the power of disease. But disturbances how much more violent, than the noise caused by two men talking with each other, assail the Hindu sick on all sides. The rushing in and hurrying out, of crowds that generally come to visit a Hindu patient, at the time he is brought out of the house: the noise, not made by one or two individuals but by companies, talking and discussing with great warmth on the nature of his disease; and what is worst of all, the cries raised by the females round his bed, in a manner sufficient to distract the mind of the soundest and the strongest man; do hourly and minutely disturb the peace of the dying native. All these indeed together give a shock, which it is impossible for his weak nerves to bear, and therefore do not fail to carry him a step forward towards his final dissolution.

But what are these disturbances compared with those which assail the sick Hindus, in their way to the river. Round the

sick crowds of people gather who continually shout, and repeat in the loudest strain, the names of their deities, and in some cases, Kholes and Kartals, the favorite instruments of the Baishnabs, are rung, and the people sing so loudly, that their noise is distinctly heard from the distance of at least half a mile. Besides, the joints of the khat, upon which the sick are laid, are made so loose and ill-adjusted, that at every step of the bearers, it is distorted, whereby the sick placed on it, is continually shaken. In this state of oscillation, the sick, rolling from one side of the couch to the other, proceeds; and when the way to the river is long, he is sometimes lifted up upon the shoulders of the bearers, and then brought down again on their hands. These alternate raisings and depressings, together with the shocks received at each change of shoulders by the bearers, as well as of the bearers themselves, so much fatigue the sick, that he often begs for a little quantity of water to enable his weak frame to support these repeated and violent concussions. And we wonder not at seeing the fatigue of the sick; why, any man, having the most robust frame, would feel the same, if subjected to the above process. It does not unfrequently take place, that the sick in the haste of the movement, dies on the way, while the bearers unconscious of the event, are struck with amazement when arriving at the destined spot, they discover the fact. Then they look upon one another's faces, with evident marks of confusion, and feeling ashamed of what they were instrumental in doing, always take care not to disclose the secret to any body. Now again we defy our countrymen to point out any mis-representation in our statement, which we dare say they cannot. Then here we find another ground for charging them with the crime of untimely depriving their fellow-brethren of their lives in a most savage manner.

(3). The effects of heat and cold, and of a sudden change of temperature are, we believe, generally understood. They are injurious to any constitution, but positively fatal to weak ones. Now in carrying to and exposing the sick on the banks of the Ganges, they are brought under the baneful influence of all the above destructive agents. As in carrying the sick, neither time nor opportunity is sought after or waited for, they are alike brought out in the heat of a midsummer day, as in the excessive coldness of a winter morning, or in the chilliness of a stormy and rainy autumnal night;—now, when in the way, they are burned by the rays of a meridian sun, and then, at once cooled down, when brought to the ghat, by the cold breeze of the river side. Oh! who can bear the sight so often witnessed in the native

community of the pilgrims to Ganges, (as those who go to die on the banks of that river are generally called), who exhausted by heat, gasp for breath, or shrivelled and rolled into a mass, by the opposite extreme of cold, look benumbed and pale, or who for a time appear to be relieved from the fatigue of the way, by the cool breeze of the river, while their weak frames are silently giving way to the shock produced by the sudden change of temperature.

But these evils are slight and momentary compared with the more permanent and serious evils arising from the same causes, during the period in which the sick reside on the side of the river. Here they are continually exposed to the cold blast perpetually blowing from the river, and in most places to the alternate vicissitudes of heat during the day and of cold in the night. Now in a state of collapse nothing is more prejudicial to a patient's health than exposure to cold, which has the effect of making the minute blood vessels contract and thereby stopping the circulation on the surface. A large quantity of blood is then thrown inwards, which goes and oppresses the internal organs and produces in them serious congestions. Cold also causes the heart to lose its elastic or contracting power, which consequently refuses to beat. Death then follows as a necessary consequence. Heat and sudden change of temperature also give a shock too strong for a constitution already broken down by disease to bear. Now as all these deadly influences fully operate on the sick exposed to the river-side, they fail not to accelerate their death. Does not then our ground become still stronger, for charging those who wilfully expose the sick on the banks of the Ganges, with the crime of murder.

(4). But this is not all. Agents still more destructive are found in full operation in the Ghats, designed for the reception of the dead; such as vitiated air, and noxious vapours. As close to the places where the sick are kept, the funeral grounds are situated, where the dead are either burned or buried, and where also dead animals are thrown in great numbers, a large quantity of animal matter is there always undergoing a process of putrefaction, from which noxious effluvia and deadly vapours continually rise and mix with the atmosphere. This renders the air of those places peculiarly unwholesome, and absolutely unfit for breathing. No one, for instance, can approach the Nimtollah Ghat, without putting tenfold cloth on his nose. Such is the air *surrounding* the place where the sick are lodged. It is no better *within* the rooms. Even where the building seems externally decent and even grand, as that standing on the

Nimtolla Ghat; we become almost speechless on entering it, on account of our eyes and nose being both at once offended by the sight and stink of dirt and nuisance. The air within the places where the sick are kept, is generally so corrupted, that the natives sometimes wonder to feel the smell continue, after they have removed the dirt and cleaned the place. In this case they have recourse to a remedy which necessity suggests to them, that of raising vapours, by throwing some fragrant gum on fire. The reason of the continuance of bad smell, after the removal of dirt, is quite obvious. There being no free circulation of air in those places, when it once becomes saturated with offensive vapors, it retains them for a long time. Owing to all the causes before stated, the atmosphere both within and without the places, designed for receiving the sick pilgrims to the Ganges, is so unsalutary, that even the healthiest man cannot inhale it for any length of time, without immediately feeling indisposed. How must it then act on the sick? Let the Hindus themselves answer. If they be honest and sincere, they cannot but confess, that its effects are indeed fatal.

After seeing so many destructive agents at work in the process of exposing the sick on the river side, the depression occasioned by the announcement of the fact; the noise of multitudes, and of kholes and khartals; the violent shaking in the way; the influence of heat and cold and a sudden change of temperature; and lastly the pernicious effects of vitiated air and noxious gases; causes which singly would make any man sick, and combined would kill him, what is there that can prevent the drawing of the conclusion, that several at least out of many cases, of the sick would not prove mortal, if they were not brought out of their doors and subjected to the above unsalutary influences. Many a sick native, we can safely say, dies solely on account of being exposed to the insalubrious influence of the above destructive agents;—a fate which they would not meet, were they suffered to lie at home. May we not then reckon the natives, who forcibly drag the sick to the river, perpetrators of a crime which amounts to nothing less than to a species of murder?"

We can most confidently, from our own constant observation, vouch for the accuracy of the statements made and the scenes depicted in the above long extract. If there be error at all, it is not on the side of exaggeration. As there may be some of our readers more capable of realizing the scenes that are hourly exhibited on the river's bank from the detail of a single case than from general descriptions, we shall take the liberty to introduce such a detail—the detail of a case without any of the horrid

accessories that attend many, but one that did very painfully affect ourselves, and that will not fail to interest our readers. Some years ago we had formed an acquaintance,—it is needless to say how—with a native youth Our attention had been first attracted to him by his singular beauty of face and elegance of deportment. These, we may mention in passing, for the information of our extra-Indian readers, are no rare attributes of Bengali boys, however rarely they may be seen among Bengali men. Among a large class of boys, however, many of them very beautiful, Romanath was by far the fairest and the handsomest. On further acquaintance we found him intelligent and amiable, with the exception of a little conceit, engendered probably by the injudicious commendations that must have been bestowed upon his personal graces. Our acquaintance with him continued for several years. At last one morning we were told that poor Romanath was sick, so sick that he had been taken to the Ghat. At the time the tidings were brought us, we were conversing with several friends, among whom was a medical gentleman. We at once resolved to set out to see our young friend. The day was one of extreme sultriness; and after driving under the conduct of a native guide through a perfect net work of narrow and filthy lanes, we reached the place, in a state of greater exhaustion from heat than we remember ever to have felt on any other occasion during a long residence in India. We found the poor patient in a high fever, laid on the ground in a little hut of mats erected for the occasion. He was under the care of his father, who seemed almost stupified by the prospect of losing his darling beautiful boy. Our medical friend declared that the symptoms were scarcely more severe than might have been expected to be produced in a healthy patient by the treatment to which he was being subjected. Although this treatment had greatly aggravated the disease, which must originally have been very slight, else the patient must have died long ago, his opinion was that if it were possible to have the sufferer removed to a place where he should have sufficient shelter, and to have him placed under proper medical treatment, there was very little doubt of a favorable issue.

We willingly offered to convey him to our own house, and to give him an apartment which he could occupy without prejudice to his caste, and our medical friend as willingly offered to attend him there; but to this the father would not consent. The next best proposal was to have him removed to his own house, where also medical attendance was freely proffered. But all would not do. A consultation with some Brahmans who were in attendance completely turned the scale in the father's judgment. On the one side were the yearn-

ings of a father's love; on the other was the dread of the disgrace that would be incurred were his son after all to die, and at a distance from the holy stream. After spending a long time in ineffectual attempts to gain over the father, seconded as we thought by the supplicating looks of the suffering son, who though he was unable to give more than monosyllabic answers to our questions whether he would not like to go to our house or to his own, seemed evidently by the earnest gaze of his fine eyes to be deeply anxious for the success of our suit, we had no resource but to withdraw, having only gained thus much, that the father consented, if we sent European medicine, that he would permit his son to take it. This we soon procured, and returned with it as speedily as possible; but on our return we found the hut demolished, and on enquiring what had become of the sufferer, there was pointed out to us a funeral pile on which the lately beautiful body of our young friend was already reduced to little more than a small heap of ashes. This is a single case, and one marked, as we have said, by no features of singular atrocity; but it is a fair and unexceptionable example of the way in which this truly murderous custom daily acts in killing scores of our fellow-creatures who might otherwise survive, and in hastening the deaths of hundreds, and in rendering miserable the last hours of thousands.

All this is fairly chargeable on the custom itself. But we shall not do justice to our subject unless we point out the facility it affords for actual designed murder. Here we write under a disadvantage, for we confess at once that we cannot lay our hand on a single case regarding which we can say, of our own knowledge, that any one was by this process actually killed by his relatives, acting under the explicitly formed design of so killing him; and we are quite aware that we lay ourselves open to a charge of censoriousness in stating our belief that such cases do frequently occur. But we cannot help it. The same impression has been made on the mind of every one who has given an attentive consideration to the subject. The indefatigable author of the work whose title stands at the head of our article, has given many cases, both in that work and in a separate pamphlet on this particular subject,* which it is scarcely possible to read without being convinced that murderous intentions were masked under the veil of this hideous custom. We have ourselves heard of a case in which a rich native who had been attended in various illnesses by an European practitioner of eminence in this city, was taken to the Ghat to die. Intimation of this fact

* A letter to Lord Ripon on the subject of Ghat murders.

having been in some way made to the doctor, he hastened to the spot, and found him only slightly indisposed. Observing that he was attended only by one of the sections into which he knew that his family was divided, he immediately suspected that there was foul play in the case. On asking whether the patient had made a will, and being answered in the affirmative, he requested permission to read the document. This being granted, he found, as he had expected, that the testamentary disposition was entirely in favor of that portion of the testator's family who were now in attendance on him. With most praiseworthy imprudence he tore the will into shreds, and immediately the attendants consented that the sufferer should be removed, it being now their interest that he should recover and make a will similar to the former one, as it was formerly their interest that he should die. We may almost vouch for every particular in this case, as we have it from credible report; and we mention it as a specimen of what *must* often take place. There are men in all countries unscrupulous enough to deprive their relatives of life when it is their interest that they should die. And can we believe that there should be in this country no individuals who are willing to employ for this foul end a custom which is as well fitted to assist in the perpetration of such dark deeds as if it had been invented for this very end? One of our native essayists is indignant at an imputation which he says has been cast upon his countrymen by some of their European "friends," that they do habitually in this way murder intentionally their aged relatives. He thus writes on the subject:—

"It has been alleged by some British residents in India, that this practice of exposure serves *many Hindus* to murder their aged and infirm parents and relatives, and thereby get rid of their burden. This I conceive a mere assertion, urged to blacken the native character. Bad as the Hindus are, degraded as they may have been for ages by vice and immorality, they are not so depraved and brutal as they are represented by some of their European friends. Steeped as the Hindus are in darkness and vice, they are not *so unnatural* as to imbrue their hands in the blood of their parents. On the contrary those who have any pretensions to a knowledge of the Hindu character must acknowledge, that their attachment to their parents is carried to such an extent as well may be termed idolatry. Many have turned their mothers into idols. Were it not for their over-fondness to them, many whose minds are enlightened with the knowledge of the Gospel, would not hesitate to avow their sentiments and profess their faith in public. But it may be urged by those who made the above allegation. Did not such a person murder his old mother when she was brought down into such a Ghat to

expire? Granting that that inhuman being was guilty of such a black deed as matricide, would it be fair, would it be just, to charge it against the whole of the native character? If we were to argue in this way, what nation can be free from the imputation even of the vilest deeds. The whole set of the British judges can be charged with bribery, since Jeffreys perverted justice. Such a practice as the exposure may afford an occasion to a wretch to murder his aged mother or father by the Gunga water; but it is not taken hold of by the Hindus generally as a fit opportunity to get rid of their aged and infirm parents and relatives. When this evil practice shall come to be abolished by the British Government, or discontinued by the natives themselves on account of the many evils attendant on it; no doubt every occasion for such an *unnatural crime* to such wretches will cease; and no such horrid exhibitions, as are now presented on the banks of the Ganges, will be witnessed."

Now that such imputations may have been cast upon the Hindus we cannot of course deny, since we have not heard all that has been said, nor read all that has been written on the subject. But we will say that we never heard of any one who would ever have dreamt of bringing such a sweeping accusation against a nation. In fact what we and all those who write against the practice urge in its condemnation, amounts in effect to precisely what this Essayist himself fully admits, that it produces death in many cases, and probably hastens it in almost all, while it opens up a way whereby the "unnatural" and murderously-disposed may execute their foul purposes without the possibility of detection.

In addition to such atrocities as have been detailed, for as such we must be allowed to designate the practices that we have attempted, with the help of our native friends, to describe, there are other practices that greatly aggravate the mischief. It is not deemed enough to apply the waters of the holy river outwardly; but at a certain stage of the process of death it is customary to pour copious draughts of the water down the throat of the victim, nor of the water alone, but of the mud also of the river. These parts of the ceremony are brought before us in the following extract from Mr. Peggs's work:—

"The existence of this custom, and the inhumanities connected with it, were very fully discussed, in the public papers in Calcutta, before the author left India in Nov. 1825; a few brief extracts may be interesting. In the *Bengal Hurkaru* it is observed, "During the prevalence of cholera, one of the symptoms of which is a sudden prostration of strength, leaving the pulse scarcely perceptible and the patient in an apparently lifeless state, it must frequently happen, that individuals are carried

down to the river in this condition, and murdered under the pretext that they are already in a dying state; when, if they had been properly treated, they might have been restored to health. We have heard, that these unhappy victims of a demoralizing superstition are sometimes carried down expressing reluctance by every means in their power." (Aug. 1825.)

"The following letter, extracted from the *Columbian Press Gazette*, is given entire :—

"I was informed a few days ago, that numbers of sick Natives were daily brought to the Kidderpore Ghaut, to perform the last ceremony of dipping them in the stream, and forcing the mud and water of the Ganges into their mouths. Curiosity led me to see this, as well as to try if I could be of service in persuading any to desist from this horrid act. On my arrival at the spot to which I was directed, I saw three individuals, two old men and a boy of about thirteen or fourteen years of age. The old people were in a hopeless state, the boy however looked very well; but as he was lying on the *marshy ground on a bare mat*, not five yards from the water, and his body uncovered, his case seemed dangerous. I went to him, felt his pulse, and perceived it beat well. I remonstrated with those around him, for having brought the boy to such a place, and then leaving him in that condition. I inquired if a doctor had attended him. I was informed that the doctor attached to the Tannah was sent for, who gave him some English medicine, and promised to be back again very soon. Shortly after this the inhuman man (a Brahman) appeared, but would give no medicine; saying, '*I have given* ONCE, *for which I have not been paid; and* I WILL NOT *administer any more until paid for!*' I was struck with amazement, but all persuasions and promises were of no avail. Humanity led me to suggest that, if the boy were taken to his house and kept warm, I would pay any charge the doctor might make. This was not acceded to: and as it seemed useless to do any thing further, so long as the boy remained in that damp place, exposed to the weather, I thought proper to go away The doctor was still there; but whether he gave him any medicine after I left the place I cannot say. On inquiry the following morning, I was informed the boy died about midnight. Can you inform me if the doctors attached to the Thannahs are paid by Government? This information from you, or any of the readers of your valuable Gazette, will much oblige

"*Tolly's Nullah, Sept.* 22, 1825." C.

"We are unable to satisfy our Correspondent on this point."—ED.

"Would not this affair in Britain be justly looked upon as murder? 'Ought not inquisition to be made for blood' thus shed in British India? Does not humanity, even of the humane, in India, want elevating, which could leave a youth thus to perish without using compulsory measures to have him taken care of?

"'In my way down from the Upper Provinces,' says a correspondent in the same paper, 'my budgerow stopped at a Ghat on the Hugli river, in the vicinity of Murshedabad. The crowd, which was collected on the spot, excited my curiosity to know what occasioned it. I went to the place, and witnessed one of the most inhuman scenes that can be imagined. A poor helpless creature was stretched on a cot, the lower part of his body being immersed in water. In this posture, *he was implor-*

ing his murderers in the most pitiful manner to let him go, declaring that he was yet far from death! To hear his supplications, and observe the forlorn expression of his countenance, were enough to strike any heart with horror and pity. But those cruel wretches that were about him, unmindful of his entreaties, kept crying, 'Hurri bol! Hurri bol!' and continued filling his mouth with water, till at length the poor creature became exhausted; his voice, which was at first loud, gradually sank, and he fell an unwilling victim to superstition." (Aug. 1825.)

"'We had not proceeded far,' says the widow of a Missionary, who died at Digah, writing on the Ganges, Dec. 1826, "when we saw on a sand-bed a poor man and woman sitting by the water. The woman was busied in laving her dying son with mud and water, who was old and strong enough to be heard to say,—'*I will not die! I will not die!*' To which she was heard to reply frequently, '*To die by Gunga is blessed, my son!*' She at length stifled him; when the father assisted in pushing him into the river."

"A Bengali newspaper, the *Kowmudy*, Aug., 1825, contains the following testimony to the existence of these atrocities:—'With a view to check the progress of the cholera morbus, the Government have, with their usual benevolence towards the natives, been pleased to appoint a native doctor to every tannah, to afford medical assistance to the poor patients in the neighbourhood. We are happy to learn that a young man having been attacked with the cholera, and his relations despairing of his life, took him to the river side, when suddenly his breath stopped, and he appeared to be dead; his relations prepared a funeral pile, but to their great surprise they perceived him move, and approaching him, though with a degree of fear,* had recourse to some medicines, which restored him to life, and he returned home to the great joy of his whole family.'

"A respectable man of Sulkea, (says another Bengali paper, the *Somachar Durpun*, about the same date,) having been attacked with the cholera, was taken to the river side; and on his becoming senseless, though not cold, every one thought he was dead; and, having prepared a pile, put him upon it and set it on fire. The poor creature, by imbibing a certain degree of heat, came to himself and rose up. *One of his relations who was close by, beat him on the head with a bamboo, and killed*

him on the burning pile. This circumstance is not groundless; we have obtained the account from a European gentleman, who was an eyewitness of it. The perpetrator of this murder (says the Hindu Translator), though it was prejudice that prompted him to act as he did, no doubt conceived with respect to the supposed dead man, what we have already stated. Such absurd notions of evil spirits or supernatural beings, are not handed to us by our ancestors, nor can we find any trace of them in our shastras, and hence we are at a loss to conceive, how such groundless ideas could ever take root in the minds of modern Hindus."

"A correspondent in the *World* Paper, July 1829, thus describes the exposure of the sick, and what he terms,—*the wholesale Murders so frequently exhibited in Bengal:*—

"I witnessed an instance where a diseased mother was exposed, with one infant at the breast, and another about two years of age, with no visible disease. We had landed to dig a grave and bury an officer, who died in the night, and when I returned to the ship, I could not eat my dinner in consequence of the loathsome sight, of *two babies writhing about their mother*, expiring of the cholera morbus. Going next day to examine if the jackals had torn up the officer's grave, I observed *the elder babe dead, the younger crawling about it, and the mother had been devoured!* Being anxious to know the fate of the surviving infant, I went next day, and found it had crawled under the bottom of a boat, and the dead child had disappeared: next morning the other had been devoured also. This was at Diamond Harbour, where, the population not being great, we might have saved one of the children, but feared to try; as I had been in great danger from the natives at Calcutta, a short time previously, by attempting to carry off one in a boat, who was laid on the beach with a number of other human sacrifices. This was an interesting young woman, who happened to lie near the boat I was getting in; she seemed to be overjoyed when I raised her up, and looked equally dejected when I was obliged to drop her and hasten into the boat, to avoid the stones which were thrown at me. Those I have seen exposed were laid on their backs; as if the cruelty of the system could not be complete, unless the poor unhappy creatures, who escaped the wild beasts in the night, were to die mad, with brain fever or apoplexy, through the face being exposed to the blazing sun during a tropical day, which, I believe, would cause the death of any man, even in sound health."

The habit of choking the dying patients with the water and mud of the Ganges is unquestionably a legitimate portion of the rite, but it is not uniformly put in practice, and from the all but total absence of allusion to it in the essays before us, we should suppose that among the better classes it is practically abolished. It is however retained by the more bigotted portion of the votaries of Hinduism, and is undoubtedly the means of removing from life hundreds and thousands who might either have recovered, or might at least have lived much longer than they are permitted to do.

Another part of the legitimate practice consists in this: that

if any one survive the exposure, and return from the bank of the river, he ought to be regarded as rejected of the Goddess and be treated thenceforth during the remainder of his life as an unclean outcast, "an alien to his mother's children." In connexion with this part of our subject we may be allowed to relate an anecdote regarding an occurrence in which we ourselves bore a part. Several years ago, having occasion to make a short trip up the river, for the sake of speed we chartered a native boat or Panchway, rowed by Hindus, instead of the baulea in which Europeans generally make their river-trips, and which are rowed by Mahommedans. On our return, and shortly before reaching Calcutta, our foot slipped along the dewy deck of the boat, and as there were no bulwarks we tumbled "right slick away" into the river, and then had we been dependent only on our Hindu boatmen, our "name and memorial should have perished;" but a kind providence sent another boat to our aid, and we were picked up and restored to our own boat with no other injury than a somewhat too cold bath. On coming to the Ghat at Cossipore, the water was low, and there was a considerable breadth of mud to be crossed before reaching the steps of the Ghat. Our Indian readers all know that it is the uniform custom in such cases that the boatmen carry their passengers ashore. But in the present case our boatmen refused to submit to such a profanation of their sacred persons as would have been incurred by carrying one whom their Goddess had actually spewed from her mouth. "Was it not enough that we carried you yesterday, mlecha though you be, must we carry you now when the Gunga has refused to have you?" We need not tell how this adventure ended, nor by what arguments the refractory votaries of the river were induced to comply with our request; but the incident seems to us to shew how intimately the feeling is inwrought with the Hindu constitution, that it is at once a great blessing to die in the Ganges and a great evil to be deprived of such a privilege. So rigidly was this practice formerly observed of excluding from society all who returned from the banks of the river, that there is a large village, or small town between Chinsura and Culna entirely peopled by such outcasts and by the fruits of their intermarriages with each other. So far have the bonds of Hinduism been relaxed, however, that the most orthodox families receive back into their bosoms such of their members as have the "misfortune" to survive the atrocities to which they have been subjected. This may be an indication that the custom itself is doomed, that the point of the wedge is already introduced which is to overturn the grim edifice. Amen!

As to the numbers of those that are annually hurried out of

life by this abominable custom, it is impossible to speak definitely. If the number of inhabitants of the Gangetic valley be forty millions, considerably more than a million of them must die every year, and we may safely calculate that not much more than one-half of these are allowed to die in comfort and peace at home. At all events we are confident that we cannot be beyond the mark when we assert that a thousand victims per day are offered to this bloody idol! What may be the average portion of the fair amount of their natural lives of which these victims are deprived, it is quite impossible to determine; but even if this be assumed as very small, the actual diminution of life will be found to be very great.

Such being the manifold evils of the practice in question, it only remains to say a few words on the remedies or palliatives that ought to be applied. The one that will probably strike most persons first is the enactment of a law prohibiting the practice altogether; and that there may come a time when such a law will be wise and salutary we will not deny: but we do not think that such a time has yet arrived. If there were a very strong feeling diffused throughout the native community against the practice, and if it were upheld but by a few of the old bigots, such a legislative enactment might be very useful as a protection to the more enlightened in carrying their own humane views into effect. But while those who disapprove of, or at least desire the abolition of, the practice are a very small minority, popular feeling would be altogether against such a measure, and it would produce but little effect. It was not so when *Sati* was abolished. It was so obviously murder in every case, that many, very many were sincerely opposed to it, and all except a very few were ashamed to say a word in its defence. And even with this general or all but universal feeling in the popular mind against the rite and in favor of its abolition by legal enactment, we cannot disguise the fact, (greatly as we value the legal prohibition of the murderous rite), that the abolition of Sati has not been attended with unmixed good. We do not refer to the few, the very few cases which have occurred of the perpetration of the crime since the passing of Lord William Bentinck's act; for these have been so very few that they do not militate to any appreciable extent against the excellence of the measure. But we allude to the treatment of those who have been preserved alive, and who would otherwise have been consigned to the funeral pile. The miseries daily endured by thousands of Hindu widows would require for their description a pen of far greater power than ours can boast. We allude to these as illustrative of the position that legislative enactments, even of the best kind, are necessarily ineffective in proportion as the principles on which

they are founded are inoperative in the minds of a people. The old mechanical philosophers made a distinction between what they called natural and violent motions. We have now rejected the distinction from our mechanics, but we must retain some such distinction to account for many phenomena that we meet with in the department of moral and political philosophy. Legislation *ab extra* will never be more than half efficacious. The law may be obeyed, but unless the feelings and sympathies of the people be in a "concatenation accordingly," the good intended by the legislator will be very imperfectly achieved. Now so it would certainly be were our Government to step in with a positive prohibition of the practice in question. In very many cases it would be evaded, and the sick, instead of being brought to the public ghats, which are bad enough, would be exposed in jungly places or at the mouths of nullas which would be much worse. A very small bribe to the chowkedar would enable those acting thus to set the public prosecutor at defiance. But even in the cases in which the law might be formally obeyed, the suffering of the sick would not be in any degree alleviated, nor the chance of their being brought to a premature end at all diminished. They would be exposed in some booth or hut erected within the precincts of their dwelling, and would suffer just as much discomfort and as murderous treatment as they now do at the ghats.

Another method by which the evil might undoubtedly be somewhat lessened, would be for the government and societies and rich individuals to erect hospitals on the river's bank, where patients might at once receive as much of good medical treatment as their own prejudices and those of their relatives would permit them to accept, and at the same time be within reach of the sacred stream. Now although there is no doubt that some of the evils of the system would be considerably diminished by such a method, it must be remembered that the system itself would be thereby perpetuated. The sanction of the British Government would, in some sort, be extended to it, and all the explanations that could be given would never persuade the people generally that the Europeans did not approve of a practice which they thus endeavoured to render more attractive.

Our hope then is in that progress of intelligence which has already begun. The multiplication of well-educated native practitioners will do much: the diffusion of knowledge among the influential classes of the people will do much: the influence of Europeans over those who come in contact with them in matters of business will do much; the humanizing effect of the gospel diffused among a people, even when it is heartily embraced only by a few, will do very much. All these

influences are already at work, though their fruit has scarcely yet had time to appear. After these several influences have produced their joint effect to a certain extent, the Government may step in with a legislative enactment, and give the *coup de grace* to the foul monster. In the meanwhile we must say a word to two classes of our readers—the Europeans resident in India, and the intelligent natives. To the former class we must say that much depends upon them. Every day they come in contact with multitudes of the people and over them they have much influence. Almost every week those of them who have many natives in their employment are solicited by one or other of these to grant him leave of absence for the very purpose of carrying his father or mother or other member of his family to the ghat. Such occasions of speaking "a word in season" should never be let slip. It is true the natives do not like much to be spoken to about the affairs of their families; but no matter. It is true also that in the great majority of cases the answer will be,—"very good, but it is our custom"—but here again, no matter. The seed may be sown in a stubborn and ungenial soil; it may lie long dormant, until it be supposed to be dead. But at last some few plants will appear, and in due time ripen and bear fruit.

To our young native friends generally, we must be allowed to say with all plainness that we fear much that both in regard to this matter and other reforms which they are desirous to introduce, the course that they have marked out for themselves is not the right one. One good example is worth a thousand good speeches—a good speech contradicted by the example of the speaker is of very little use. It is very well to endeavour to excite an agitation on this and other similar subjects; but it would be far better were each individual to act for himself, and to refuse positively and determinedly to have any thing to do with the exposure of any of his relatives. It is thus that all great reformations have been introduced; thus only that great good can be effected. It might be very fine no doubt to see the whole Hindu nation come forward and shake off all those evil customs by which they have so long been shackled; but such a movement is contrary to the fixed and established laws of human nature. The movement must begin from a centre, or from a few focal points, and be gradually diffused and extended outwards. Thus it has ever been, and thus it will ever be. Oh, then, that our young friends would but act! Then they would effect some good, the "beginning of the end" would at least be achieved, but while they confine their efforts to mere declamation, nothing whatsoever is done.

ART. V.—1. *Report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa, by the Hon. M. Elphinstone. Calcutta* 1821: *Bombay* 1838.

2. *Minute of a visit to the Satara Court, by Sir John Malcolm, in* 1828. *Lithographed* 1829.

3. *Papers relating to the Raja of Satara,* 1818—1842, *Parts I. and II. presented to the House of Commons,* 1843.

4. *Further papers, relating to the Raja of Satara, presented to the House of Commons, in* 1843, *in* 1847, *in* 1848.

5. *Debates at the India House, on the Satara Question,* 1840—1847.

6. *Speech of the Right Hon. Sir John Hobhouse, Bart. on the Satara Question, in the House of Commons, July* 4, 1847.

IT has not been without some degree of misgiving that we have transcribed the titles of the different publications, to which we are about to invite the attention of our readers. We are well aware that SATARA has become a word of significant omen, both in England and in India. We are conscious of the fact, that there exists no more potent talisman than this to clear the benches of "the House," and to induce even the most "constant reader" to skip whole columns of an evening edition of *the Sun*, or an entire issue of *the British India Advocate.** In the face of all this discouragement, however, and notwithstanding the recent and memorable denunciations of the leading journal,† we have resolved, with the halter round our neck,' to introduce our readers to the Satara Court, and to lay before them a brief outline of the recent history and government of that state. And we have come to this resolution, because we are satisfied that there is no chapter in British Indian History which exemplifies, in so many and such various ways, the good and evil effects of our Indian political system—none where the causes of success and failure are so clearly marked and so little liable to question.

Our purpose, then, in the following pages, is to take a general review of British connection with the Rajas of Satara. In the

* There are probably many of our readers who are indebted to the spontaneous generosity of some unknown benefactor for occasional numbers of the two papers named in the text, and who never open them, on such occasions, without a painful foreboding of their contents.

† "If, after such a thorough exposure as this case has received, any person should again rise to speak about the Raja of Satara, he ought to do so, like the legislators of antiquity, with a rope about his neck, and the proper functionary close behind him awaiting the decision of the audience."—*The Times, July* 13, 1848.

course of this retrospect, we shall be led to examine the internal administration of the Satara state; to trace more minutely than has yet been done, the more remote causes of the unequal conflict between the Ex-Raja and the British Government; to weigh, with an impartial hand, the justice and policy of each step in a series of measures, extending over several years, and carried out by successive Agents; to point out the errors which, on a dispassionate review of all the circumstances, may appear to have been committed; and finally, to draw from the history of our connection with this small state, such instruction as may admit of useful application in our dealings with other semi-independent native sovereignties.

The SATARA STATE—as we are now to describe it—owes its existence to the generous and enlightened policy of MOUNT STUART ELPHINSTONE. Its establishment formed an important element in the political measures which that great statesman adopted for the subjugation and settlement of the territories of the Peishwa. For three quarters of a century all the substantial attributes of royalty had passed from the house of Sivaji, and the titular sovereign of Satara was now a prisoner in Baji Row's Camp, when the intention was publicly announced of rescuing him from captivity, and of re-instating him on the Satara Musnud—not to exercise independent rule over the extended dominions of his ancestors, but to govern, under British supremacy, a new and limited principality.

The considerations which principally weighed with Mr. Elphinstone, in founding a new sovereignty for the descendant of Sivaji, were to conciliate the great body of the Mahrattas, with whom such a measure could not fail to be popular; and thus to induce them to quit the Peishwa's standard, to which they were found to adhere, with an obstinacy arising more from the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence and of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, than from affection for Baji Row's person or interest in his cause. The success of the measure in detaching the Mahrattas from the standard of the Peishwa was soon apparent: while it was well calculated to serve the ulterior object of providing employment for a portion of the Mahratta soldiery whose habits were unsuitable to our service, and a maintenance for some of the civil and religious orders whom it would have been difficult to dispose of under our own Government.*

Opposed to these political advantages were some counter-

* Parl. Papers, 498-508.

balancing evils, which did not escape the penetration of Mr. Elphinstone. The total inexperience of the Raja, and of the people around him, in every thing connected with the government of the country; the extravagant ideas of their own pretensions which he and his family were known to entertain; and the facilities which the indulgence of such notions might afford to the intrigues of evil and designing men, rendered it expedient that the administration of the new government should for some time be entirely conducted by the British Political Agent.

The Raja, having been rescued from captivity on the field of Ashta six weeks before, was installed with great pomp in his new sovereignty, by Mr. Elphinstone, on the 11th of April 1818; and Captain GRANT (now GRANT DUFF) was selected for the important office of Political Agent at His Highness's Court. In order the more effectually to impress upon the Raja's mind the true nature of his relations to the paramount state, and to convince him that it was not intended to revive even in name the empire of Sivaji, the whole of the districts which were to be afterwards incorporated in the Satara state were, on their conquest from the Peishwa, taken possession of in the first instance in the name of the British Government. Even the precise limits of his territory and the terms on which it was finally to be conferred upon him, were at first left undetermined, on the distinct understanding that they would be in a great measure regulated by the disposition which he might evince during a prescribed period of trial.

But while these necessary restraints were at first imposed upon the Raja they were enforced in a spirit of the utmost conciliation; and every care was taken to uphold his dignity, and to win his confidence and good will. Nor was the important object neglected, of endeavouring, by every possible means, to give him a taste for business and a knowledge of the principles of government. Having been given to understand that he would be entrusted with power in exact proportion to his proved ability to exercise it, we are told by Grant Duff that in a short time he labored as assiduously as any Karkún under his government.

After a probation of eighteen months, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded with the Raja at Satara, on the 25th September 1819. This engagement, it must be remarked, differs altogether in its nature and provisions from the treaties contracted with pre-existing states. The treaty of Satara called a new state into existence, defined its limits,* and spontaneously

* The ceded territory, as most of our readers are aware, comprises the compact and fertile tract lying on the western border of the Dekhan, between the Nira and

conferred it, in perpetual sovereignty, on the Raja, his heirs and successors, under certain specified conditions, on the observance of which the continuance of the sovereignty was declaredly to depend. The most important of these stipulations were, *First*,—That the Raja should hold his territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Resident (Act. II.) ;—and *Secondly*,—That he should forbear from all intercourse with foreign powers and all persons whatsoever not being his own subjects, except through the Resident—this being expressly declared a fundamental condition, the breach of which was to subject him to the forfeiture of his sovereignty (Act V.) The British Government, further, charged itself with the military defence of the territory, and guaranteed the possessions and rights of the Jaghirdars placed under the Raja's government.

Such was the title-deed of the Satara sovereignty. Its provisions are clear and explicit: and it is particularly important to remark (what His Highness and his partisans in after years *altogether lost* sight of) that the infraction by the Raja of any of the conditions under which the grant was conferred, and more especially of the non-intercourse clause, involved not simply the dissolution of the alliance but the entire forfeiture of his dominion. The restrictions imposed upon the Raja's authority may at first sight appear rigorous : but it was deemed advisable under the circumstances to take high ground in the treaty, so as to admit of a gradual and voluntary descent, should the conduct of the Raja safely admit of it. Although the Government, by retaining the right of civil as well as military control over the new state, reserved to itself ample power to protect the prince from external aggression and the people from oppression and misrule, it was far from their intention to exercise any systematic interference with the internal administration of the country. So far from wishing to reduce the Raja to a state of pupilage and to make him a sovereign only in name, it was considered essential to the respectability of the state, to its efficiency as a subordinate ally of the British Government, and to the success of the whole arrangement, that he should be as little fettered as possible in his internal government, and in the exercise of his authority over his own subjects. " I hope (writes Mr. Elphinstone to the Governor-General a month after the conclusion of the treaty) that in the course of two years the Raja may be left in a great mea-

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Bima rivers on the north, and the Wama and Krishna to the south; and extending from the western ghats eastward to the districts of Bijapúr and Punderpúr. It yields a revenue of from 11 to 15 lakhs of Rupees, and is noted for the salubrity of its climate.

sure to conduct his own internal government. but the military protection of his country, his political relations and perhaps a general and distant superintendence of his whole proceedings, must always remain with us. We must also retain the power of knowing exactly every thing that passes in his court and territory; and it will for a long time be a necessary part of our policy most carefully to destroy all connexion between him and the Mahrattas not subject to his control."* In short—it was clearly intended that the nature and degree of British interference, should be regulated by the disposition which the Raja might evince on being entrusted with the full power of the state; and that his sovereign authority should be respected and upheld so far as this was compatible with the more important objects of maintaining the public tranquillity, and of securing just and good government to the people.

The personal character and disposition of PERTAB SEN. The newly-installed sovereign, appears to have produced a favorable impression on all who were brought into contact with him. Though imperfectly educated, and shut out, from his birth from all intercourse with the world, he evinced a considerable degree of shrewdness and intelligence, united with a prepossessing frankness of demeanour. Beneath this outward semblance of openness and candour, however, there was concealed a good deal of cunning and dissimulation. Brought up from infancy amid the petty plottings of a captive court, he had acquired a taste for intrigue, the unrestrained indulgence of which, under the influence of evil advice and the promptings of his own vanity and ambition, was destined ultimately to lead to his ruin. On his enlargement he expressed and probably felt, great gratitude for his restoration to liberty, and a throne, and made great professions of attachment to the Government by whom these important boons had been conferred. But surrounded as he was by ignorant and designing men who had shared his captivity, and who now flattered his vanity with extravagant ideas of his consequence and claims as the hereditary King of the Mahratta nation, he soon exhibited symptoms of dissatisfaction with the dependent and limited sovereignty to which he had been raised.

Such feelings were not unnatural, under the circumstances, to the descendant of a long line of kings, who, even amid the privations of his captivity, had been treated with the pageant forms of sovereignty: and every excuse was, therefore, to be made for him. It was no less necessary, however, that his extravagant pretensions should by all possible means be repressed. Accor-

* Parl. Papers, 503.

dingly we find that Captain Grant Duff lost no opportunity of impressing him with a just sense of his position; discountenanced on every occasion the indulgence of his ambitious projects; and never failed to notice, in the strongest terms of reprehension, any attempt, on the part of His Highness, to extend his intercourse or connexions beyond the limits presented by the treaty. "To hold the most distant intercourse with foreign powers," he informed him on one occasion, "*was just signing the order for the sequestration of his own territory.*"*

Under the firm but friendly and judicious guidance of this able and efficient officer, the young Prince gradually acquired habits of business, and a considerable acquaintance with the principles and details of the government, and in 1822 he was formally vested with the direct management of the country under the general control of the Resident, as provided by treaty.

The administration of the country, under His Highness' government, continued for a series of years to be the subject of general admiration. It was pre-eminent among native states for the general mildness and equity of its rule, and for the utility and extent of its public works. The traveller, as he passed through the Satara territory, bore witness to the prosperity of the country and the apparent comfort and contentment of the people—successive Governors who visited the Raja's court were favorably impressed with his character, and testified their high admiration of his rule—and the Home Authorities cordially re-echoed their tribute of praise.

The late Sir Robert Grant has remarked, that the administration of the Raja, like every thing else about him, has been overpraised. In this opinion we are not disposed to concur. With the exception of the management of the Jaghirdars—which, as will hereafter be shewn, was marked by a spirit of unjust encroachment—the government of the Satara state appears to have been deserving of all the praise that was bestowed on it.

* The occasion on which the above warning was given occurred within a few months after the ratification of the treaty, when the Raja made a proposal that he should have cognizance of the affairs of his own immediate caste all over the country. Satisfied that this proposition had originated with some of his intriguing relations, and believing that the Raja himself did not consider it to be in any way objectionable, the Resident, nevertheless, warned him that if the smallest attempt of the kind had been made clandestinely, he would have been under the necessity of representing it to his government as a direct infringement of the obligation by which he was bound to abide. He at the same time took the opportunity of impressing upon him in a friendly but decided tone, "the immediate danger that would be incurred by his holding the most distant intercourse with foreign subjects, and that *with foreign powers it was just signing the order of sequestration for his own territory.*—*Parl. Pap.* 512.

At a later period we find that a native of good family was expelled from Satara, by the same officer, for having become the channel of some communication between Scindia and the Raja. It would have been well for his Highness had equal vigilance been exercised by all Grant Duff's successors.

But its efficiency and success are to be ascribed, not so much to the personal character and capacity of the Raja, as to the admirable arrangements of the first British Resident, by whom the foundation of the government was laid.

The name of GRANT DUFF must be familiar to all our readers as the able and impartial Historian of the Mahratta Empire: but probably few of them have had opportunities of knowing his great capacity for civil and political administration. We are happy, therefore, to have it in our power to lay before them a brief outline of the system of Government which he so successfully introduced into the Satara state.

The mode in which our political influence was exercised, at the courts of the different native states, which, at the close of the Mahratta war became subject to the control of the British Government, varied almost as much as the personal characters of the agents employed. The general tendency of their policy, however, was in a direction opposite to the system pursued by the majority of Officers in those portions of the conquered territories which at the same period came under our direct rule.

It is no disparagement to the numerous very able men included in the latter class—the predecessors of our present race of Collectors, Magistrates and Judges—to say, that, with scarcely an exception, they attempted to effect, in the compass of a few years, the work of generations; and, as a natural consequence, not only frequently failed, but occasionally produced results the very reverse of what they intended. They found the Revenue and Police administration of the country in the utmost confusion: and it would have been strange if zealous and energetic men, entrusted with ample powers, in such situations, had not frequently attempted to stimulate artificially the maturity of reforms, which can be only permanent when they are the growth of ages.

The prevalent error of most *political* officers was of an opposite character. The nature of their duties rendered them better acquainted with, and more disposed to pay attention to, the feelings of the upper classes of natives, than the Collectors and Judges in our own districts, who, under the influence of Revenue Boards and Sudder Adaluts, were reforming perhaps somewhat too vigorously on the models of Blackstone, Malthus, and Bentham. Our Residents and Political Agents, on the other hand, acting through, and more or less influenced by, Native Durbars, pursued a somewhat too conservative line of conduct. Some suffered abuses to exsist, from a fear of exciting prejudice by unpalatable reforms. Others clung to the hope of stimulating

healthy independent action, by a steady adherence to the principles of non-intervention. But, with some brilliant exceptions, few left behind them any such improvements as might have been expected from the vast power and influence, the brilliant talents, and the sincere wish to do good, which so many of them possessed.

The course steered by Grant Duff seems to have been, as nearly as possible, the happy medium between these two erroneous extremes.

In addition to judgment, energy, and talents for business of no ordinary kind, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of appreciating the character of the people over whom he was placed, and of adapting his measures to suit their peculiarities. Where a practice was vicious, and its reform not incompatible with the national character, no period of prescription was permitted to sanction the abuse: but, on the other hand, he seems never to have forgotten, that after a brief period the state was to be handed over to native management, with no direct control from any European authority. Hence he never committed the common error of providing for the management of the state machinery which, though admirable in itself, and working well under the vigilant and practised eye of the English Engineer, was too fine and complicated for the ignorant or apathetic native workman.

After retiring from India, Captain Grant applied himself to the improvement of an ample estate which came to him with the name of DUFF, and he is now, we believe, honorably distinguished among the able, intelligent, and energetic men who have made the farming of Fife, the Lothians, and Aberdeen, a pattern to even the best cultivated districts of England. It has often struck us, that the same character of practical sagacity which distinguishes the successful Scotch Agriculturist is clearly traceable in the system of Government which formed the work of his earlier years.

When he assumed the Government of the districts which were to form the future kingdom of Satara, every thing was in disorder: and many important branches of the administration had not so much to be re-modelled as created. Where former precedents might be safely followed, he seems to have set before himself the practice of the best rulers in the best times, and steadily to have worked on this model, regardless alike of more faultless theories or the vicious customs of later years. Where the altered state of affairs rendered it necessary to lay down new rules, he legislated with the enlightened views of a statesman, who, with his eyes fixed on some lofty object of distant attain-

ment, never forgot the nature and characteristic defects of the instruments with which it was to be acquired.

He had to organize the DURBAR of a prince nursed with ideas of his own importance as extravagant as those of an Emperor at Pekin, and used to means and powers as narrow as those of a king of strolling players. The great nobles were used to none but nominal and theoretical fealty—those of inferior rank were some of them rustic mountain chiefs—others broken down denizens of the dissipated courts at Puna or Gwalior; while the few who had been faithful adherents of the royal family in its debasement, were ill-fitted, by early training, to fill their old places about their Prince when trusted with real powers and responsibilities.

To introduce due subordination among such discordant elements—to assign to each his appropriate place—and to enforce the performance of duties under an entirely new regime, would of themselves have demanded a rare union of personal weight of character with the power of appreciating and attending to petty and apparently unimportant details. Many men would have considered the subject as either beneath their notice, or as likely to be best arranged if left entirely to the Raja and his courtiers: but Captain Grant judged otherwise; and to this day the organization of the Court, the laws of precedence, the duties of the various officers, the amount and mode of disbursing and checking every branch of the expenses of the Raja's household, down to the minutest item, are regulated on the rules he laid down; and the judgment with which this was done is shewn by the result. The Durbar has always been reckoned, by competent judges, one of the most orderly native Courts in India, and one of the very few, which, for thirty years, has never been involved in any pecuniary difficulties, either as regarded the public or private treasury of the sovereign: and we have been assured that the order and regularity of all disbursements of the household more resembled that of an English Nobleman than of a Mahratta Raja.

There is probably no other portion of the territory conquered from the Peishwa, except Satara, in which the REVENUE settlement made at the first conquest is still unchanged, or free from glaring defects which call loudly for reform. In all this portion of Captain Grant's arrangements, we trace the same proof of practical shrewdness and sagacity, and of power to adapt his measures to the circumstances with which he had to deal, which distinguished his proceedings in other branches of administration.

His antiquarian researches might well have tempted him, as

they have so often tempted others, to recal land tenures to what he might imagine them to have been in the time of Manu. Or economical theories, true enough on the banks of the Thames or the Forth, might have led him astray, with a still larger section of our Indian administrators, into hasty perpetual settlements, attempts to create a race of landlords, or other fiscal experiments, captivating in theory, but as little adapted to the tenures and customs of the country, as an English farmer's top-boots and great coat are to the person of the Dekhan Ryot. And there was yet a third and still more dangerous error, of which many instances might be cited elsewhere, that of continuing, as sanctioned by the custom of the country, the system of universal farming to the highest bidder, and consequently of equally universal rack-renting, oppression and misery, which had long prevailed every where under the Peishwa's Government.

Into none of these errors did Captain Grant fall. He appears to have diligently enquired into the characteristics of the Land Revenue settlements, in the best times within the memory of man; to have discovered where, and when, and why, the Ryots were most prosperous, and the Revenue most flourishing; and wherever he discovered the traces of a tenure, sanctioned by both the usage of the country and the practice of the best native rulers, he did his best to restore, define, and render it as permanent, as detailed records could make it.

Here, as in almost every other portion of the Peishwa's dominions, the necessity of a systematic SURVEY was early apparent; and survey operations were commenced, almost as soon as the permanent tranquillity of the country was secured, and a regular scheme of Government organized. In almost every other district of our acquisitions from the Mahrattas, these early surveys have proved useless, or worse than useless. In Satara alone, the survey conducted by Captain Adams of the Bombay Army, under the instructions of Grant Duff, is still the standard authority on all points to which it was originally intended that it should apply.

This difference in result is easily accounted for. In other districts, our Revenue officers attempted not only more than it was possible to perform, but more than was immediately required for any practical purpose. They found land measures of ever-varying standard, and often conveying no precise information as to the superficial quantity of land, with assessments almost always arbitrary and ill-defined in amount. The want of a general re-measurement and re-assessment of the land, according to uniform standards, was obvious enough: but, to supply these

wants, even now tasks to the utmost all the talent, professional skill, and experience in Revenue management, which can be brought to bear on the subject. Yet the undertaking, on the most extensive and complete scale, was entered upon in almost every collectorate of the newly-conquered districts, at a time when we knew little of the country, its resources, or its tenures,—the processes of its agriculture—the character, or even the language, of its inhabitants.

It is hardly necessary to describe what followed. It was soon discovered, that, owing to overhaste in the execution of the work, and want of competent or trustworthy native agency, even the correctness of the measurements and other mechanical parts of the work could not be relied on; while all that related to the assessment of the land was so lamentably erroneous, that it was frequently thrown aside as useless, without an attempt being made to apply it as the basis of even a single annual settlement. Thus, in most cases, the only result of a vast expenditure of money, talent, and energy, was to unsettle the minds of the cultivators; to make our intentions the object, at once of suspicion and ridicule; and to render more difficult than before the task of settling the land Revenue of the country on a certain and permanent basis.

In Satara alone, the practical good sense of Captain Grant saved the survey from such a lamentable failure. He saw that no practical good was likely to result from the attempt to enforce uniformity of system where custom had sanctioned differences of tenure, or where local peculiarities were observable in the character of the country or its population. He knew that it was vain to attempt regulating the demand of a landlord (which was the position in which Government stood throughout the Mahratta territory) by any invariable standard, applicable alike to the fertile or the barren district—to a population of cultivators, wealthy, industrious, and intelligent; and to one poor, apathetic and ignorant. He saw that almost the only pressing *practical* want, which a survey could at that period supply, was the deficiency or incompleteness of records of measurement and other tangible elements for forming a settlement: and he consequently directed the chief attention of his survey officers to these objects. Boundaries of villages and fields were ascertained and marked: the superficial extent of lands, especially those which claimed to be rent free, was measured; and of all these particulars careful and intelligible records were preserved.

In forming his assessments,—instead of nice estimates of gross and net produce, grounded on elements so varying and uncertain as almost to defy calculation, Captain Grant proceeded much as

any practical and humane man would, on succeeding to an estate of whose resources he had little certain knowledge, and few trustworthy records. He ascertained, as nearly as he could, what his tenants had actually paid in former years—he judged for himself, from the appearance of the people, their villages and lands, the facility and uniformity of collections, and other obvious marks of prosperity or poverty—whether the demand had borne hard on them or otherwise—whether he should listen to the clamor of the cultivators for abatement, or to the invariable advice of his native subordinates to enhance his assessments—and having thus settled, on plain common sense data, what he thought the cultivators could afford to pay, and yet thrive on the remainder, he troubled himself little with enquiring whether the institutes of Manu sanctioned a tax of the fifth or the tenth of the produce, or with calculations as to whether his demand were $\frac{1}{3}$d of the gross, or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the net produce of the soil. If he found that the assessments thus settled were paid in an ordinary season without difficulty, he fixed them permanently, as the extreme limit of the Government demand. If otherwise, he reduced them, acting invariably on the golden rule, that, where perfect accuracy is unattainable, it is best to err on the side of moderation.

During the quarter of a century which has since elapsed, our own Collectorates, which were once ruled by the Peishwa, have been the theatre of constant changes; at one time taxed at the rates and on the system of their former Governors—then rapidly surveyed and assessed according to the most approved modern European theories—anon a want of practical adaptation to the circumstances of the country became unmistakeably apparent in the new order of things, and the old Mahratta system was revived: whilst in some districts, a mongrel assessment, intermediate between the two, was devised and levied for several seasons. It is only within the last twelve years, that by the joint efforts of Mr. Williamson, the late Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Goldsmid, the present Revenue Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and Captain Wingate, of the Engineers, a systematic revision of measurements and rates has been commenced on a practical plan: and it will be several years before this survey and assessment, which bids fair to be at length all that could be desired, can be completed throughout even the Dekhan districts of our acquisitions from the Peishwa.

The surveys conducted by Grant Duff in Satara have no pretensions to the completeness of these later operations, in any one particular; but they still preserve their original character of perfect practical adaptation to the purpose for which they

were designed; and an appeal to "*Adams Sahib's survey*," or "*Grant Sahib's settlements*," is, to this day, "an end of all strife," on any point to which they relate.

Similar principles seem to have guided, and equal success attended, the arrangements made by Grant Duff for the POLICE of this tract of country. In the report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, will be found a graphic sketch of the Mahratta system of Police, as he found it on the conquest of the country. He points out its excellencies and defects, and indicates, in almost prophetic terms, the points in which any system we might introduce would be likely to fail. Our limits forbid our making any extract: but we would recommend to any devoted admirer of the superior excellence of our own Police, and to any one who is puzzled to account for the continued prevalence of violent crime in our oldest settled districts, a perusal of Mr. Elphinstone's pregnant remarks on the subject; which, like all he wrote, had an application far more extended than the particular case under discussion.

It is sufficient to say of the system of Police established by Grant Duff, and maintained to the present day, that, whilst most of the faults of the old Mahratta administration were lessened, if not entirely removed, its characteristic excellencies were preserved. This is not the place for entering into lengthened details: but to those who have seen the native system in operation in a well-governed native state, much will be conveyed in the remark, that Satara is probably the only part of the Dekhan, where the ancient village Police, with its powers and responsibilities, has been kept up unimpaired.*

The result justifies the opinions of Mr. Elphinstone, and the measures of his assistant. Notwithstanding the local difficulties arising from the strength of the country, and the existence of large communities of Ramusis and other semi-barbarous and predatory tribes—difficulties greater, probably, than in any part of the Peishwa's dominions, Candeish excepted—there is no portion of those dominions which has enjoyed such complete immunity from any thing approaching systematic resistance to Government, or where person and property are so

* Among many other records of Grant Duff's well-directed zeal for the organization of an effective government service is a code of instructions for all officers, but especially village officers, pointing out clearly and succinctly the duties of each, the various channels appointed for the transaction of every kind of business, and particularly the arrangements established for the maintenance of tranquillity, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the repression of crime. This brief code has ever since been annually read over to the village officers, assembled at the time of the Revenue settlement, and few expedients could be devised better calculated to remind them of their more important duties, which in our own provinces they are so frequently left to learn as they best can.

secure from violent crime. Rebellion has been raging on the very border, in Kolapur, Sawunt Warri, and the Southern Mahratta country to the South; and something closely approaching rebellion has been repeatedly experienced in the presence of organized bands of plunderers under Vomaji, Ragoji Bangria, and other robber chiefs of local fame in the Puna and Nuggur districts to the North, where, sometimes for months together they have levied black mail, unresisted by the inhabitants, and successfully eluded a large police force and considerable bodies of troops of the line. But the Satara districts have for thirty years enjoyed the most perfect immunity from disturbance of any kind :* and in no case has any rebel or free-booter been fairly proved to have taken refuge in the Satara territory, without the certainty of his being speedily seized and surrendered to his own government for punishment.

Our remarks on the system of Revenue and Police administration adopted by Captain Grant Duff have detained us so long, that we have no time to describe the Courts of CIVIL and CRIMINAL JUSTICE which he organized, or the simple and comprehensive Regulations which he drew up to guide judicial officers in the administration of justice. Neither have we space to enumerate the internal improvements. The roads and bridges, the aqueducts and other public works which he either executed, or planned and left to be completed by the Raja under the advice of his active and public spirited successor. Still less can we detail his judicious measures to rescue the finest of the ancient buildings at Bijapúr from inevitable destruction, or his antiquarian and historical researches, of which he has left an ample and enduring monument in his admirable "History of the Mahrattas." But the immediate object of the present article requires that we should not altogether pass over in silence the constant attention he paid to the training of his royal pupil. It was his constant practice, while he held the reins of Government, to associate the Raja and his brothers with him in the transaction of all public business, pointing out to them the reason of all that was done, and explaining to them, and interesting them in, all his plans of public improvement—in this, as in all other matters, sparing no pains, and omitting no personal sacrifice, by which he might ensure the future good Government of the country, when he himself should be far from the scene of his labors.

Such in brief outline, was the admirable system of Government planned and matured by the genius of Grant Duff. Hav-

* The resistance of Akulkote to the authority of the Raja in 1829 can scarcely be reckoned as invalidating the truth of this remark.

ing intrusted his royal pupil with the direct management of the country in 1822, he returned to his native land in the early part of the following year. A quarter of a century has since passed away: but the name of GRANT SAHIB is still familiar as a household word in every hut and hamlet of the country.

The reader will now have no difficulty in understanding how it came to pass that the Raja of Satara attained so great a pre-eminence among the native rulers of India. He was doomed in after years to become the dupe and victim of interested and designing men: but the fabric of political and civil polity which Grant Duff had so skilfully reared, remained intact, and continues to this day—a monument of the practical wisdom and sagacity of its founder. This, indeed, constitutes the great merit of Pertab Sen's reign. No lapse of years—no subsequent change of feelings and circumstances ever induced him to alter the established *system of Government*. It would have been well for his future happiness and fame had he adhered with equal steadiness to the *rules of conduct* which his great masters so anxiously impressed upon him. But his actions soon proved that he was as regardless of the one, as he was mindful of the other. His first object was—and it continued the ruling passion of his life—to emancipate himself, as far as practicable from the future control of the Resident. The form and vigilant guardianship of Grant Duff—of whom he never failed to speak with affection, but whom he feared as well as loved—had latterly been felt a somewhat irksome bondage: he determined therefore, not to submit quietly to any such thraldom under his successor. His grand aim was to reign supreme over his own immediate subjects, and above all to establish a right of absolute control over the affairs of the Jaghirdars. To the attainment of these objects (to which were soon added other projects of a more reprehensible character) all his future efforts were unceasingly directed.

It is here important to remark, what has indeed been already indicated, that after the Raja had been entrusted with the direct management of the state, no disposition had been evinced, on the part of the Government or its representative, to exercise any interference in the details of the administration beyond such a general controlling authority as might be required to maintain the general tranquillity and to prevent misrule in a country which was avowedly under our protection. But the relations which had been established with the Jaghirdars, who equally with the Raja were under our protection and guarantee, rendered it especially incumbent on the Resident to watch over their interests, and prevent any infringement of their rights.

Some of these chiefs traced their descent back to the earliest periods of Mahratta history: others were the representatives of the hereditary counsellors and aristocracy of Sivaji and his descendants. Two or three generations had passed since they had paid allegiance to the Rajas of Satara. They boasted a more ancient ancestry than their nominal lord paramount, the Peishwa, and had been tacitly allowed under the Puna government, to exercise an authority nearly independent within their own Jaghirs. On the subversion of the Peishwa's dynasty, their Jaghirs were freely restored to these chiefs: and they were, of their own choice, made feudatories of the Satara state, on receiving a special guarantee from the British Government for the preservation of their rights and privileges. The separate agreements entered into with each of them, as well as the treaty with the Raja, required all transactions affecting their interests to be regulated in concert with the Resident.

The object of attaching these chiefs as feudatories of the Raja was to impart additional strength and dignity to his Government: but the arrangement was now found to be attended with inconvenience, and ultimately led to much discussion and embarrassment. Not satisfied with the exercise of a general control over the administration of their estates (such as the British Government exercised over the Raja himself) His Highness interfered in their affairs on every possible occasion and on the most trifling pretexts, and endeavoured to render them entirely subservient to his will. In utter disregard of the obligations of good faith, and of the stipulations of treaty, he even went so far as to propose that the British guarantee should be set aside on the death of the present incumbents, and evinced a strong inclination to revive the ancient practice of the Mahratta empire, under which the Rajas of Satara exercised the prerogative of creating and removing Jaghirdars at pleasure, and of imposing managers upon such of them as were suspected of disaffection or mismanagement in the administration of their Jaghirs.

Against these unauthorized encroachments there were, of course, frequent appeals to British authority. The office of Resident was at this time held by an officer of high reputation and experience. Of the different able men who represented British interests at Pertab Sen's Court, no one appears to have exceeded Colonel Briggs in an ardent desire to promote the best interests of the Satara state, or in the success with which he encouraged its ruler in the work of public improvement. And he has left behind him many substantial proofs of this well-directed zeal. But with all his high qualifications in other

respects, he did not possess the judgment, temper and tact which were required to restrain the Raja within the prescribed limits of his authority. He appears to have meddled too much, and in matters of too trivial a nature: and too often his interference led to no other result than unseemly altercations and mutual loss of confidence. Had the Resident confined the exercise of his controlling authority to subjects of importance, and taken adequate measures to render his interference of good effect, he would have better upheld his own influence, and the supremacy of his Government, and at the same time have put a more effectual check on the Raja's encroachments. As it was, the good that resulted was neutralized by its evil effects on His Highness' mind. He became more and more tenacious of his prerogative, and more impatient of control: and, in his efforts to carry out his wishes, he evinced a want of candor, and on one or two occasions a disregard for truth, which were singularly at variance with the apparent openness and sincerity of his manner.

Although the Raja had thus given such decisive indications of a resolute determination to exceed the limits of the authority prescribed by the treaty of Satara and by the agreements with the Jaghirdars, there appeared no grounds for suspecting that His Highness' views extended further than the establishment of an absolute control within the limits of his own territory. But the keen penetration of Colonel Briggs, sharpened probably by the recent discovery of a petty intrigue which the Raja had treacherously attempted against himself, foresaw the danger into which his vanity and his extravagant ambition, unless watched and restrained, were likely to lead him. In a very able report which he submitted to Government, on the eve of quitting Satara, he discloses his apprehensions in terms which have often been before quoted; but which, from the striking fulfilment they were so soon to receive, are worthy of being introduced on the present occasion:—

"He is, however, tenacious of his prerogative, and will every day more and more resist our control. * * * * * It will be fortunate, perhaps, for His Highness himself, if events afford this Government an early opportunity to give him timely warning of the danger he is incurring, or I should be very apprehensive that he may succeed in involving himself in secret communications with those who may, at some future period, provoke the resentment of the Government, when it is likely that a development of a system of intrigue with His Highness may take place, which will altogether shake our confidence, and may lead to his ultimate ruin."*

The ink was scarcely dry, with which these prophetic words

* Parl. Papers, 425.

were recorded, when intelligence reached the Government of His Highness having entered into some secret intrigues with the Kolapur Durbar, which was at that time disaffected towards the British state. Although there was no reason to suspect the Raja of designs hostile to the British Government, the alleged intercourse was viewed in a serious light, as constituting, if established, an infraction of a very important article of his engagements. They consequently directed the assistant in charge of the Residency,* to apprize His Highness of the reports which had been received and to warn him against the risk of being insensibly drawn into a violation of this fundamental condition of the Treaty. The Raja having earnestly denied the truth of the report, and renewed his professions of gratitude and friendship, his assurances were accepted and declared to be satisfactory to the Government.†

At a later period of the same year (1827), distinct intimation was given to Colonel Brigg's successor, by his native Agent, of the commencement of that system of treachery and political intrigue which twelve years afterwards consigned this infatuated Prince to perpetual imprisonment and exile. The accuracy of this report was fully confirmed by the enquiries of the Political Agent in the southern Mahratta country; and no room was left for doubt that a clandestine intercourse had for some time been kept up with the Goa state; that presents and money had been sent to Goa; and that a mission was then about to be dispatched from Satara, with further presents of horses and honorary dresses for the Governor of that settlement.‡

This was an important crisis in the Raja's history. Had the Resident on that occasion interposed the firm exercise of the influence and authority with which he was vested, His Highness might have been arrested at the outset of the dangerous course on which he had embarked. But unhappily for the interests of both Governments, an altered policy was introduced by the new Resident at the Satara court—the system, namely, of passive non-interference—a policy, which, in a state dependant on our protection and declaredly subject to our control, can never be carried out for any length of time, and which, when attempted, invariably and inevitably entails future embarrassment on the

* Colonel Briggs proceeded to England on medical certificate in the beginning of 1827. His departure was hastened by the discovery of the intrigue alluded to in the text, and by the incidents of his memorable interview with the Raja which followed the disclosure.

† Parl. Papers, p. p. 406-1272.

‡ Parl. Papers, 1022. The accuracy of the information supplied to the Resident at this early period, *even to the names of the Agents* employed, was strikingly confirmed by the evidence obtained by Colonel Ovans twelve years afterwards.

paramount Government, with additional restrictions on the dependant state; and too often, as in the present case, terminates in the irretrievable ruin of its Prince.

No one knew better than the able but misjudging officer who then represented British interests at Satara, that the two great defects in the Raja's character were inordinate ambition and a passion for intrigue; and that the introduction of the non-intercourse clause of the treaty, with the heavy penalty attached to the breach of it, was specially intended to avert the dangers into which the indulgence of these feelings was likely to draw him. Mr. Elphinstone, in various parts of his dispatches, notices the importance which he attached to the rigid enforcement of this restriction—Grant Duff, as we have seen, denounced in the strongest terms a proposed infraction of it, even for innocent purposes—Colonel Briggs had predicted that its infringement would prove the cause of his ultimate ruin—and the Government only a few months before, on the mere suspicion of a breach of the prohibition, had made it the subject of a formal representation. And yet, in the face of these facts and opinions, a clandestine communication was permitted to be opened between the Governments of Satara and Goa, and presents were allowed to be secretly forwarded to the latter state, without any direct official warning being addressed to the Raja, or any report being made on the subject to the Bombay Government.

The two facts we have now noticed—the mission from the Raja to the Governor of Goa, and its having been passed over without any direct notice—are established on the clearest evidence, and were admitted, indeed, several years afterwards, by the Resident himself, who, after the Raja's deposal, became one of his most strenuous advocates. In a letter to Dr. Milne, the Ex-Raja's accredited agent, dated 14th March 1838, he thus writes:*

"Thus [the mission to Goa] occurred in my time; and my proceedings on it are on record.† I thought it *a foolish thing* of His Highness, but not of importance enough (as I did not see a likelihood of his repeating it) to say any thing to him or to Government about it. *How came it to be found out?*"‡

* Parl. Papers, 1167.

† This must have been a mistake. No official record appears to have been made of the transaction.—Parl. Pap. 1022.

‡ We find, from a speech delivered by this officer, at the India House on the 16th July 1841, that he had requested Balji Punt Nassu [an influential native sirdar unconnected at that time with the Satara court] to take an opportunity of adverting to the subject in conversation with the Raja, *as a matter he had himself heard of*; and, as a friend, from himself to suggest that he ought to avoid all such communications in

The Goa mission was, indeed, "a foolish thing," as the Resident remarks: but it was more than foolish. It was a flagrant infraction of the letter and spirit of a fundamental article of the treaty: and the determination to overlook it was a fatal error. To this most injudicious forbearance, and to the subsequent remissness in protecting the interests of the Jaghirdars, may be ascribed all the misfortunes which subsequently befell the Raja. He had been permitted to commence a foreign intrigue with impunity: and he was now encouraged, rather than checked, in his arbitrary treatment of his feudatory chieftains. The consequence was, he became involved in quarrels with the greater number of them; and in one of the Jaghirs,* the people broke out in open hostility. He contrived, also, on some pretence or other, to get the direct management of three of the Jaghirs entirely into his own hands: and the other two narrowly escaped the same fate. In short, the sequestration of all the Jaghirs seemed to be the great object of his ambition. In all these measures he was supported by the Resident, who claimed for His Highness a degree of absolute sovereignty over the chiefs quite incompatible with the due observance of our existing engagements with them.†

There was the less excuse for this total relaxation of control, on the part of the Resident, because the general principles by which our intervention should be regulated were clearly indicated on different occasions by Mr. Elphinstone, as well as by his successor in the Government.‡ Both these eminent men concurred in opinion that the Raja should be allowed as much freedom of action, as was possible, in the internal Government of his country, the administration of which, throughout his reign, continued to be the subject of general admiration: but they at the same time enforced the necessity of watching with vigilance his proceedings towards the Jaghirdars. This caution would have been necessary under any circumstances, for the strict maintenance of our obligations towards these chiefs: but it was more especially called for by the strong disposition which His Highness had shewn to encroach on their rights—a disposition which was in

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future." This statement is confirmed by the evidence of Baliji Punt himself, to whom the Resident further remarked, that "*the affair would be the ruin of the Maharaj and his Raj.*"

* The Jaghir of the Raja of Akulkote.

† The terms of the agreements with these chiefs not only guaranteed the integrity of their estates, but required that all transactions affecting them should be regulated in concert with the Resident.

‡ The late Sir John Malcolm.

striking contrast with the general mildness and justice of his rule over his own immediate subjects.

The Raja's pretensions were now no longer to be confined within the limits of his own territory. In 1831, he advanced a claim, for the first time, to the full rights of sovereignty, present and prospective, over the whole of the estates of his feudatory chiefs, whether situated within or without the Satara boundary. The acknowledgment of this right would have led to "the extension of the arm of his sovereignty" (as Mr. John Warden expressed it) not only into the heart of Khandeish, but even beyond the Dekhan itself into the Southern Concan, where one of the chiefs possessed landed property. The validity of the claim was strenuously supported by Colonel Lodwick, who had in the early part of the year succeeded to the office of Resident. It was unanimously decided, however, by Lord Clare's Government, that the sovereign rights of the Raja were circumscribed within the boundaries of the Satara state, as defined by the treaty, and did not extend to any territory situated beyond those limits. This decision was confirmed by the Government of India.

It is now quite unnecessary to enter into the merits of this question, which gave rise to much subsequent discussion. Of the *intentions* of the framer of the treaty, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. With the full knowledge we possess of the principles by which Mr. Elphinstone was influenced in establishing the Satara state, it is altogether impossible to believe, for an instant, that in framing the treaty he could have contemplated the extension of the Raja's sovereignty, with all the attendant evils of a divided jurisdiction, into isolated portions of the British territories. The wording of the Treaty and of the Schedule annexed to it was, no doubt, deficient in clearness and precision. But, if we interpret one part by another, we can scarcely fail to arrive at the same conclusion as the Bombay Government did. The 7th article of the Treaty specifies that "the possessions of the Jaghirdars *within His Highness' territory* are to be under the guarantee of the British Government;" and the schedule, annexed to the treaty, after specifying the boundaries of the Satara territory and enumerating the different pergunnas and villages, contained within these boundaries adds, "together with the possessions of the Raja of Akulkote, the Punt Suchew, &c." The accidental omission to add the words "*within the before mentioned limits*" created all the difficulty. That such was the intended meaning seems clearly deducible from all that goes before.*

* The only difficulty attendant on this construction is the argument urged by Colonel Lodwick—that the above mentioned restriction would have altogether excluded the

Nor does any doubt appear to have arisen on the subject, on the part either of the British or the Satara authorities, for a dozen years after the conclusion of the Treaty. We find, that, during this period, the British authorities at Puna had invariably and without challenge exercised jurisdiction over the possessions of the Punt Suchew situated on the northern bank of the Nira. Moreover, on the occasion of receiving a proposal for adoption from this chief in 1827, His Highness in the first instance applied to know "the intentions of the British Government as to the property of the Suchew *within its* [the British limits." To this communication Mr. Elphinstone's Government] thus replied: "In answer to the Raja's question regarding *the Suchew's possessions in the British territories*, he may be informed, that in this instance the Government will continue them to the adopted son."* This decision, given eight years after the treaty was executed, distinctly and unequivocally shews the construction put upon the disputed question by the distinguished personage by whom the Treaty was framed.

The pride of the Raja was deeply mortified by the rejection of his claims. It was the first check given to the unbridled power which he had been permitted to exercise for a period of five years, and was therefore felt with greater keenness: though his wounded feelings were soothed for a time by the hope that the judgment of the Indian Government might be reversed by the home authorities. Disappointed in this expectation, however,† he appears to have become more and more impatient of control, and gradually estranged himself from the Resident, Colonel Lodwick. Though from the first he supported His Highness' present claims, he had very properly interposed his authority, on

jaghir of the Raja of Akulkote, the whole of which is situated beyond the Satara limits. But on the other hand the accuracy of the interpretation seems to be proved (as Mr. Warden has argued) from the very first line of the Schedule of the treaty, which, in defining the territory ceded to the Raja, specifies "that portion of Nirthuri in the Puna Prant, and that *share of Sirwul which lies south of the Nira river*." Now, as *the whole* of the Sirwul district belongs to the Punt Suchew—part of it being on the *North*, and part on the *South* bank—the irresistible conclusion is, that that part of it which lies to the *northward* of the river, as it is not once alluded to in the treaty, never was intended to be placed under the Raja's sovereignty at all.—Parl. Paper, 544.

* Parl. Paper, 543.

† It has been stated by some of the Raja's partisans that the court had decided in favor of his claims, in their letter of the 26th September 1834, which contains the following passage: "In default of heirs, by birth or adoption, the obligation of our

the Bombay Government. That authority disputed only his sovereignty over possessions situated *in British territory*: and to this question, the Court's letter does not make the slightest allusion.—Parl. Paper, 495.

various occasions, in order to shield some of the chiefs from insult and oppression, and had in consequence incurred the Raja's displeasure. The Raja, in short, considered himself to be an injured Prince—injured by the Government who had refused to recognize his pretensions to sovereignty over the possessions of his chiefs in British territory; and injured by the Resident who protected these chiefs from oppression within the Satara dominions. To avenge himself of these fancied wrongs, he gradually ceased to consult the Resident on the affairs of his government, and paid little respect to his advice when it was proffered.

Simultaneously with the decline of Colonel Lodwick's influence, His Highness appears to have withdrawn his confidence in a great degree from his own ministers, and to have attached himself to other advisers. His new counsellors were men of most unprincipled character; and they soon established a complete ascendancy over their master. To their evil and corrupt counsels are to be ascribed many of the acts which so soon involved him in ruin.

The period of his fall was now rapidly approaching. Having shaken off the control of the British representative at his court, this misguided Prince, in utter disregard of the obligations of treaty and of good faith, clandestinely appointed a native agent in Bombay for the purpose (as he afterwards avowed) of transacting political duties, and of procuring the reversal of the decision and orders of the paramount Government, whose supremacy he had solemnly stipulated to respect.* From that period,† he evinced "*an almost hostile disposition*" to the Resident, and "*acted as he pleased as if he were independent of the treaty and of all control.*‡ Surely it will not be denied that a subject Prince, who had thus insultingly violated two of

* The Raja assigns, as a reason for his having appointed a foreign agent, Sir Robert Grant's neglect to transmit to the home authorities a statement of his claims which had been sent in by the Resident, at Sir Robert's request, in the previous year. Although a reference had been intermediately made to the home authorities regarding a case the decision on which, it was supposed, would settle the general question, Sir Robert Grant subsequently admitted that the Resident's special report, above referred to, had been accidentally mislaid, and consequently had not been forwarded to the court, as he had promised and intended. This delay was an untoward occurrence: but it afforded not the smallest justification for the insulting infraction of the treaty for which it was made the excuse. The paramount Government had three years before pronounced a decision on the case; and that decision had not been reversed by the home authorities; and by it therefore, the Raja was bound in honor and good faith implicitly to abide. The great oversight made by Sir Robert Grant was in not having fully explained the grounds of the decision, and enforced the necessity of its strict observance, on the occasions of the interviews he had with the Raja, at Mahabuleshwur, in the hot seasons of 1835 and 1836.

† June 1836.

‡ See Colonel Lodwick's Evidence.—Parl. Paper, p. p. 345-6.

the fundamental conditions on which he received and continued to hold his territories, had thereby placed himself entirely at the mercy of the British Government, even if he had never tampered with a single seapoy, or intrigued with any foreign power. And these facts, let it be observed, rest on no doubtful authority. They are supported by the unimpeachable testimony of an officer, who during the whole period of his connection with the Satara court, as well as subsequent to his retirement, was one of His Highness' most zealous and strenuous supporters. Nor were they, indeed, denied by the Raja himself. He not only avowed, but attempted to justify his conduct, and persevered in his headstrong course, after having been repeatedly, warned by the Resident that such perseverance would inevitably lead to his ruin.

The prompt and vigorous interposition of the Government, in support of the Resident's authority and in vindication of their own rights might even at the eleventh hour have saved the infatuated Raja. But unhappily the time for *action* was permitted to pass in *deliberation*: and in the meanwhile the consideration of this question was superseded by disclosures of other and more momentous occurrences at the Satara court. And this brings us to the consideration of the causes and circumstances which more immediately led to the Raja's deposal.

We enter on this part of our narrative with much reluctance. The "SATARA QUESTION," as it is termed, has already been the subject of a ten years' controversy: and it still furnishes a theme for periodical declamation. The unprecedented duration of the discussion has not arisen either from the difficulty or the importance of the subject, but is to be chiefly ascribed to the persevering and unscrupulous advocacy of a well-paid and well-organized agitation. Doubtless there have been many, who, impressed with the popular qualities of the Raja and the monstrous wildness of the intrigues imputed to him, have either questioned the reality of his guilt, or arraigned the severity of the punishment with which it was visited. But a far greater number have been misled by the daring and flagrant mis-statements with which the subject has been so elaborately distorted and obscured. The stipendiary philanthropist and the professional patriot have vied with each other, on the present occasion, in the grossness of their calumnies and in the desperate recklessness of their misrepresentations.

It does not fall within our present purpose to enter at any length into the details of this much-vexed question. Our object rather is to confine ourselves to a brief outline of the case—di-

vesting the subject of all its minor details, and restricting our attention to the leading and essential points.

It was during the monsoon of 1836—a few weeks after the breach of treaty before noticed—that the Government received from the Resident the startling intelligence of a treacherous attempt, on the part of the Raja and his Dewan, to seduce from their allegiance, certain Native Officers, and through them the seapoys of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, then stationed at Satara. Had the Government been aware of the intrigues with Goa which had come to Colonel Robertson's knowledge nine years before (and which had never since been relinquished) they would have been less unprepared for the present announcement. But, even in the absence of this information—the recent discussions on the Jaghir question, the personal bearing of the Raja towards Sir Robert Grant at their last interview, and the still more recent establishment of a foreign agency for the furtherance of his political objects, could scarcely have failed to satisfy the Government of the disaffection of their dependant ally, and of his increasing estrangement from their authority. Still, notwithstanding these hostile indications, it appeared scarcely credible that their highly favored ally could have so far forgotten his obligations, or that he could have embarked on so wild and perillous a scheme. Notwithstanding the monstrous folly, however, of the prospect imputed to the Raja,—the charge came before the Government endorsed by the Resident with his personal conviction of its truth. Under such circumstances, further enquiry became a matter of imperative obligation. But by what method was the requisite investigation to be conducted?

No tribunal existed for the trial of political offences imputed to a dependent sovereign ally: and perhaps, no mode of procedure could have been devised for the purpose that would have been altogether free from objection. The delegation of the duty, on the present occasion, to a special and secret commission did not escape animadversion: and it cannot be denied that it was open to strong objections. To some of these we may afterwards have occasion to refer. But however inexpedient may have been the assembly of such a tribunal at the capital of a Native state, for the trial of its sovereign, it cannot be denied that the Commissioners* discharged the delicate and important duty entrusted

* The Officers selected for this important duty were the British Resident Colonel Lodwick, Mr. Willoughby, the Political Secretary to the Government, and Colonel Ovans, the Quarter Master General of the Army. The nomination of the Resident and the Political Secretary as Members of the Commission was an objectionable arrangement. It placed the former, as the local representative of the Government, in a false position towards his colleagues, and practically put his office in Commission for the time being; and it involved the latter, in personal discussions, with which, as the official

to them with great ability, and, we are bound to add, with unimpeachable impartiality. After a laborious and searching enquiry, they came to the unanimous conclusion that the charge had been proved both against the Raja and his minister. The evidence on which this decision rested, was subsequently corroborated by the confession of the minister, and by other collateral testimony.

From a careful examination of all the testimony adduced at the trial and of the corroborative evidence obtained at a subsequent period, it appears to us to have been conclusively established;—That, after some preliminary interviews with a subordinate agent, two clandestine meetings took place between two subedars of the 23rd Regiment and Govind Row Dewan, at the residence of the latter; that, at the termination of the second interview, the two native officers, disguised in dresses obtained at a neighbouring shop for the purpose, and attended by the Dewan's servant, proceeded in the night to the palace; that they there held a secret interview with the Raja, to whom they were introduced by the Dewan; and that the whole tenor of His Highness' language at this meeting unmistakeably indicated hostile feelings and intentions towards the British Government—his declared object being to induce the officers, with as many of their men as they could secure, to throw off their allegiance and join his ranks on some future occasion when these intentions were to be carried into effect.*

organ and adviser of the Government, he ought not in any way to have been mixed up. But whatever objections might have been urged to the composition of the tribunal, as regarded the *official* position of its two senior members, it would have been difficult to have chosen three officers better fitted, by personal character, to institute a searching and impartial enquiry.

They who have spoken of the appointment of the Commission as indicative of a hostile feeling on the part of the Government towards the Raja, would do well to remember, that the Resident of that Court was not only an Officer of high character and long service, but was known to be the firm and strenuous advocate of His Highness' claims in the Jaghir question, in opposition to the recorded opinion of the Government.

Again—in the whole range of the service it would have been impossible to have selected any one whose character for unswerving adherence to what he thought right and just than Mr. Willoughby. His early political life had been passed at the Court of the Guicowar, and in Kattywar, where he will be long remembered, (though not the earliest) as the most untiring, most practical, and most successful of the able men who have laboured to suppress the crime of female infanticide. His talents and energy brought him at an early period of his career into the Government secretariat: but more than one instance might be cited in which his inflexible refusal to surrender his conscientious opinions to the smiles or frowns of those in power, hindered his advancement for a time, though it gained him the respect even of those to whom he was opposed.

Of Colonel Ovans' character and services, we shall have a more fitting opportunity to speak hereafter. It will be sufficient, for our present purpose, to remark in this place that, in clearness, and soundness of judgment, and in unswerving rectitude of purpose, he is second to none in the ranks of the Bombay Army.

* The conclusions above recorded are borne out by the evidence of the Native

The force of the evidence, on which these facts were established, was strengthened rather than weakened, by His Highness' defence. There had been, in the first instance, on the occasion of the Resident requiring him to give up his Dewan, no expression of indignation at the bare possibility of the participation of his minister or any of his subjects in acts of treachery and hostility to the British Government, and no anxiety evinced to punish the guilty authors of such misdeeds. And now, when he appeared before the Commission for the purpose of hearing the nature of the charges preferred against himself and his minister, with the evidence by which they were supported, the Commission remark that "there was considerable difficulty in drawing His Highness' attention to the charges against himself [the secret interview with the Native Officers at the palace] and it was long before he gave it a distinct denial."* He declined the repeated offers and advice of the Commissioners to hear the statements from the mouths of the witnesses themselves—observing that he had perfect reliance on the Commission: and it is worthy of special notice that the only question which he requested to be put to any of the witnesses, was the following remarkable one to the Brahman accomplice of the Dewan; "*who first commenced this conspiracy—the Brahman or the Maharaj?*" No attempt whatever was made, by counter-evidence, to disprove the reality of the secret visit to the palace, which, had it not taken place on the night specified, must surely in some way or other have been capable of disproof. Nor in the written statements laid before the Commission does the Raja make any specific reference to the special charge preferred against him. He simply disclaims any hostile feelings, endeavours to impugn

Officers themselves, men bearing the very highest characters in their regiment—by the Commandant and Staff Officers of the Regiment, under whose orders the Subedars acted throughout these proceedings, and to whom they regularly communicated, verbally and in writing, the occurrences as they took place—by the corroborative evidence of the perfumer at whose shop the Officers put on their disguise—by the testimony (obtained under very peculiar circumstances) of the Dewan's domestic servant who gave *pan-sopari* to the Officers on their first visit to his master's house, and after the second visit accompanied them to the palace—by the statement of a person named Abbamohinty, who saw the Subedars enter the Palace on the night in question, accompanied by the Dewan, and who mentioned the circumstance at the time to three of his friends, all of whom corroborated the fact—by the confession of an accomplice by whom the several meetings were arranged—and lastly, by the important confession of the Dewan himself, as taken before the Session Judge at Ahmednuggur, which strikingly confirms, in every essential particular, the evidence of the other witnesses, and thus completes the proofs of the Raja's guilt.

For the detailed evidence on these various points see the report and proceedings of the Commission (Parl. Pap. 308) and for a condensed summary of it, reference may be made to Colonel Ovans' statement.—(*Ibid*, 1063.)

* Parl. Pap. 313.

the credibility of some of the witnesses (most unsuccessfully as regards the Native Officers*) and dwells upon the improbability of the accusations generally, the great benefits he had derived from the British Government, and his undiminished attachment to the power by whom he had been raised to the throne. Of the hollowness of these friendly professions, the reader has had abundant evidence in the foregoing pages.

In the justice of the verdict pronounced by the Commissioners, and in their recommendation of visiting the offence with a mild penalty, the Bombay Government unanimously acquiesced. They were fully satisfied that the Raja had placed himself entirely at the mercy of the Paramount Power, and had justly subjected himself to the forfeiture of the powers and possessions which he had so grossly abused. But a variety of considerations occurred to Sir Robert Grant to justify him in following the dictates of his own humane and generous nature, and in recommending a lenient course. The Raja had owed his elevation to British favor—he had governed his dominions with credit to himself, and with benefit to his subjects—and his attempt to corrupt the fidelity of our native troops, though in itself the most heinous offence of which a dependent ally could be guilty, was viewed at the time as an act of incredible folly, rather than a crime, into the commission of which he had been duped, by the instigation of corrupt and unprincipled advisers. Influenced by these feelings, and by a sensitive apprehension lest the purity of their motives might be suspected, he was anxious that the penalty awarded should be such as to inflict a *moderate degree of privation* on His Highness, with the *least possible benefit* to the British Government. In accordance with these views, he recommended that one of His Highness' principal Jaghirdars, the Raja of Akulkote: whose estate lies beyond the Satara limits, should be altogether disconnected from the Satara state, and transfer his allegiance to the British Government. In addition to this punishment he proposed to deprive His Highness of the privilege of having a British Resident stationed at his Court, and to appoint a Political Agent for the combined duties of Satara and the Southern Mahratta country.

It is impossible to peruse the able Minute in which the upright and enlightened statesman, who then presided over the Bombay

* It is worthy of particular notice that the overtures were made in the first instance to only *one* officer, and that the second (specially selected for the purpose on account of his high character) was subsequently associated with him by order of the Adjutant of the Regiment, for the express purpose of confirming his testimony as to what might take place at the secret interview. This at once negatives the charge of a combination having been got up between the two Subedars for the purpose of criminating the Raja.

Government, recorded his sentiments on this first part of the Satara case, without a deep feeling of regret that the wise and merciful policy which it recommended had not at once been carried out.* But the Governor-General took a more stern view of the case. The proceedings of the Satara Commission having left no doubt on his mind of the Raja's guilt. Lord AUCKLAND considered his hostility to the British Government, to whom he had been indebted for every thing he possessed, to be monstrous and unpardonable. He refused to admit the principle that in such a case the British Government should "from fear of imputations on the purity of its motives, refrain from the plain course of resuming territories and power which those whom it had entrusted with them were using for its destruction: and saw no reason why such treason should not recoil upon those who contrive it, and be made at the same time a source of additional strength to the British Government."†

But while the question was still under consideration, the mother of the convicted Dewan, finding that her son had been delivered up to imprisonment by the Raja without any apparent effort to save him, and that "he was likely to become the scapegoat for the transgressions of others far more criminal than himself," forwarded a petition to the Bombay Government, in which she indicated the existence of other intrigues at the Satara Court, and denounced their various authors by name. A renewal of the enquiry was in consequence deemed necessary, for the purpose of ascertaining the authority of this petition, and the truth of the allegations which it contained: and the task of conducting this important enquiry was entrusted to Colonel Ovans, the Quarter Master General of the Army, who with a view to the performance of this special duty, was appointed to officiate as Resident at Satara, in supercession of Colonel Lodwick.

A year had now well nigh elapsed since the first disclosure of the Satara intrigues.‡ This untoward delay—the blame of which must be equally shared between the Local and Supreme Govern-

* Parl. Paper, p. 53.

† Parl. Paper, p. 70.—The late Mr. Shakespeare was the only member of the Supreme Government who considered the evidence to be insufficient for the conviction of the Raja and his Dewan. What then seemed to him so obscure and inexplicable was satisfactorily cleared up by subsequent enquiries, the results of which he did not live to witness.

‡ The Satara Commissioners completed their Report on the *6th November*, 1836. Sir Robert Grant's Minute on the case bears date the *30th January*, 1837; and the Governor-General's Minute was not recorded until the *29th April following*. Six months' deliberation on a matter which the Commission had investigated and reported upon in little more than three weeks!—Again—three months were allowed to intervene between the receipt of the petition of the Dewan's mother and the appointment of Colonel Ovans to enquire into the truth of its allegations.

ments—was a great evil in itself: but other causes concurred to aggravate its mischievous effects. While the Government were allowing months to elapse in deliberating on matters which ought to have been disposed of in as many days, they left their representative without instructions, and without the countenance and support which, under existing circumstances, were so imperatively required for the maintenance of his own authority, and for upholding the honor and interests of the British Government. Sir Robert Grant complained that the Resident had lost all influence over the Raja, and that he had become an object of his personal dislike. But surely the withdrawal of all support from him, under such trying circumstances, was not a very likely method of re-establishing his influence.* Nor could Sir Robert have been blind to the fact, that his own Government had become equally powerless and equally unpopular at the Satara Durbar:—and for very similar reasons. The Raja had been checked by the Resident in his oppression of the Jaghirdars, and by the Government in his efforts to extend his sovereignty to the Northern bank of the Nira. Hence his resentment against both authorities; and his avowed determination to shake off their control, and to manage his affairs by foreign agency. Under such circumstances, it cannot, we think, admit of a moment's doubt, that the prompt and firm assertion of British supremacy had become the first and paramount duty of the Government, and that the omission to reinforce the strict observance of this essential provision of the treaty was infinitely more prejudicial to the public interests than even the delay in deciding on the penalty to be inflicted for the offence of tampering with the Satara seapoys. The consequences of this inaction on the part of the Government, were such as might have been anticipated. The Raja increased the number of his Native agents, and finally put himself into the hands of irresponsible, injudicious, and (we fear we must add) unprincipled European advisers, who instilled into his mind the most fallacious hopes and the most extravagant ideas of his claims—and in short, placed every possible obstacle in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the case.

Colonel OVANS assumed charge of the Satara Residency in June, 1837, and applied himself with his characteristic energy to the prosecution of the enquiry which he had been instructed to

* If the Government attributed the Raja's insubordination to the incapacity or mismanagement of the Resident, they ought at once to have exercised their undoubted right of removing him: but by allowing him to remain for so many months, totally unsupported, in a position of great difficulty, they cannot be acquitted of personal injustice towards their representative, while they materially aggravated the difficulties of the Satara Question.

institute. These enquiries were followed up, in the face of the most formidable obstacles, with great ability and with unflinching firmness of purpose, until a long series of treacherous and treasonable intrigues were detected and exposed, which at once furnished a key to what had before been considered so inexplicable in the Raja's proceedings. The parties with whom this clandestine intercourse had been principally kept up were the authorities at Goa, and the Ex-Raja of Nagpur. Following up the principle, before laid down, of restricting the present observations within the narrowest possible limit, we shall confine our attention exclusively to the first of these charges.

The clear and concise report of Colonel Ovans on the Goa intrigues with its appendices of proofs exhibited in the order and form in which they were originally obtained;* the methodized summaries, prepared by Mr. Willoughby, each of which forms a digest of the evidence bearing on a specific fact or feature of the case;† and the masterly analysis of the whole case contained in Sir Robert Grant's able and elaborate Minute of the 5th May, 1838‡ bring the subject before in so complete and comprehensive a form that it seems scarcely possible for the most incredulous to resist its force That various discrepancies, on minor points, may here and there be detected in this voluminous testimony, cannot be denied. And indeed the absence of such occasional discrepancy regarding a series of transactions extending over a period of eleven or twelve years, and deposed to by forty or fifty witnesses, some more, some less, immediately connected with the events which they severally narrate, would rather have excited a suspicion of collusion, and have tended to throw distrust upon their testimony. But their coincidence on all material points is very remarkable. In truth, when we look at the overwhelming mass of separate and independent evidence adduced in this case, and the circumstances (to be presently noticed) under which it was obtained, we can scarcely fail to be impressed with its general consistency and with an irresistible conviction of its truth.

Much has been said and written in England, regarding the alleged fabrication of documents in the name of the Ex-Viceroy of Goa and the use of seals different from those which they were intended to represent. Engravings of genuine seals and forged seals—of *mortules* and *siccas*—have been published and exhibited with much unnecessary parade, and a great deal of superfluous argument has been used, to prove what no one, so far as

* Parl. Paper, p. 403. See also Colonel Ovan's Abstract Statement.—Ibid, p. 1065.

† Ibid, p. 995 to p. 1026. ‡ Ibid, p. 118.

we are aware, ever attempted to deny, and what Colonel Ovans was the first person to bring to the especial notice of his Government, viz. that the seals used in the prosecution of these intrigues were different from those used by the Raja. This undisputed fact by no means carries with it the conviction that the use of these seals was not authorized by the Raja.* But even the admission of their absolute forgery would go a very short way in disproving His Highness' guilt. To expect that the subordinate agents in a treasonable conspiracy should never in the prosecution of their schemes exceed the authority delegated to them by their principals, would be as unreasonable, as it would be to expect from them an unswerving adherence to truth in their subsequent narration of the plots in which they had been the guilty actors. Nay even the admission that the Viceroy himself was guiltless of any share in the plot, and that his name and even his person were falsified on the occasion, would in no degree lessen the criminality of those who intrigued with his counterfeit representative.

We will consent, however, to waive for the present all the *documentary evidence*, genuine or fictitious, with the important exception of that furnished by the Banker's books—which of all species of proof, is universally admitted to be the most trustworthy. But we cannot be equally accommodating in regard to the oral testimony of the *fifty witnesses*. That perjury is a common crime in India, as well as in other more highly civilized countries, we at once admit and lament. We might even be disposed to meet the wishes of the Raja's partizans so far as to admit that one, two, three—nay half a dozen witnesses may not, perhaps, have spoken the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But when we are called upon on the simple unsupported assertion of Mr. George Thompson, or Mr. Peter Gordon, or Mr. Anybody else, to charge wholesale perjury on *half a hundred witnesses*, many of them persons of good character, some of them relatives and connexions of the Raja, and several of them holding a respectable position in society at the present day—we must at once decline acquiescence in any such monstrous proposition. And really when we look at the numerous host of witnesses—when we consider that many of them were traced out and apprehended in various and distant parts of the Dekhan and Concan, and in the foreign territories of Goa and Sawunt-warri —that they were brought to Satara under circumstances which

* The dying testimony of the principal agent, *directing that the seals, then in his possession, should be returned to the Raja* after his death, would rather go to sustain the impression that His Highness was aware of their being in his possession, and of the uses to which they had been applied.—Parl. Paper, p. 1023.

effectually prevented concert or collusion—that only one witness so far as we have observed, volunteered his evidence—that their evidence was in many instances directly opposed to their personal interests, and that separate enquiries were conducted by different officers at the distant stations of Rutnaghery and Darwar, quite independently of those carried on at Satara, as well as of one another, it will require an extraordinary amount of scepticism to resist such an accumulation of proof.

To us—weighing the evidence with all the strictness and impartiality beseeming the character and office of CALCUTTA REVIEWERS—it appears to have been most conclusively established; —that, for a series of eleven years (from 1825 to 1836) the Raja in violation of his engagements with the British Government, carried on a secret and treasonous intercourse with the authorities of Goa; that, for the prosecution of this intrigue, he accredited and recognized a man named Nago Deorao as his principal agent, to whom with his co-associates he paid specific salaries, and money for the payment of their expences; that he admitted to secret interviews, on various occasions, two *professed* agents of the Viceroy of Goa, assigned salaries to them, and received through them letters *purporting* to be from the Viceroy, in which allusion was made to the receipt of previous letters said to have come from the Raja himself; that on various oocasions valuable presents were made by His Highness, in person or on his behalf, both to his own agents and to the (real or pretended) agents of the Viceroy, as well as for the Viceroy himself;* and lastly, that a great portion of the presents and salaries, (amounting in all to Rs. 36,000) was paid through a Satara banker, as certified by the entries in his original account books.† Of the reality of these several facts, there is not, we believe, a single human being in Satara, at the present day, who has attained to years of discretion, that entertains the shadow of a doubt, and there cannot be less than two or three dozen persons wholly unconnected with the intrigues, who were aware of their existence a couple of years, at least, before they were disclosed to our Government.

* The Ex-Viceroy has since declared to Mr. Joseph Hume (Parl. Deb. 24th June, 1844) that he "never had any correspondence on *political* subjects" with the Raja of Satara. If we might offer a suggestion to the veteran patriot, we would recommend him, on the next occasion of his addressing that nobleman, to enquire whether he ever held any communication, *other than political*, with the Raja, and whether he ever received any presents from His Highness. On this latter point we have the unexceptionable testimony of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of the Scotch Free Church Mission, who mentions, in a private letter, his having seen at Goa, the horses sent to the Viceroy by the Raja.

† For the methodized evidence by which the above facts are supported, we would refer to Mr. Willoughby's summaries, (Parl. Paper, p. 995) more particularly to those marked A. A. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12.

And what, it may be asked, were the ulterior designs of this infatuated man in establishing, for so many years, this clandestine communication with a foreign state? For, as Sir Robert Grant has remarked, no native prince would have systematically broken so capital an article of the treaty without some object to justify the risk he incurred. There is abundant evidence to shew that his great object was to establish his independence, and to regain the extensive dominions once governed by his ancestors—in short to re-establish the Mahratta empire on its ancient scale of grandeur. These, it may be urged, were wild and extravagant projects—projects so hopelessly impracticable that no intelligent person, such as the Raja is admitted to have been, could for a moment have entertained them, much less have been deluded into a belief of the possibility of their ultimate accomplishment.*

But, setting all other testimony aside, the most undeniable evidence of the Raja's pretensions to the ancient Mahratta sovereignty is supplied in a bukkur or memoir,† drawn up by the Chitnis under His Highness' orders, and bearing his seal, and in a paper entitled "an account of the sovereignty of the Government of Satara," &c ‡ drawn up in His Highness' name, under date the 31st October, 1837, both of which official documents were transmitted to the Governor-General by the Raja's accredited agent, the late Dr. Milne. This is not all. In his frantic efforts to attain the objects of his distempered ambition, he has, with unparelleled baseness and ingratitude, made an impotent attempt, in these papers, to fix a charge of violated faith on the purest and brightest name that graces the page of Indian History—his earliest and his best benefactor—THE HONORABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE ! !§ Could the most rancorous of his Brahminical enemies (if any such really existed) have brought forward any thing more condemnatory of his character and conduct, than what is contained in these documents, written by his confidential adviser, attested by his own seal, and put forward in his defence (! !) by his accredited European advocate? Or are they like the Goa papers, to be considered as forged documents put forward with fabricated seals, under the counterfeit signature

* This, which might have been a weighty argument in 1838, will hardly carry conviction to those who have lived to see, in 1848, men educated as British states men and legislators, with no excuse from want or oppression, talk themselves and hundreds of their fellows into attempts at revolution, compared with which the wildest scheme ever charged against the Ex-Raja was a prudent and sensible enterprize.

† Parl. Paper, p. 886. ‡ Parl. Paper, p. 898.

of his professed advocate? For the credit of the Raja it were devoutly to be wished that they could be thus charitably accounted for.

The extended enquiries which had been so ably conducted by Colonel Ovans, were now brought to a close: Let us pause then for an instant to survey the exact position in which the Raja now stood towards the British Government. We find—

First—That, on the refusal of the Indian Governments to acknowledge his pretensions to sovereignty over the possessions of the Jaghirdars in British territory, he had, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Resident whose advice he had bound himself to follow, and in direct opposition to the non-intercourse clause of the treaty, entered into communications with agents in Bombay for the avowed purpose of procuring the reversal of the decisions of the Government whose supremacy he had bound himself to respect, and in subordination to whose paramount authority he had originally received and now held the Satara dominions;—

Secondly—That he had, for a long succession of years, kept up a series of perfidious intrigues with the authorities at Goa,* during a period of professed friendship, and when no apparent cause of collision had arisen between the two Governments;—

Thirdly—That, in pursuance of these intrigues, he at last countenanced an attempt to seduce a portion of the British troops from their allegiance;—and

Lastly—That he continued openly and systematically to set the authority of the British Resident at defiance, and to act "as if he were independent of the treaty and of all control."

In a word—The alliance between the two states, was virtually dissolved—the title deed which constituted his only claim to his sovereignty had been trampled in the dust—and, as a necessary consequence, the power and possessions which that title deed conveyed had been forfeited to the state by whom they were originally conferred.

That such a state of matters should have been permitted so long to continue, passes belief. For two years had the Western Presidency presented the unseemly spectacle of a protracted conflict between the paramount state and one of the most dependent of its allies—a conflict, derogatory to our character, and most prejudicial to the public interests. Of the two pressing duties that, under the existing state of our relations with the Satara court, claimed the urgent

* We purposely leave out of consideration all the other alledged intrigues on which the evidence was less complete and conclusive. They are reviewed, with consummate ability, in a series of masterly minutes recorded by Sir Robert Grant, under dates the 5th, 15th, 24th, 26th, and 31st May. See Parl. Pap. pages 118 to 206.

attention of the Bombay Government—they rigorously discharged the one while they totally neglected the other. Through the able and well directed exertions of their representative, they succeeded in unravelling the complicated web of the Raja's intrigues: but they neglected the other and (as we think) more important duty of compelling him to a strict and rigorous observance of the treaty, while these investigations were in progress. Week after week was this dependent ally permitted openly to violate his obligations with impunity. Parties, whose possessions had been guaranteed to them by the British Government in former days, were subjected to confiscation: and the remonstrances of the British Resident were treated with neglect, and almost with insult. Widows of *British subjects*, deceased in British territory, brought their husbands' bones to Satara, and there performed Sati, not only with the connivance, but with the direct sanction of the Raja, who appeared to encourage such sacrifices for the sole purpose of proclaiming his independence of British influence and authority. We find Colonel Ovans again and again pressing upon the Government the paramount necessity of checking these outrages: but without effect. They saw very clearly, and pointed out in the strongest terms to the Supreme Government, the baneful effects of the Raja's unbridled proceedings: but they unfortunately found themselves precluded from *acting* on their own sound views without the Governor-General's sanction. Here the evils arising from the curtailed powers of the minor Governments were most painfully apparent. But, notwithstanding their subordinate position, a bolder and more energetic Governor would have promptly vindicated his authority, by instructing his representative to follow up the first breach of obligation, on the part of the Raja, with a distinct intimation that any repetition of the offence would be considered *an act of hostility*, and be visited with instant *suspension* from his sovereignty. And having issued these orders, he would have transmitted a copy of them for the Governor-General's approval. His Lordship, we think, would scarcely have ventured on the responsibility of directing their recall: and we are very certain that much of the subsequent embarrassments of this untoward case would have been thereby avoided.—But we have wandered somewhat from the direct course of our narrative.

The local and the Supreme Governments unanimously concurred in opinion—that the guilt of the Raja on the three principal charges* had been conclusively established; that his

* These three charges were, his attempt to seduce the Native Officers from their allegiance, and his treasonous intercourse with the authorities at Goa and with the Ex-Raja of Nagpur. Into the last charge we have not deemed it necessary to enter.

offences were of too serious a nature to be either overlooked or forgiven; that, originating as they must have done (to use Lord Auckland's words) "in a deep-rooted spirit of resistance and aversion to the British supremacy," lenient measures would be perfectly inapplicable; that he ought therefore to be deprived of the sovereignty which he had so justly forfeited; and that his territories should be annexed to the British empire. On these several points there was not a dissentient voice in the councils of Calcutta or Bombay.

But an important question arose as to the expediency and the practicability of bringing the guilt of the Raja to the test of judicial proof, before a special commission, or some other competent tribunal. In the policy of this measure, coupled with the *ad interim* suspension of the Raja's authority (as recommended by the Bombay Government) the Governor-General was at first disposed to acquiesce. But a subsequent consideration of its difficulties and risks induced him to withhold his sanction from its adoption. In this view of the case, the Council of India* unanimously concurred. They considered any further proceedings to be impolitic and altogether unnecessary, and were prepared to recommend the immediate deposal of the Raja. This part of the question was well argued at the time by Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and was, at a subsequent stage of these proceedings, discussed at considerable length and with great ability in an admirable minute recorded by the late Mr. Edmonstone, and concurred in by many of his colleagues in the Direction.† Referring the reader to this able state paper, we must content ourselves with the following short extract from Mr. Bird's minute:—

"In regard to the appointment of a Commission, I am not aware that the Raja could legally be tried by a tribunal so constituted, or that there exists any law by which the form of procedure for the trial of a sovereign prince, accused of political offences, could be regulated. I am quite sure that the constitution of such a court would be attended with insuperable difficulties and perplexities, and it cannot, I think, admit of a doubt, that the present state of India,‡ the discussion, the intrigues and the excitement, to which such a procedure must unavoidably give rise, might be followed by the most disastrous consequences.

"Nor does it appear to me that the case requires to be treated judicially. It is one entirely of a political nature, and as such, all that it behoves us to do, is to satisfy ourselves that the stipulations of the treaty have in fact been treacherously violated. This has been done by an enquiry, than which none was ever more patiently, laboriously, and dispassionately conducted, or more minutely and critically revised, and by all the authorities

* The Governor-General was at this time separated from his Council.

† Parl. Paper, p. 1273.

‡ At the time this minute was recorded, the Army was on its march to Kabul.

who have had successively to pass judgment in the case, the Raja has been unanimously condemned.

"I think, therefore, that the Raja may at once be set aside. It is the course which has been resorted to in other cases, and which in this, under all the circumstances, ought, I am of opinion, to be adopted."*

THREE YEARS had now elapsed since the commencement of this perplexing enquiry;† and the prospect of a final settlement seemed as distant and uncertain as ever. Meanwhile the subject had excited considerable discussion in England. The home authorities viewed with disfavor the protracted and extended investigation to which the case had given rise. A feeling seemed to be gaining ground that its importance had been unduly exaggerated; and that friendly remonstrance and advice, if judiciously used, could not fail to bring back the Raja to a due sense of his obligations to the British Government.

Under these circumstances the nomination of SIR JAMES CARNAC to the Government of Bombay was hailed with satisfaction by all parties, as holding out the most favorable hopes of an early and amicable settlement. He had been distinguished, throughout a long public life, as the warm and steady friend of the natives of India, and was the strenuous supporter of the policy of upholding native states: he was, moreover, an enthusiastic admirer of the character and government of the Satara Rajah; and had avowed himself to be one of those who considered that his alledged intrigues had been greatly exaggerated, and were unworthy of serious notice. Instructions were forwarded to the Governor-General to suspend his final decision on the case until the new Governor's arrival: and not a doubt was felt, either in Leadenhall-street or Cannon Row, of his success in re-establishing our relations at the Satara Durbar on their former friendly footing. "Well do I recollect," says Sir John Hobhouse, "that taking leave of him at the Board of Control, I impressed upon him our desire that he should deal leniently with the Raja, and received from him an assurance that he would follow that advice"‡—an advice which was in cordial unison with his own feelings and wishes on the subject.

* Parl. Paper, p. 262.

† We have before noticed the delays in the consideration of the first charge: those which were permitted to occur in the subsequent stages of the proceedings were still more injurious to the public interests. Colonel Ovans' final Report on the Goa and Jodpur intrigues is dated the 30th Nov. 1837. Sir R. Grant's minutes, in review of these intrigues, were not recorded until May of the following year; Lord Auckland's minutes were written in September and December following; and those of the Council of India in April 1839. Eighteen months of deliberation! And the question still unsettled!

‡ Speech on the Satara Question: House of Commons, July 6, 1847.

Sir James Carnac assumed charge of the Government of Bombay on the 1st of June, 1839, and applied himself without delay, to an anxious consideration of the Satara question. The impression left on his mind by that enquiry was very different from what he had anticipated. Favorably disposed as he was towards the Raja, he could not resist the unwilling conviction that his guilt, on the three principal charges, had been clearly and conclusively established; and that he had justly incurred the forfeiture of all the advantages of the treaty which placed him on the throne. Nevertheless—taking into consideration the extravagance of his intrigues, the utter impotency of those with whom he conspired, and his own political insignificance—he considered that it would be more befitting the magnanimity and generosity of the British Government to overlook and forgive his past misconduct, than to proceed to the extremity of his deposal, and the annexation of his territories to the British dominions. In accordance with these views—which were directly opposed, it will be remembered, to the sentiments unanimously recorded by all the Indian authorities—he purposed to proceed in person to Satara, in the hope of rescuing the Raja from the dangerous position in which he had placed himself. To effect this object, he proposed to extend to him a general amnesty, unclogged by any stipulations, excepting such as might be found necessary for enforcing a more strict observance of the original treaty of 1819, and for ensuring efficient protection to the witnesses who had received our guarantee. This lenient and generous policy was, in deference to the presumed sentiments of the home authorities, promptly assented to by the Civil members of his Government,* and received the sanction of the Governor-General.

Thus vested with full powers, and sanguine of success, the veteran diplomatist proceeded on his mission of reconciliation to the Satara Court. But he came too late. Three years of unbridled indulgence had worked its baneful effect on the mind of the infatuated Raja. His Bombay Agents had urged him, in the strongest language, to listen to no conditions,† except such as were dictated by himself: and he followed the fatal advice. He peremptorily rejected the terms of the proffered amnesty.

The conditions, thus rejected, were at once moderate and

* Sir James Carnac gratefully acknowledges the cordial co-operation of his civil colleagues, who had previously recorded their opinions in favor of a very different procedure.

† One of the terms to be proposed by the Raja was, that the British Government should restore to him "the whole raj" (that is, *all the territories conquered from the Peishwa*) as they had pledged themselves to do, when he *deserted the Peishwa and assisted the English!!!*

reasonable—fewer in number, indeed, and less stringent than those which had received the Governor-General's sanction. After a preamble, intimating that His Highness, misled by evil advisers, had exposed himself, by his breach of the treaty, to the sacrifice of the alliance of the British Government, the agreement specified as the conditions of the amnesty;—That His Highness should strictly and in good faith, act up to the existing treaty—more particularly to the second article;* that he should continue to pay the allowance, heretofore granted to his brother Appa Sahib, who had recently thrown himself on our protection; that he should dismiss from his counsels—Bulwunt Row Chitnis—the man whose evil and corrupt advice had brought the Raja into his present position; and, that he should respect the guarantee extended to certain of the witnesses.

Now these three measures (for the first was simply a repetition of an existing engagement) were not only in themselves, reasonable or rather indispensable under the circumstances, but they were such as under the provisions of the second article of the existing treaty we had an undoubted right, either then or at any subsequent period, to prescribe and enforce. But the *mode* in which they were submitted was injudicious, and calculated to defeat the object in view. The great error committed was—in conveying the decision of Government in the form of *an offer to conclude a new treaty*—instead of presenting it in the shape of a *final decision* pronounced by the Paramount Power on a subordinate ally who had violated his engagements. There should have been no option given, either to accept or to reject: but the decision ought to have been accompanied by a distinct official intimation, that it was the fixed intention of the Government to exact hereafter a strict and literal compliance with the terms of the original treaty; and that any future departure from them would be followed by the immediate forfeiture of all the advantages which that treaty conferred.

But, while we make these observations, we are bound to add our deliberate conviction, that no management or persuasion, at this period, would have brought back the Raja to a just sense of his duty or to a strict observance of his engagements. How was it, indeed, possible to maintain friendly relations with a Prince who publicly repudiated the solemn compact under which he held his sovereignty—who, with unparelleled effrontery informed the British Representative that he had refused three several times to sign the original treaty, before he at length re-

* "The Raja engages to hold the territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Agent at his Highness' Court."

luctantly consented, and that *his renewal of it would reduce him to the condition of a Mamletdar !* * That, with these facts before them, there should still be found in England clear-headed sensible people, who consider the Raja to have been an innocent and injured man, is a mystery which we are utterly unable to solve.

The peremptory and obstinate refusal, by the Raja, of the conditional amnesty now tendered, and his distinct repudiation of an important part of his existing engagements, rendered his deposal no longer a question of policy, but a matter of immediate and inevitable necessity. Accordingly, in virtue of the authority with which he was invested, the Governor was reluctantly compelled to enforce the penalty prescribed by the 5th article of the treaty of Satara. Instead however, of resuming the territories, thus justly forfeited, he resolved (and under the circumstances resolved wisely) to invest the Raja's younger brother and next heir, with the sovereignty of the Satara state.

Having thus failed in the accomplishment of the mission he had so much at heart—a failure which caused him the bitterest disappointment—the Governor returned to Dapuri, his Dekhan residence, to issue the requisite orders for the deposal of the Raja. This was quietly and peaceably accomplished by Colonel Ovans on the morning of the 5th September, and on the same day his brother, Appa Sahib, was proclaimed his successor, under the title of Shaji Maharaj. These measures received the sanction and approval of the Supreme authorities, both in India and in England.

The remainder of the Ex-Raja's history is unfortunately too well known ; and may be disposed of in a few words. After a residence of three months in the immediate neighbourhood of Satara, he set out on his journey to Benares, which had been selected as the place of his future residence. An allowance of a lakh and twenty thousand Rupees was assigned to him, from the revenues of the Satara state, for the support of himself and his family. He survived his dethronement eight years, and expired on the 14th of October 1847, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The whole history of the "Satara case" strikingly exemplifies the baneful effects of a hired political agency, whether Native or European, on every native state that has recourse to it. No greater misfortune can befall a native Prince than to be taught to look, for advice or protection, beyond the British Resident

* This observation His Highness made to the Resident at his second interview, (Parl. Pap. p. 1142) and it is repeated. on two subsequent occasions, in the account drawn up by himself of his different conferences with the Governor and the Resident.—(Ibid, 1199-1201.)

at his Court or the local Government whom he represents. The moment that he puts himself into the hands of irresponsible mercenary agents, he embarks on a course which must sooner or later lead to the subversion of his friendly relations with the British Government, and which too often carries him on headlong to his ruin. In the unhappy case before us, the communication being in itself illicit, was necessarily exposed to all the corruption and intrigue inseparable from the maintenance of a secret agency. That an intercourse, which thus wantonly infringed an express fundamental article of the treaty, and the baneful effects of which were so often and so strongly impressed upon the Government by Colonel Ovans, should have been allowed to be kept up for three years, was the result of the same irresolute policy which, month after month, permitted the advice and remonstrances of their representative to be neglected and his authority to be set at open defiance.

Many of the evils and perplexities of the case must doubtless be ascribed to the completely subordinate position in which the minor presidencies were placed by the last Charter Act—or rather we ought to say, to the subordination in which they are kept by the practice of the Calcutta Council Chamber. Had the power, for the final settlement of the case, ultimately vested in Sir James Carnac, been at once entrusted to his equally humane predecessor, as soon as the Supreme Government were satisfied of the Raja's moral liability to punishment, Pertab Sen would in all probability have died on the Satara throne. But, even without such plenary powers, a more prompt and resolute exercise of authority on the part of the local Government, in the first instance, might have saved all future embarrassment. The grand point to have been looked to, was, that the decision, on all that was known or suspected, should have been *immediate* and *final*. If, on the first disclosure of the alleged conspiracy, the Governor had at once proceeded in person to Satara, (from which he was distant only a day's journey) and had there, in concert with the Resident, instituted a summary investigation, and passed a final decision on the spot, there would have been no occasion for a Court of Enquiry, or for the prolonged investigations and the still more protracted deliberations which followed it. The result of his visit would probably have been the expulsion of the Dewan, the Chitnis, and perhaps one or two other unprincipled advisers, from the Satara Durbar*—the immediate dismissal of

* As the interview between the Raja and the Native officers had not taken place at the period we are supposing, there would have been no direct proof of his participation in the attempt to seduce the seapoys, though there would have been enough to call for the exercise of increased vigilance on the part of the Resident.

the Bombay Agents—and the future enforcement of a strict and literal observance of the treaty, more particularly of the controlling and restrictive provisions of its second and fifth articles. But, on the other hand, if the Raja had pertinaciously resisted the supremacy of the Paramount Power, and had refused to comply with the Governor's personal requisition, and to conform to the obligations of the treaty—the obvious course would have been, in such case, instantly to suspend him from his sovereignty, and to assume the temporary management of the country, on his behalf, until the pleasure of the Home authorities had been made known.

Long as we have dwelt upon this part of our subject, it seems incumbent upon us, before finally quitting it, to notice some of the virulent and disgraceful attacks which have been made by the agents and partizans of the Ex-Raja, on the character and official proceedings of the local authorities whose duty it was to investigate and decide on this case.

It should seem a very unnecessary duty to defend the memory of the late Sir Robert Grant from the groundless accusations with which his good name has been assailed. If ever there was a public man of high principle and sterling integrity, who exercised the functions of his high office under a deep sense of moral and religious obligation—it was the amiable and accomplished person we have just named. But his high character and unblemished reputation have not protected him from the slanderous charge of having accomplished the ruin of the Ex-Raja by a departure from the sacred principles of truth and justice. The base calumny is refuted in almost every page of these voluminous papers. Every Minute which he recorded evinces his deep and anxious solicitude to discover the truth, and the scrupulous care with which he weighed every circumstance and incident, however trivial, in order that he might form a just and impartial judgment on the case In fact the only errors with which he is chargeable in the management of the case, arose, as we have seen, from causes the very converse of what has been so unjustly and so absurdly imputed to him. Had he been less conscientious—less scrupulously apprehensive of doing wrong—less fearful of responsibility—he would have asserted the supremacy of his Government with a firmer and more resolute hand, and in so doing, he would probably have saved the Raja from ruin, and his own fair fame from unmerited obloquy and reproach.

But against none of the official authorities connected with the Satara proceedings have these unblushing calumniators directed their poisoned arrows of malice and revenge with greater and

more persevering ferocity, than against the able and distinguished Officer on whom devolved the invidious duty of carrying out the enquirv which led to the Ex-Raja's deposal. In a letter addressed to the President of the Board of Control, which has been recently laid before the House of Commons,* Colonel Ovans has most fully and triumphantly vindicated his character from the calumnious imputations which have been so foully and so falsely cast upon it. The reader will find in the Parliamentary Papers just referred to, a separate and successful refutation of each of the twelve methodical charges preferred by Mr. George Thompson, against the late Resident: and he will find, in the same volume,† an exposition, by Sir George Clerk's Government, of the character and recent proceedings of the infamous reviler, on whose unsupported testimony the hireling‡ Arch Agitator and his parliamentary confederate have endeavoured to blast the reputation of that distinguished Officer. With the publication of these official documents we might safely dismiss the subject. But the question involves other and more general interests than the vindication of personal character: we must therefore entreat the indulgence of our readers while we advert shortly to some of its leading points.

At the period of his selection, by the late Sir Robert Grant, for the delicate and important mission to Satara, Colonel Ovans held the high office of Quarter Master General of the Bombay Army, to which he had been appointed by the late Lord Keane solely on the grounds of his high character and services. He had, in the previous part of his career, filled various offices of high trust:§ but he was more particularly distinguished as the great civilizer of the Bhils of Candeish. The ability, judgment, and zeal which he had so strikingly evinced in the accomplishment of this great and benevolent reform—a reform which has been attended with *perfect* and *permanent* success—pointed him

* Parl. Pap. (1848) p. 1-32. † Ibid, p. 32.

‡ We feel ourselves amply justified in applying this designation to one, who, within a brief period of less than three years, had, to our certain knowledge, a sum of upwards of *sixty thousand* rupees transmitted to him, on account of the ex-Raja, through a late mercantile firm in Calcutta; and this, altogether independent of an additional sum of *twenty thousand* rupees forwarded to him, through the same firm, on account of the titular Emperor of Delhi.

§ In earlier life he distinguished himself as an Assistant in the Gujarat survey. The reports of Colonel Morier Williams, on a portion of this work, are standard authorities to this day, on all that concerns the topography and fiscal condition of the cotton districts: but the labors of the survey generally are little known beyond the province to which they relate, though it may be doubted whether there has yet been executed in India, any survey so detailed, and at the same time so practically adapted to the wants of the rich, highly cultivated, and minutely subdivided lands of Broach and Kaira.

out as an officer pre-eminently qualified to conduct the important enquiry about to be instituted at Satara.*

On the completion of that duty the Governments both at home and abroad unanimously concurred in their admiration of the eminent ability, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry with which he had discharged the painful and arduous task. And, truly, the more we consider the extraordinary difficulties and hazards attendant on such an enquiry, conducted within the dominions of the Prince whose treacherous and hostile conspiracies formed the subject of his investigation, the more we see reason to admire the firmness and address which overcame them all without conflict or collision.

But Mr. George Thompson has made these official measures the ground-work of a series of grave accusations against Colonel Ovans. The charges, which are twelve in number, may be reduced to three classes; First,—obtaining evidence by unjustifiable means; Secondly, the suppression of evidence; and Thirdly, treating the Raja at his dethronement, with harshness and cruelty.

Of the accusations included under the first class the principal are, that he intercepted the Ex-Raja's correspondence,—that he seized and imprisoned a large number of the Raja's subjects without accusation, kept them in prison without trial, and only released them on the Raja's deposal;—that he extorted evidence from the Dewan by the foul means of imprisonment and duresse,—and that he redeemed certain documents which were at the time in pledge for a debt due to the person to whom they were said to have been entrusted by the principal agent in these intrigues. These allegations contain a strange and discreditable mixture of truth, mis-statement, and absolute falsehood.

It is perfectly true, that Colonel Ovans intercepted portions of the Raja's hostile correspondence with his secret agents in Bombay, which he laid before his Government; and it is equally true, (Mr. Thompson might have added,) that he repeatedly warned the Government that the continuance of such correspondence was most prejudicial to the interests of both Governments, and, if persisted in, would inevitably lead to the Raja's ruin. The hostile character of these letters is manifest in every page of them: and this case, probably, affords the first example where the right of Government to intercept such correspondence has ever been

* It is to be distinctly observed that this investigation *had been previously decided upon* by the Supreme and the local Governments. The institution of such an enquiry may have been expedient and necessary, or it may have been the reverse: but the responsibility of the measure does not rest with Colonel Ovans, who neither originated nor advised it. The Government took upon itself the responsibility—and it selected that Officer to carry its orders into effect.

questioned. It is unnecessary to add, that to correspond at all with the agents was a positive breach of treaty.

It is also true, that several of the Raja's subjects, who were implicated in the intrigues then under enquiry, were detained in custody, by Colonel Ovans, as state prisoners under the special orders of his Government. But it is *not* true that any of these parties were seized by him—all of them having been given up by the Raja on his requisition.* Neither is it true that these parties were detained without accusation. Mr. George Thompson must be too familiar with the Sattara blue books to require us to refer him to the 1118th, and six following pages for the disproof of his assertion: but the reference may be useful to some of our readers, who will there find a list of the persons in custody, with the charges against each, and the evidence by which they were supported. It appears that none were detained except those against whom there was strong and conclusive evidence; and they were all pardoned and released by the Bombay Government, immediately after the Raja's deposal,† "on the humane and wise principle, that the chief agent having been punished, the British Government might safely overlook the crimes of the inferior instruments."

In disproof of the charge of extortion of evidence, we have the unimpeachable evidence of the Session Judge at the station where the Dewan was detained. Mr. Hutt distinctly states ‡ that the Dewan, so far from being in strict duresse, was at the time living under surveillance in a private house in Ahmednuggur; and that he voluntarily wrote his confession with his own hand in his (Mr. Hutt's) presence. The last accusation under this head is utterly unworthy of notice.

The question naturally arises after the perusal of the whole of this class of charges,—If the partizans of the Ex-Raja consider the mode of obtaining evidence to have been so exceedingly objectionable as to make it the subject of public and formal accusation, what other method of procedure would these gentlemen have recommended to substitute in its place? Colonel Ovans was instructed to institute a searching enquiry into political matters affecting the Raja, and several of his relations, ministers, and others enjoying his confidence. Would his opponents have wished him to set himself down at the Satara residency, and there wait patiently and contentedly, until evidence criminating the sovereign and principal people of the Satara state was brought to his door? And if they were not prepared to recommend this passive line of conduct, what more active

* Parl. Pap. p. 428. † Parl. Pap. p. p. 472-474. ‡ Ibid, 1845, p. 46.

procedure would they have desired? We have examined these proceedings with some degree of attention; and we can only bring to recollection one instance in which a witness *volunteered* his evidence. If not volunteered, how was it to be procured? These are questions which the Ex-Raja's partizans find it convenient to evade.

We now proceed to the second class of charges preferred against Colonel Ovans,—accusing him of having, for eleven months, suppressed the evidence of a man called Krishnaji Bhidey, which evidence, it is alledged, established the fact that he (Bhidey) was the author of the Petition attributed to Girjabhye the mother of the imprisoned Dewan—in other words that he had forged the petition in Girjabhye's name. This petition, it will be recollected, disclosed the names and designs of various parties alledged to be implicated in the Satara intrigues, and formed the ground-work of the enquiry then in progress. Now, in the first place, it will scarcely be credited by our readers that the evidence thus alledged to have been suppressed, so far from proving the petition to have been a forgery, most satisfactorily confirmed the proofs previously recorded of its authenticity, by discovering the Karkún who had been employed by Girjabhye to write and forward it to Bombay on her behalf, and whose name she had previously concealed when she admitted the genuineness of the document. Bhidey never once affirms, as Messrs. Thompson and Hume continually assert, that he forged or fabricated the petition, but that he wrote it for Girjabhye, and that he never had been paid for the trouble and risk of doing so.*

It must be obvious, therefore, that if Colonel Ovans had in reality been actuated by the unworthy motives imputed to him, he would not have lost a day in transmitting evidence which conclusively established the authenticity of the petition, and confirmed (instead of falsifying, as Mr. Thompson has the hardihood to assert) the general accuracy of the conclusions at which he had arrived on the question, from Gir-

* Krishnaji Bhidey having complained to Colonel Ovans that he had not been paid for his trouble, was naturally told by that officer that he must look for remuneration to those who had employed him. This reply, to which Bhidey over and over again refers, in itself conclusively proved that the man was no agent of Colonel Ovans. Failing in getting any thing from the Resident he betook himself to Bombay, where he fell in with an agent of the Ex-Raja employed in communicating with Mr. Hume. This man promised Bhidey to bring his claims to the notice of the authorities in England, and sent with a statement of his own, a Petition from Bhidey, so artfully drawn up in English (which Bhidey did not understand) as to give some color to the agent's assertion that it confessed to a fabrication of Girjabhye's petition. But if Bhidey's own statements be carefully read, it will be seen that almost the only point on which they are uniformly consistent is, that he wrote Girjabhye's petition for her, and by doing so, subjected himself to considerable danger, and entitled himself to reward.

jabhye's own confession, and which he had communicated to the Government. But he found it necessary to institute further enquiries into the subject, and finally transmitted the whole of the documents to Government *within ten days, after the date of the last deposition* taken before the Post-master at Puna. And after all, the authenticity, or otherwise, of this celebrated petition did not in itself in any way affect the question of the Ex-Raja's guilt: for, though it furnished a *clue* to the alleged intrigues, it formed no portion of the evidence, finally recorded against him.

The third class of accusations—charging Colonel Ovans with cruel treatment of the Raja at his deposal—are so absurd as to be scarcely deserving of notice. But the interests of truth and justice, require that falsehood should be exposed, however ridiculous be the garb in which it presents itself.

In a petition bearing the signature of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Chairman of the British Indian Society, of which Society Mr. George Thompson is, or was, the itinerant Secretary, and presented to the British Parliament in 1841, it is gravely and solemnly averred—"That Colonel Ovans invaded the Ex-Raja's chamber at dead of night, dragged him from his bed, and thrust him almost naked into a palankeen with his cousin Bala Sahib Suenapatti;" and that "the present [late] Raja was without, assisting Colonel Ovans in these outrages." Into these few lines the British Indian Society managed to compress no less than six distinct falsehoods. It is false that Colonel Ovans went to the palace at dead of night—it being day-light when he arrived. It is doubly false, that he invaded the Raja's chamber, and dragged him from his bed—for he never went beyond the Court-yard of the Palace, where he remained in the open air until the Ex-Raja descended from his sleeping chamber, and joined him. Neither is there a word of truth in the absurd assertion, that he thrust the Ex-Raja into a palankeen with his cousin the Suenapatti. And lastly, it is a slanderous untruth that the Ex-Raja's brother was present assisting in these outrages—he being at the time at the Adalut, about half a mile distant. Three false statements follow in the next sentence of the petition,—but it would be utter waste of time to expose such discreditable mis-statements. Notwithstanding their official refutation by Colonel Ovans upwards of six years ago,* with an appeal to the testimony of three British Officers who accompanied him on the occasion, two of whom are still alive,† we find that Mr. George Thompson still persists in charging

* Parl. Pap. p. 1290. † Captains Cristale and Follet of the Bombay Army.

Colonel Ovans with unnecessary and gratuitous harshness and indignity in carrying out the Ex-Raja's dethronement—a measure which, as was well known to every one at Satara at the time, had been accomplished without the slightest collision or disturbance, and with every consideration for the comfort and feelings of the deposed prince of which the circumstances of the case admitted.

There remains one more calumny to be noticed—and it is the basest and most atrocious of them all. For a series of years had Colonel Ovans been assailed with every species of slander and abuse, which malice and revenge, aided by Benares silver, could purchase or invent. Unable to procure the Ex-Raja's restoration by direct and legitimate means, a select band of his partizans set to work to accomplish their ends by traducing the character and conduct of the officer who had been instrumental in detecting His Highness' guilt. But while they unceasingly and unscrupulously scrutinized and impugned all his official acts, it was not until after the utter failure and discomfiture of all their other efforts that his calumniators had dared to cast an imputation on his integrity and honor. It was not until the 22d day of July, 1845, that Mr. Joseph Hume ventured to stand up in the British House of Commons, and accuse that upright and honorable public servant of bribery and corruption, and on what authority did he found the atrocious accusation? On nothing more than the information of the infamous Bhidey, one of the most worthless and unprincipled of Brahmans—a man whom Mr. Hume himself had previously denounced as a forger, and who has gone on from one villainy to another until he is at length expiating the penalties which ought long ago to have been inflicted on his crimes.*

* This man in the course of last year, presented a variety of petitions, to the Governor of Bombay, containing a great number of charges of bribery and misconduct of every kind against Balagi Punt Nattu, a native of high character, who had assisted Colonel Ovans in the Satara enquiry; and stated that they were brought forward in compliance with written orders and a promise of reward alleged to have been received under the hand and seal of the (late) Raja. The result of a minute and searching enquiry by Mr. Frere, the Resident at Satara, into the charges preferred by Bhidey, was a perfect conviction on his mind, "that the petitioner was a gross impostor, and that the only particles of truth in the tissue of falsehoods of which his petitions consisted, were owing to what he had picked up while a hanger-on to the (Satara) Durbar." The original documents, (of which pretended copies were shewn) alledged to have been received from the Raja, were not forthcoming when called for; but Mr. Frere insisted on their production. He argued that however strongly Government might be convinced of his being an impostor, and a perjured libeller, and however well known his character was in the country, there were some influential parties in England who appeared to credit his statements; and that if he should be found guilty of forgery, it would be most unfair, both to the Raja and to Colonel Ovans, to permit him to go unpunished. After a great deal of evasion and delay, the documents were at length produced: when a very slight examination clearly and conclusively shewed them to be clumsy forgeries. Of the criminal charges against Balagi Punt, not one could be substantiated.

It was on the unsupported testimony of such a scoundrel as this (to use the words of Mr. Willoughby quoted below) that the character of Colonel Ovans was impeached by parties professing to be solely influenced by the sacred principles of truth and justice. The infamous charge, it is needless to add, was negatived by the House of Commons, as it had previously been scouted by the Bombay Government and the Court of Directors.

The conduct of Mr. Hume in this matter cannot escape the just reprehension of every one who desires to promote the true interests of this country. That the hireling agitator, in the exercise of his vocation, should pander to the passions or the prejudices of his motley audience, by slandering the good name of all who are opposed to him—is a thing of such common and every day occurrence, that the practice ceases to excite our astonishment, however much we may lament its dishonesty. But the Legislator who prostitutes his position, as a representative of the people, to the dissemination of false and calumnious aspersions on the character and reputation of officers, who have well and zealously served their country, ought to be held up to public reprobation. Mr. Macaulay's Indian experience is stated to have impressed him with the conviction, that if India is ever lost, it will be by a British House of Commons. The observation is pregnant with truth. We would only remark on it in more immediate connexion with our present subject, that it will be an evil day for British India, when the disappointed, intriguing, factious Hindu shall be encouraged to look to the Humes and the Thompsons of the House of Commons for the redress

One of the witnesses whom he called was found to have been dead for fourteen years.

After a most careful consideration of Mr. Frere's detailed report, Sir George Clerk recorded a Minute, under date the 4th January, 1848, in which he observes, "the minute investigation which Mr. Frere has made into each of the accusations of Krishnaji Bhidey has established in a very clear manner that this individual is only one of those disreputable informers who are to be found near all native courts, seeking by means of such falsehoods and calumnies as he has here employed to establish himself in a confidential and profitable position." And he afterwards remarks that he was not "disposed to offer any suggestion to the Raja about the punishment of a common scoundrel of this kind, but would leave it to the Raja to subject him to trial, either by the ordinary Court at Satara or by Punchayat,

usly (

loughby remarked, that it was very satisfactory that this enquiry, establishing as it did, beyond a doubt the infamous character of Krishnaji Bhidey, had been conducted by a gentleman wholly unconnected with the case of the (late) Ex-Raja of Satara;" and added, in the words quoted above: "It is on the information of this scoundrel that the character of Colonel Ovans has been impeached, in and out of Parliament, by parties professing to be solely influenced by the sacred principles of truth and justice." (Parl. Pap. 1848, p. p. 32 to 40.) The scoundrel was subsequently tried by a Commission, and sentenced to IMPRISONMENT FOR LIFE.

of their factious grievances. We shall always deem it a labor of love to record the honored names of such of our legislators as understanding the real interests and practical wants of India, stand forward to advocate the one and to redress the other: but we shall not fail to expose and denounce the misrepresentations of those, who, diverting the attention from objects of practical utility, lend their influence and position to the unworthy office of traducing the character and conduct of honorable and upright servants of the Government—let such representations come from what quarter they may. Such has been our motive, and our only motive, for stepping aside from the direct path of our narrative to defend the character of a distinguished officer, who, in the honest and fearless discharge of an arduous public duty, for which he was specially selected by his Government, has been subjected to one of the basest, most vindictive, and most unmerited persecutions which it has been the lot of any public servant to endure.*

APPA SAHIB succeeded to the Satara principality, as has been stated, on the 5th September 1839; and in the November following, was formally installed in the Sovereignty by Sir James Carnac. This prince ascended the throne under less

* Associated with Colonel Ovans in the Satara enquiries, as well as in the calumnies which they engendered—was BALAJI PUNT NATTU, a Sirdar of rank and high character in the Dekhan. This able man first entered the British service, under the Honorable M. Elphinstone, before the outbreak of the last war with the Peishwa; and he has received, from the Historian of the Mahrattas, a well-merited

consulted by him on all subjects connected with the settlement of the country. He was subsequently employed in the same capacity under Grant Duff at Satara, and finally was Sir John Malcolm's confidential adviser on all public questions affecting native feelings and interests. Honored with the friendship, esteem, and approbation of these great men, he retired from public life on the munificent pension to which his eminent services had so justly entitled him.

While residing on his estate on the banks of the Kishna, he was selected by Colonel Ovans as the most able, influential, and well-affected agent he could procure to aid him in the Satara enquiries. This gratuitous employment did not fail to draw down upon him his share of the virulent and vindictive calumnies which were directed against the Resident. The leading calumniators were the same in both cases —the infamous Bhidey in India, and Messrs. Thompson and Hume in England—and, thanks to the searching investigation of Mr. Frere (before alluded to) the exposure has been as complete in the one case, as it was in the other.† Throughout the pro-

trust, will continue to console him in the evening of his eventful life, and amply compensate him for the rabid attack of his enemies— whether they happen to be members of a British *House of Commons or the inmates of an* Indian Jail.

* Grant Duff's Hist. of Mahrattas, III., p. 412.

† Parl. Pap. (1848) p. 32 to the end.

favorable circumstances than his predecessor, though he had some advantages which his brother did not possess. Succeeding to a deposed Sovereign who had many popular qualities, he naturally incurred the dislike and resentment of the more violent partizans of the fallen Raja. These parties did not fail to revive some of the follies and frailties of his youth, and were not always very scrupulous as to the accuracy of their representations. His personal qualities, too, were much under-rated—his brother having been in the habit of remarking that when Appa Sahib succeeded to the throne, the world would see what a dunce he was. But Appa Sahib lived to falsify by the success of his administration the ungenerous predictions of his enemies.

Though not possessing the acuteness of intellect, or the energy of character, which distinguished his brother, the new Raja proved himself to be a man of considerable intelligence, and of very excellent judgment. The distinctive feature of his character, indeed, was his sound practical good sense, to which was united much kindness and benevolence of disposition. He had strong prejudices: but his opinions were much less warped by passion and personal feelings than were those of his predecessor. He was conversant with business, having presided for many years over the chief Criminal Court at the capital, and having had, at one time, the management of one of the Jaghirs. Added to all this, he had witnessed the errors of his brother, and the punishment with which they had been visited, and was not likely, therefore, to follow in the same path.

Appa Sahib, like his brother, was peculiarly favored in the character of the Resident accredited to his Court at the period of his accession. This is an advantage, the importance of which, is too frequently lost sight of. If we examine closely the administration of the various dependent Allies of the British Government, we shall find, that in a great majority of instances, its efficiency depends less upon the personal disposition of the Princes and Chiefs themselves than on the character and qualifications of the British Agents appointed to superintend them. The observation applies more especially to the states that we at once protect and control: but it is also applicable, in a modified degree, to the native rulers who exercise a nominal supremacy within their own territories. Wherever our political supervision has been the most efficient, there has the native rule generally been the most prosperous. The salutary influence, thus exercised, is often greatest where it is least seen: and it may consist quite as much in the positive good it effects. Hence the full value of the benefit rendered to the state frequently remains un-

appreciated until its author has gone, and mis-government begins to shew itself under an inefficient successor. The experience of our readers will supply abundant illustrations of the truth of these remarks They have been strikingly verified in the history of the Satara Government.

Among his many high qualifications, Colonel Ovans pre-eminently possessed that one quality without which all others are valueless—devotedness to the duties of his office. His heart was truly in the work. To protect the Raja's interests, to uphold his authority, and to promote the good Government of his territories, were the objects to which his time and attention were unceasingly devoted. And complete success rewarded his labors. He inspired the Raja and his ministers with feelings of the highest personal regard, and with implicit reliance on the soundness of his judgment: and the personal influence thus acquired seems to have been uniformly exercised with the utmost prudence, and with the happiest effects to the Raja and his subjects.

There is, perhaps, no native state in India, in which more of the elements of good Government have been exemplified, or in which measures of greater practical utility have been carried out, than in the Satara State during the eight years of Appa Sahib's reign. A peaceful, thriving, and contented population give satisfactory proofs of the justice of his rule: and, when it is added that during his short reign he expended about 10 lakhs of rupees on public works, the reader will admit that his administration was as enlightened as it was just. The improvement of its internal communications by the construction of roads and substantial bridges;* the formation of tanks; the various improvements of his capital; the abolition of transit duties; the encouragement of Schools; the construction and endowment of a Hospital and Dispensary; the extension of vaccination throughout the interior districts; and the abolition of Sati†—form some of the benevolent and useful works which remain as memorials of the good Government of the late ruler of Satara.‡.

* The noble stone bridges over the Kistna and the Yenna are probably unequalled in any part of India.

† Satara was one of the first native states to abolish Sati. The measure was a completely voluntary act on the part of the Raja, adopted in compliance with the well known wishes of the British Government, but not suggested to His Highness by the Resident or any one else.

‡ No alteration had been made on His Highness' accession, in the relations between the two states, except in the transfer to the British Government of the direct management and control of the Jaghirdars — these chiefs continuing, as before, to give their personal attendance on the Raja, on all state occasions, and to furnish their established contingents of Horse. Under this arrangement, all the embarrassments and disputes which were so constantly arising under the double Government were altogether avoided.

The Raja's health, which had been declining for some years, gave way rapidly in the beginning of the present year; and he expired at his capital on the 5th of April (only a few months after the death of his brother) at the early age of forty-six. He left no offspring; but on the day of his death he adopted a lineal descendant of the uncle of the renowned Sevaji.* His death excited general and deep regret among all classes of his subjects.†

Having completed our review of the past connection of the British Government with the Satara state, two questions of present interest present themselves, which deserve a few words, before taking a final leave of the subject.

1. *Has the Satara state fulfilled the purposes for which it was established by Mr. Elphinstone?*

The success of the measure in detaching the Mahrattas, as a nation, from the cause of the Peishwa, and promoting their early and complete submission, has been already stated. But Mr. Elphinstone's main object in restoring the dynasty of Sevaji was of a more permanent character—to furnish employment and the means of living to a large and troublesome class, who could have found no place in our own system of administration, and, by so doing, to make lasting provision for the peace and good government of the country. In this respect his policy has been at least equally successful. Ruled by a sovereign of their own race, himself connected by blood with many, and by caste with most of them, the Mahratta chiefs of the Satara state have been, since 1818, in the enjoyment of as much liberty and consideration as it is possible persons of their class could possess, under the British Government in India. Of their own advantages, in this respect, they have been fully sensible; and it would not be easy to find any district in India, of similar extent, where the upper classes have invariably been so contented and free from disaffection. The spirit of rebellion has been at one time or another frequently

* The Raja himself was descended from Sevaji's *grand uncle*.

† Colonel Ovans returned to his native country in the early part of 1845, amid the general regret of all classes of the community; and has left behind him a name which is never mentioned at the present day, without the strongest expressions of attachment and regard. He was succeeded for a short time by Colonel Outram, whose name and services are familiar to all our readers, and of whom we have left ourselves no room to speak at present. We are also precluded by exhausted space as well as by other reasons, from more than a passing allusion to his able and accomplished successor, who now conducts the Government of the Satara State. We trust, however, that the pleasing duty of recording Mr. FRERE's services remains in store for us not many years hence. Meanwhile, on behalf of the people to whom he is so much and so deservedly endeared, we can only express a fervent hope, that, whether as the administrator of their national government during the minority of their Prince, or as commissioner for the introduction of British rule, they may long enjoy the keeping they so much prize, of his popular and enlightened administration.

rife, in almost every one of the surrounding districts. Budami and Kittur, Kolapur and Sawuntwarri, have repeatedly taken their turns at armed resistance. The Candeish, Puna, and Concan Hills have been more than once the theatre of a protracted guerilla warfare, and their towns the nests of Brahman and Mussulman conspiracies; but Satara has, with one exception, never given us cause for uneasiness, nor occasioned the march of a single British sepoy to quell any disturbance political or Agrarian. Even the exception in question proves, more strongly than any thing else, the entire absence of any general feeling of discontent on the part of the Mahratta chiefs. A sovereign possessing every claim on their respect, great personal influence, and a very considerable degree of talent as a leader, was seized with a monomania for measuring his strength against the British Government. Every feeling of national and personal pride was enlisted in his favor, yet he totally failed in exciting any general discontent with our rule, or any disposition to try to get rid of it. He failed simply, because, the chiefs and influential classes were well aware of the advantages they enjoyed under Mr. Elphinstone's settlement, and they were not disposed to risk them.

It may be said, that we have not proved the tranquillity of Satara to have been a consequence of Mr. Elphinstone's policy, and that the result would have been the same, had its administration been assimilated to that of our other conquests from the Peishwa. To this we would answer, that those elements which are elsewhere elements of disaffection—predatory tribes, a considerable Brahmanical population, and numerous petty chiefs of an intriguing as well a martial turn—are all, beyond comparison, more abundant in Satara, than in the other parts of our Mahratta conquests. Yet while the latter have continually shown ill-suppressed indications of disaffection or rebellion, the feeling manifested in the Satara territory has been conspicuously the reverse. The only difference in circumstances, which can possibly account for these opposite results, is the difference in the form of Government. Mr. Elphinstone's policy left the Satara chiefs and people comparatively wealthy and contented, with more to lose than gain by a revolution. In our own districts, on the other hand, our system may have benefited in some respects the lower orders: but it has converted all the upper classes into ruined and desperate men, ready to join the wildest scheme that promised to better their condition, or afford even a temporary change from the grinding monotony of our administration.

Of the general good government of the Satara country we have already spoken; and if, as we have just endeavored to prove, the classes most dangerous to the general tranquillity have been

secured to the cause of order, by affording them a safe and honorble shelter and an ample provision—if, as all travellers and all Government functionaries concur, with a rare unanimity, in stating, the country is more prosperous, the people richer, the taxes more easily paid, crime more rare, life and property more secure, than in many of our own districts—it would be difficult to say in what single particular the result could have better justified the policy of the wise and large-hearted statesman, to whom Satara owes its existence as an independant sovereignty.

2. This brings us to the second question—*Is it incumbent on the British Government, on the grounds of* JUSTICE *or of sound* POLICY, *to continue the Satara sovereignty, and to the late Raja's adopted son?*

Let us, as in duty bound, give precedence to the question of JUSTICE. We solemnly bound ourselves by a treaty in 1818, which we ratified and recognized with equal solemnity in 1839, to cede the country of Satara in perpetual sovereignty "to the Raja of Satara, his *heirs* and *successors*."* As long, therefore as the Raja, with whom we treated, left any heir or successor, we cannot, according to our view of the case, resume the territory without being guilty of a breach of a solemn treaty.

We have already mentioned that the late Raja adopted a son. The adoption was in every respect perfectly valid and regular, according to the law and custom of the nation: and in any court of justice in India—in the Supreme Court of Calcutta or Bombay, as well as in any Adalut of the Company or of any native power—the adopted son would be recognized, without possibility of question, as standing in precisely the same position, with respect to rights of property and relationship, as the naturally born legitimate male issue of the deceased Raja's body. In a word, the late Raja's adopted son has succeeded to all the legal rights, and is subject to all the legal liabilities, of his adoptive parent.†

"But," it is argued, "no adoption can transmit rights of *sovereignty* without the recognition of the adoption by the paramount power." Though the soundness of this position, in the case of sovereign princes, be not free from question, let us, for

* The 1st article of the treaty of Satara runs thus: "The British Government agrees to cede in perpetual sovereignty to the Raja of Satara, his heirs and successors the districts specified in the annexed schedule."

† In replying to a question put to him last session, Sir J. C. Hobhouse is reported to have mentioned, as a defect in the late Raja's adoption, that it took place during the absence of the Resident and without his consent; and that Dr. Murray, who was present, protested against it, or at least urged its suspension until the Resident's arrival. But the assent or dissent, the presence or absence, of the Resident had nothing whatever to do with the validity of the adoption—the formality and legality of which, we are informed, are unquestionable.

the sake of argument, admit that confirmation is necessary to justify the title,—the question will then arise.—Can this sanction be equitably withheld? or, in other words, can it be refused without a departure from the established custom and usage of native governments, as well as of our own?

Whatever may have been the abstract *legal* rights of the Imperial Government of Delhi, a reference to history will shew that in *practice* its recognition of adoption was never withheld, unless where the Prince who wished to adopt was disaffected to the paramount power—a ground of objection which no one asserts to have existed in the case of our trusty ally the late ruler of Satara. Again, let us refer to the practice of the British Government, and we shall find, that, since the creation of the Satara state, adoption has been recognized in almost every Mahratta state of note in India, Kolapur only excepted:—That is to say, sons adopted in precisely the same manner and on the same grounds as in the case of Satara, have succeeded to the sovereignty of Scindia at Gwalior, of Holkar at Indore, of Powar at Dhar, and twice successively to that of Bhousli at Nagpur. In most, if not all, of the cases enumerated, the present reigning Rajas are adopted children, to say nothing of minor Mahratta Rajas, Chiefs, and feudatories,* so numerous that we believe the succession by adoption would far outnumber those by direct descent.†

A regard to the established custom and usage of India—British, Mahomedan, and Hindu—would thus seem to impose upon the British Government, the *moral* obligation of continuing the sovereignty to the adopted son of the late Raja, *even if we had not bound ourselves by a specific engagement so to do;* and this brings us to the *legal* obligation we have voluntarily but solemnly incurred.

By the treaty of Satara, as before stated, we ceded a certain territory in perpetuity to the Raja and to "his heirs and successors." The terms here used, it will be observed are gene-

* The privilege has even been conceded to the Jaghirdars of the Satara state, four of whom were permitted to adopt during the late Raja's reign.

† The object of adoption is religious rather than economical. The superstitious belief is that certain ceremonies performed by a son can alone deliver the soul of even the purest and most virtuous of parents from one of the direst quarters of purgatory. Hence where no natural born son exists, a son must be adopted from the same tribe as the parent; and the favorite cousin, nephew, or other relation is invariably adopted among the Mahrattas, even when such a step is no way necessary to secure to him the succession to property. It is a common error to suppose, that adoption is a remedy for lack of heirs. Adoption is merely a selection, from among possible heirs, of one individual as heir, which he becomes in virtue of his election to the religious position of a son. Vide Colebrooke, Strange, or any other of the ordinary Hindu law text books on adoption.

ral. There is no restriction or limitation to particular heirs, direct or collateral. The succession is made absolute to the Raja's heirs and successors generally, and for ever. The real question, therefore, which we have now to answer, is simply this —*has the Raja of Satara left any heir*, or *did he die heirless?* No one possessing the slightest knowledge of Hindu law can hesitate for a moment in answering, that the late Raja *did* leave an heir, and that heir was his own adopted son, who, for all legal purposes is the Raja's heir as completely and effectually as if he had been his legitimate son. He did not, perhaps, on his adoptive parent's decease, become *ipso facto* RAJA, but he became *ipso facto, his heir at law*—THE HEIR whom, agreeably to the tenor of the treaty, we ought to recognize as successor "*in* perpetual sovereignty" to the state of Satara. This adopted son, therefore, being according to the law of the country, the Raja's heir, we can no more, consistently with the treaty, refuse to recognize and invest him, than we could have refused to recognize and invest the original grantee's naturally born son.

We can perceive no escape from the obligation thus imposed on us by the plain terms of the treaty: and no argument is necessary to prove the real injustice, as well as the technical illegality of construing a deed of gift more strictly than is warranted by the plain meaning of the terms used. To read "heirs and successors," as though it were synonymous with "heirs male of his body," is so clearly contrary to common justice and common sense, that it were loss of time to argue the point further,*

After what we have just written, we need say little regarding the POLICY of continuing the sovereignty to the late Raja's heir. If we have taken a correct view of the question, our recognition of his claim becomes a matter of imperative obligation. If the construction of the treaty were even doubtful, we would still hold it to be sound policy to confirm the adoption, on the wise and equitable principle of interpreting a doubtful point in favor of the weaker contracting party. Or, if there had been no stipulation at all in the treaty regarding the succession, it would, even in such a case, be the part of a wise and a just government to respect the prescriptive rights of ancient and established usage, which have been hitherto preserved inviolate, both under our own rule, and under that of our Mahomedan and Hindu predecessors.

* Even had the late Raja not adopted a son, he would still have left an heir in the person of the nearest of his *blood relatives*, whoever he might have been. There is, in fact, no expression in the treaty which can be construed to bar *any particular class of heirs*.

Are we prepared to set these obligations aside, to interpret treaties according to our own fashion, and to pronounce the rights of prescription to be obsolete? And, after having done so, what is to be our gain? Uniformity of rule, and two or three lakhs of surplus revenue,—for after payment of pensions, establishments, and salaries, it could scarcely be more.* But, will a foreign government, with all its uniformity, be more popular or more efficient than the late one, under judicious British control? Will the people, now happy and thriving, be more prosperous and contented then? Will the higher classes, which now form a connecting link between the rulers and the peasantry, be maintained? Will our public improvements† surpass in magnitude and utility the magnificent works which have been executed in the late reign? Will hospitals and dispensaries be more liberally supported? Will education, English and Vernacular, be more extensively diffused? Will greater facilities be afforded for the propagation of the Christian faith? We will leave each of our readers to answer these questions for himself, according to his own individual experience of the benefits of British rule. Whatever differences of opinion may exist on these matters, there is one point on which the sentiments of all wise and good statesmen are in cordial unison—the supreme importance of maintaining our good name unimpaired. Let us then hold fast our pledged faith, whether direct or implied, without wavering. Let us give a fair and liberal construction to our treaties. Let us beware of affixing a strained limitation to their stipulations, which the framers of them never contemplated, and which the ordinary and grammatical acceptation of the words does not warrant. The whole history of our connection with the Satara state has heretofore been marked by the most enlightened liberality. We were *generous* to the late Raja, let us not be *unjust* to his son.

* The late Raja, we believe, was in the habit of expending all his income, though he never exceeded it. The military charges, some years ago, were about 5½ lakhs of Rs. and we suppose they are about the same now. If we put down the civil charges at 2½ lakhs—roads, schools, hospitals, &c. at half a lakh—and pensions of all kinds, including those to the widows and families of the two last Rajas, at 2 lakhs more—we shall have little more than 3 lakhs of surplus, even under the supposition of the continuance of the present flourishing state of the revenue—which, in the absence of the Court and its large local expenditure, is scarcely to be expected.

† The late Raja, during his reign, expended on public works a sum amounting to between 8 and 9 per cent. of the annual revenues of the Satara State. From Mr. Mangles' recent evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, it appears that the sums expended in similar works, by the British Indian Government, during the last fourteen years have not exceeded ½ per cent. of the revenue.

ART. VI.—1. *Scenes in a Soldier's life, being a connected narrative of the principal military events in Sindh, Belúchistan, and Affghanistan, during* 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, *and* 1843, *under Generals Lord Keane, Brooks, Sir R. Sale, Wiltshire, Pollock, Nott, England, McCaskill, and Sir C. Napier; by J. H. W. Hall, author of "Ethaldi;" "the Outcast;" "the Deserters," &c. &c. Montreal and London,* 1848.

2. *Narrative of services in Belúchistan and Affghanistan, in the years* 1840, 1841 *and* 1842: *By Colonel Lewis Robert Stacy, C. B., Bengal Native Infantry, A. D. C. to Her Majesty; employed on special service in Kelat; and in command of the 2d brigade of the Kandahar Force. London,* 1848.

WE purpose to have another gossip about military life and military adventure in the East. The two works, whose titles we have just transcribed, are the latest which have reached us. They illustrate, in a great measure, the same transactions, and carry the reader over the same ground—but they are exceedingly unlike each other. Mr. Hall's book is the more amusing—Colonel Stacy's (on which a brief notice was bestowed in our last number) the more valuable. Mr. Hall has written a readable volume full of the most extraordinary blunders; Colonel Stacy is accurate enough, though his book may prove, to most readers, as dry as a volume of old despatches. An interesting account of our military operations in Western Affghanistan, might be constructed out of the two volumes. Mr. Hall is gossipy and anecdotical; Colonel Stacy is stately and official. The latter might supply the historical ground-work; the former the lights and shadows of military adventure. Each might furnish what the other lacks. Mr. Hall's attempts at history are most grotesque, and Colonel Stacy is much too dignified to indulge in personal anecdote except when he has something to say about himself. But a judicious fusion of the two narratives, enlivening the comparative dullness of the one and correcting the inaccuracies of the other, might result in a really interesting and valuable work.

Mr. Hall has committed a grand error—but one common to writers of this class. He has attempted too much. Not content to treat merely of matters with which he may be presumed to have some acquaintance, he has betaken himself to topics with which he has none. In an evil hour he has bethought himself of turning historian It was not enough that he should

tell the public what he saw and what he did, during some five years of active service in Sindh and Affghanistan. He must endeavour to enlighten the world upon points of Central-Asian history. The result is precisely what might be anticipated. The success attending the experiment falls lamentably short of the ambition it develops. It would have been wiser to have left history alone. This is not a muse to be trifled with; every affront offered to her is sure to be amply avenged. A writer may tell us what he likes about himself, and so long as he is decently amusing, we are not likely to quarrel with him, even though he take some liberties with the truth; but let him take the least liberty with *historical* truth and the public is up in arms against him. It is every body's business and it is in every-body's power to convict and punish the offender. The conviction and the punishment are sure.

A few samples of Mr. Hall's historical accuracy will suffice to show how much dependence is to be placed on his statements. In his "Introductory Chapter" of Affghan history he states:—

"A treaty of friendship had long existed between us and that nation (the Affghans); but in 1837, things bore a curious appearance from the *fact that the Persians had gained possession of Herat, which established treachery on the part of the Dost.*"

We always thought that the Persians did not gain "possession of Herat." Hitherto it has been generally believed that they tried very hard to do so, but that not succeeding, they raised the siege and withdrew. This is an entirely new representation of the first great incident of the Central-Asian drama, and beginning with such a startling novelty as this, Mr. Hall may favor us with any after-originalities and occasion us no great surprise.

For example, as the Persians gained possession of Herat, Sir Henry Fane of course crossed the Indus with the British troops:—

"A large force was raised for the purpose (of invading Affghanistan), and Sir John Keane took command with Generals Sir W. Cotton, *Fane*, and others."

Hitherto the belief has been that because the Persians raised the siege of Herat, the strength of the army originally designed for the invasion of Affghanistan, was so reduced, that Sir H. Fane did not take command of it; but as in Mr. Hall's history the Persians succeeded, it follows of course that the Commander-in-Chief crossed the Indus with the invading army.

Further on we find Lord Ellenborough taking command of the army of reserve at Ferozepore:—

"A large army was forming at Ferozepore, called an Army of Reserve, *under the command of* the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough."

Now we all know how Lord Ellenborough lamented that he was not a soldier, and how he went into battle at Maharajpore and was nearly expended; but this is the first we have heard of his military ardour reaching such a height as to impel him, being a civilian, to take command of an army.

Here is another scrap of equally authentic history:—

"The political Agent at Sukkur was Ross Bell, Esq., and Capt. Bean was his assistant. Capt. Bean is the officer who, with his lady, encountered such dreadful hardships during the siege of the Fort of Kahun, which he so long and so gallantly defended."

We were under the impression up to the fortunate hour when Mr. Hall's volume was first placed in our hands, that it was Captain Brown and not Captain Bean, who so gallantly defended Kahun. We had heard something, it is true, about Captain Bean, standing a siege at Quettah—but the dreadful hardships endured by him and his lady at Kahun are glimpses of history for which we acknowledge our obligations to Mr. Hall.

There is novelty, also, in the following:—

"Mahomed Akbar Khan, the eldest son of the ex-ruler, had imbibed the bitterest animosity against the British, &c."

We had always so read the domestic annals of the great Barukzye family as to believe that Afzul, not Akbar, Khan was the eldest son of Dost Mahomed. But we live and learn. Another scrap, too, of family history is worth noting; Mr. Hall informs us, that Hyder Khan is now in England, for purposes of education!

The information relative to our own functionaries, which is to be found in this volume, is often not less startling than that which relates to the different Affghan celebrities. Thus Sir Alexander Burnes is created a "Baronet," and appointed an "Ambassador" off-hand—armed with almost regal power:—

"I must certainly say that a man placed as Sir Alexander (Burnes) was, in a position approximating in power to the King himself, was much in fault at even harbouring an opinion, &c."

We had an obscure idea that Burnes had complained, almost up to the day of his death, that he had no power at all at Kabul; that he was a mere cypher—in a constrained and anomalous position. It was our belief, too, that Sir W. Macnaghten was the Baronet, the ambassador, in a "position approximating in power to the king himself." But Mr. Hall has effectually stripped us of all these antique errors.

Here we have an original portrait of General Elphinstone:—

"A good, brave, and no doubt an enterprising soldier; but nature seems to have endowed him with a bump of self-confidence: deep conception appeared to have either never existed in him or entirely left him; he was easily advised, and would listen to almost any project, &c. &c."

We should have thought that a disposition to be easily advised and to listen to almost any project are not very significant indications of the presence of the bump of self-confidence. But we live and learn.

With reference to the advance of General Pollock's division from Peshawur to Jellalabad, in the spring of 1842, Mr. Hall who always denominates the Khybur pass, the Khiva pass, accounting for the halt at the former place, thus observes:—

"A strong division was assembled at Peshawur, at the mouth of the *Khiva* under Major-General Pollock, who was prevented from immediate advance to Jellalabad by the inclemency of the weather."

We had other ideas relative to the halt at Peshawur—but we bow to the authority of Mr. Hall, who is acquainted with all the variations of an Affghan climate, and knows how much less inclement at the mouth of the Khybur it is in April than in March.

But enough of this.—There are some other new readings of Affghan history, to which we may incidentally allude in another part of our article. Here we purpose to steer off straight in another direction, and proceed at once to fulfil the more grateful duty of pointing out what is really interesting in Mr. Hall's volume. So long as he speaks only of what he saw and what he did, during his five years of service in Affghanistan and Sindh, he is a pleasant vivacious companion to whose stories we are by no means disinclined to listen. We will let him speak for himself in this character and make his terms with the public.—Here are some of the delights of a march in Sindh—a pleasant picture of

"STICKING IN THE MUD.

The advance from Minora to Kurrachie, though now often a subject of merriment to the parties concerned, was a tedious and harrassing march to the soldier: having advanced as far up the river in the boats as was available, we entered a little creek, and rowed until the boats were a-ground, owing to the shallowness of the water: we had still a considerable distance to march ere we could arrive at the road,—no not road, track—which led to our destined object. No difficulty must daunt a soldier; no obstacle must prevent his onward progress, if there be the most remote prospect of success. And therefore, thus stranded in the middle of a swamp, we had no alternative but to attempt to wade through the saturated mud. Each step in advance occupied several seconds, and the mud, which was black and soft, affording no resistance to our weight, at every step we sank two or three feet deep into the horrible mass. It must also be remembered that every man was encumbered with a musket, accoutrements, and a pouch containing about five pounds of ammunition, on the preservation of which depended his hopes of success and safety; this unpleasant march of one mile and a half occupied nearly nine hours, which extraordinary as it may seem, will not be *apocryphal* when it is stated, that they crawled

along in this quagmire very much in the same style that a fly *progresses* in a jar of molasses: some fell at every other step, others actually stuck fast many minutes at a time; some were in imminent danger of being entirely and permanently submerged; others, overcome by the exertion, fatigue, and hunger, were on the point of giving up all exertion. The officers, being in precisely the same predicament as their men, could scarcely make any exertion to encourage them in their efforts to surmount the danger and difficulty in which they were placed: but there is little which the indomitable resolution, courage and perseverance of the British soldier will not eventually overcome; but what a position to be in, as a preliminary entree into an enemy's country! what an opportunity for a slaughter! At length, after terrific exertions, and Herculean labour, the whole mass once more found themselves safe on *terra firma*. The danger and toil was no sooner passed than it was forgotten, and, regardless of the pressing calls of hunger, they urged on, impatient of delay, until they advanced close to the town, which, as has been stated, surrendered at their approach."

As a pendant to this we give the following. The transition is from mud to

"DUST!

The sickness shortly afterwards disappeared, still the weather continued very trying. During four months in the year the weather is very hot, and for six weeks blows one continued cloud of dust from about eight, A. M., to four, P. M. This moving mass of gravel dust is about twenty-five feet high, and smothers every thing which offers any resistance to the drift. During this disagreeable season the situation of sixteen soldiers in a tent of fourteen feet square must be any thing rather than agreeable, their only defence against this battery of small stones being two folds of cotton canvas; consequently their flesh, their clothes, their beds, were literally buried in it. Some would cover themselves with their blanket, and try to sleep away the day; should they be for one hour in the same position, a casual observer would scarcely distinguish the mass from a mound of earth. The food whilst being cooked, was filled with dust, and when placed upon the dishes, before it could be eaten, would be covered thick with sand; this, accompanied with ardent heat, and, its attendant, intense thirst, rendered the soldiers' lives very miserable. Sometimes, during the blowing of the dust, it would rain, which, combined with the closeness of their small tent, inflicted a misery upon the troops which exceeded any thing described by Beresford in his amusing little work, clever and comprehensive as it is; and, if the proverbial statement have weight, that a man shall eat a peck of dust during his life, we eat a bushel each in a year. The monsoon does not visit Sindh, as it does India, although periodical rains fall, more or less, every year; and in 1839 very severe and heavy rains fell, which did not at all tend to increase the comforts of the campaigners in that barren region."

The following is not a bad sketch of

"AN INDIAN ARMY ON THE LINE OF MARCH.

Having fairly got on the march, it perhaps will not be out of place here to give my readers an idea of an army on the line of march in the field, in India, as it materially differs from that of one in England, where the soldier, surrounded by countrymen and friends, halts at some town the same day, weary enough, I dare say; still there is a billet, a bed, and a comfortable meal, although he has often a long way to go ere he finds out his resting place,

owing to some very great mismanagement in the arrangements of billeting in Europe. However, the march in the field proves a very different scene. Picture the bustle, confusion, and excitement of an army on the march, being preceded by the skirmishers and advance guards, accompanied by the Quarter-Master General, who, in the most systematic manner, on the arrival at the destined encampment, proceeds to calculate the relative distance required for each corps and department, and allots it to the parties attached from each regiment, for their further division. They from practical arrangements, measure the necessary distance for each individual and tent, marking the spot, and awaiting the arrival, which quickly follows. The main body reaches the ground, and each corps marches at once to its quarters. The individual to the site of his palace for the day. Shortly comes the numerous train of baggage, carried by camels, elephants, mules, horses, asses, bullocks, carts, &c. &c. many thousands in number, and followers far exceeding the number of troops. The followers attached to the various portions of baggage proceed at once to their spots of ground The tent and its baggage arrive together, and all is prepared to "Pitch Camp." A signal is given, and as if it were by magic, a town, a fort, and a strongfold is formed in a few minutes. Guards are mounted, pickets arranged, and sentries placed, and all is quiet and settled for the day. The Commissariat proceeds to kill the cattle, and issue the provisions. The baggage cattle are all sent out to graze under strong guards. The bazaars (one to each corps) open their stores of merchandise, and expose it for sale, at an enormous and extortionate profit, of which I shall speak more fully in some future chapter. The authorities at the head are engaged in the arrangement of the objects in view; emissaries are sent out; chiefs are received and negotiated with for the supply of provisions; the weary soldier, after smoothing down for his domestic comfort his parlour of twenty-one inches by six feet, lulled by the aid of that refreshing genius, sleep, beguiles the long dreary hours of the day, filled with anxiety, and overpowered oftentimes with the intense heat, rendered more so by the trifling protection under canvass. At length comes the night, and every precaution having been taken, all is prepared for a fresh start, the cattle are placed in front of their to-morrow's load, each soul devolves into that earthly heaven, which soon relieves the mind from the world's anxiety and care; at the dead of night is heard the trampli ig of the patroles carefully visiting the guards and piquets, and the reliefs cautiously challenged by the watching sentries. And shortly after midnight are heard the shrill trumpets and bugles arousing the tired soldier from the midst of perhaps dreams of the happy hours of boyhood and home. The sound carries with it a volume of directions; and in a few minutes all is again confusion—yet regularity is there; all on a tip-toe of bustle—yet all is steady, and each at his place. The camp appears as one blaze of fire from the darkness of the night, and bushes of piles of brushwood collected, being fired to give light to enable the packing and loading to be carried on; and should you stray a dozen yards perchance it will take you half an hour to find your place again. And I have often seen from the dream of the sleeper to the movement off the ground of more than 20,000 souls and cattle, not more than half an hour elapse. Long ere day dawns, all are again on the march; the keen morning air striking chilly, through the wearied soldier, disturbed from refreshing sleep, and forced to trudge along an unknown path; all passes on in silence, nothing is heard, save the neighing of the horses and the heavy measured tread of the moving mass of men; line after line of connected camels and cattle, move on, carefully guarded and guided by the troops and followers, each eye heavy from broken rest, and looking anxiously for the opening of the

distant horizon to admit the day, and distribute the welcome rays of the sun, which at first are pleasant in the extreme, but ere a few hours are passed, become even more oppressive than the midnight air. All this it is which has so much astonished the natives of distant lands and placed our system at the top of the tree."

A painful interest attaches to the annexed. Mr. Hall speaks of what he saw and is entitled to credit. He was one of the first to enter the tent in which was found the murdered body of poor Loveday :—

" In the meantime we advanced cheerfully and eagerly, but slowly, towards the line of cavalry, as we had to cross a plain intersected by deep and strong streams of water, and broad " nullas," or ditches, which greatly increased the harrassing nature of the ground over which we had to pass. And as we did, the enemy's cavalry still continued to retire before us, at intervals, and very slowly. By the time that we had come within musket range they perceived that their object had been attained ; their remaining infantry had gained the Pass, and they immediately faced about and fled with the rapidity of a route, leaving their camp equipage entire, and a large quantity of treasure. It was, however, not without vexation that we beheld the majority of the enemy we had taken so much pains to get at, thus scampering of almost unharmed, and unscathed, dashing up the, to us, apparently almost inaccessible sides of the mountains ; our guns played at intervals with grape and spherical shot, admirably aimed, so as to burst and meet the ascending foe on the sides of the cliffs, and it was the only satisfaction left us to see them fall by dozens on the explosion of each shell, as they were driving furiously in to the Bolun pass by a route which secured them from the attack of Mahomed's cavalry, even had they been strong enough to venture upon a pursuit, which they were not in any one particular, principally owing to the long and fatiguing march which their horses had performed the night before. Our skirmishers, who consisted of about one third of the Europeans, being called in, and who, we were glad to find, had met with little loss, and being once more together, our attention was now turned towards the deserted camp, in the midst of which we preceived a very handsome European officer's tent, which had met our gaze on our first set out towards their encampment, and which we supposed to be one taken in the overthrow of some small force, which was now become a daily occurrence. On our arrival at the deserted camp, I with two or three others, ran immediately to the tent, and alas what a spectacle presented itself ! There lay the body of poor unfortunate Loveday, with his throat cut, and who had about that moment breathed his last. A native boy was weeping across his mangled body, who turned out to be his servant, the only one allowed him, and that in consequence of his being a Mahomedan, and who used to cook for him, which none of the Brahoe or Murri Tribe composing the enemy would. This native, who had faithfully followed and served his master in oppression as well as in affluence, gave a most melancholy narrative of the treatment of Lieut. Loveday during his career as a prisoner in their hands. We found the body in the tent laid on a small piece of carpet, with nothing to cover him save a pair of cotton " pajamas" or drawers. He was barefooted, and his ancles were lacerated, owing to the friction of the chains then upon him. Two pieces of paper were near him ; one was addressed to his dear sister, and the other, a partly written one, to a friend.

It appeared from the tale told by the servant, that every time the enemy moved their camp, poor Loveday was placed on a camel, a most uncom-

fortable beast to ride, and taken with them, well watched, and often had to walk in the state mentioned, except that his man sometimes gave him his turban to protect his head from the heat of the sun. Often after arriving in camp has he been exhibited in the bazaar, and buffeted by new comers of their tribes, and beaten if he attempted to remonstrate. And often has he expressed a sincere wish for them to serve him as they did the small force he commanded at Kelat; but as often they refused, and seemed to take delight in being insolent and oppressive. He uttered exclamations of delight when he heard the report of the shots from his friends, and his heart throbbed with joy at the prospect of being so soon amongst them, little dreaming his fate was allotted, and the assassin in waiting, so barbarously to take his life; for it was arranged, on the appearance of our forces in the front of Dadur, that should they prove victorious, Loveday should be killed; but the servant stated positively that Nusseer was against the murder, Gool Mahomed being the sole instigator, for early at the time of our advance, Nusseer, with his mother, were the first that fled into the Pass, and Gool gave directions that the last leaving the ground should cut the prisoner's throat, which was most peremptorily carried into effect; a deed of double shame on the perpetrators of so foul, and cowardly an act. Revenge seemed to call aloud from every breast, and although upwards of forty-four hours had passed since they had tasted food or slept, and were of course extremely fatigued, and, in fact, almost exhausted, they would cheerfully have pressed forward, had they been called upon to join in the pursuit of the ruthless, and cold blooded murderers. In the same tent were found four boxes containing valuables, which together with the camp military chest, &c., were seized upon as prizes."

There are some lively descriptive passages in the following account of

"A NIGHT MARCH AND A FORAGING EXPEDITION.

We had had some very unpleasant specimens of night marching, and therefore had no high anticipations of ease or comfort, but with the exception of a few camels and men going astray in the darkness of the night, we had no very serious disasters. At two, A M., we halted for the day, and at four, P. M, we were again on the line of march. To prevent accidents on this occasion, the Artillery were put in the van, and preceded the main body for at least two hours. The road for some distance lay along the half dried bed of a river, and afterwards stretched across a lovely plain, which was not intersected by a ditch or a hillock, but the beautiful green verdure enamelled by a thousand beautiful, and to me unknown, flowers, seemed to cheer and gladden every step we took. There was a mild soft southerly wind which just breathed upon our cheeks, and wafted on its zephyr airs that calm refreshing glow which is the more welcome in those desert regions, because it most often rises just after the passing away of the sun's scorching heat. It continued to blow until after the glorious orb of day had sunk slowly and majestically to rest behind the distant and lofty mountain ranges of Biluchistan, leaving us to plod our weary way beneath the beautiful and glittering canopy of heaven. For once we fancied we should find a night march might be pleasant; the breeze had now acquired more strength, and its refreshing coolness was doubly welcome, now that we began to grow warm and fatigued with marching. Encouraged by the delightful scenery and grateful odours with which the night air was redolent, we pressed on cheerfully, some of the men singing a gay and merry stanza, in which all joined in the full and hearty chorus with right good will by which many a weary mile was beguiled of half its distance.

Full of joyful anticipation, with no thought but of the dismay our presence would cause to the enemy on the morrow, we were still moving on at a very brisk pace, when we were all at once surprized to find the breeze suddenly die away, and the light and fleecy clouds which had been flitting along before, becoming slow, heavy, and dull. The bright blue of the heavens gradually became dimmer, until it presented one deep, dark, unvaried mass of murky gloom; the bright stars became more and more dim until they began entirely to disappear, and one by one, star, after star, went out, and all was night.

The column, which but a few minutes previously had been moving along proudly, safely and joyously, was now scarcely able to advance at all, every foot being set, for fear of accident, cautiously, and doubtfully; each restless eye being involuntarily turned upward, in earnest and anxious dread of what might next come. We were not long left in surprise, for far, far away, in the horizon, we heard the first low rumbling murmur of the distant thunder, which gathered strength as it rolled along, and came terribly on—until at length, it broke over our heads in one wild, fearful and tremendous crash, seeming to shake the very ground we trod upon. The clouds gathered low and thick round about us. Lightning in terrific flashes, and thunder in awful bursts, alternately smote our eyes and ears. Owing to the intense gloom, numbers of the men and camels were lost, and every now and then, between the rattling and roaring of the deep-mouthed thunder, the bugles of the main body were heard, shrilly sounding to recall the wandering footsteps of our straggling companions; still we contrived to advance, tracing our pathway by the frequent flashes of the lightning, the rain still continuing to hold off.

The dreaded storm at length came—large drops of water fell at intervals, a sure precursor to those who are acquainted with the storms of the east, that ere long, the flood-gates of the heavens would be opened upon us; and in good sooth, within half an hour, we were marching in a flood of water, that spread over the whole plain, and reached above our ancles. We contrived to advance in this state for some time, until the water became so deep that to proceed would have been impossible; we were ordered to halt, and gather as close to each other as we could, and in this state we were compelled to await the dawn of day. It is now impossible to describe the sufferings of the men during the interval, until morning came. Some were seized with the most violent cramps, which attacked many in the limbs, and others in the stomach. So painful and acute were their sufferings, that many fell down struggling into the water, and shrieked aloud with agony. The medical officers rendered all possible assistance, and the officers, many of whom carried a small quantity of brandy with them, generously placed it at the disposal of the surgeons, although they knew not but that they might be the next victims. The conduct of the officers was most praiseworthy.

About five o'clock, A. M., the day begun to dawn, and seldom has it dawned upon a more miserable spectacle than that on which it dawned that day, and seldom by any beings, however miserable they may have been, has it been welcomed as we welcomed it on that occasion, although it lighted us to a scene of misery, devastation and despair. Far as the eye could reach, we looked forth upon a flood of water. It was impossible to behold it, and not to remember that beautiful verse in the eighth chapter of Genesis:

"*The dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto Noah, into the Ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth.*"

With the returning light our energies seemed, also, to a certain extent,

to return: but we were more than half paralyzed by cold, wet, hunger, and fatigue, and what was worse than all, in the prospect before us, there was nothing to encourage hope, that friend to all, when every other friend forsakes. Effie Deans said, "Better sit and rue, than flit and rue;" a wise saying and a true one, under certain circumstances; but wise as it may be it would have been anything but wise in us to act up to its spirit on the present occasion, so we at once prepared to move on if our crab-like motion could be called moving on at all.

I have seldom seen a more distressing sight than I beheld that morning, and much as the men suffered, the cattle suffered much more, for many of them after staggering and floundering about for some time, would at last fall, and where they fell, there they lay and died. To render them assistance was an impossibility to those who were unable to help themselves, and thus we continued our march, and at the expiration of ten hours we reached Kojuk, at least as many of us as formed the main body; but we had neither baggage, tents, nor provisions.

Now and then a stray camel would arrive with one or two tents, and as the rain had ceased at mid-day, or soon after, the waters began to abate, and here and there a small portion of land would appear above the level of the flood; thither the experienced campaigners would proceed, and digging up the spot, were enabled to procure a comparatively dry site by turning the wet surface downwards, and on this they would pitch their tent. Those who had no tents were glad to avail themselves of the invitations of those who had,

> ——— to share,
> Their lowly cot and humble fare.

There we were, thirty and forty men crowded into a small space some fourteen feet square. Rest and comfort soon restore the equilibrium of a soldier's temperament, and we were now beginning to treat our late calamities as a jest, but when we began to overhaul our stores, first we found our biscuits ruined; our flour made into paste, before the fruit was gathered; our rice softened before the curry was dressed; our arrack so diluted with muddy water, that Faraday himself, I believe, would have been puzzled to analyze it; and as for our cocoa, it was, aye! where was it? none of us could tell. We were very likely to be somewhat in the situation of shipwrecked mariners on a desert Island; we had water around us, and earth beneath us, and heaven above us; and lo! all we had. We had, however, this advantage, our ocean was fordable, and at no great distance lay a newly captured Fort, and one of us, not one of the sit-and-rue race, took it into his head that where there had so lately been a marauding garrison, there would very probably be a Commissariat store; he was not one of those deep thinkers, who make discoveries only for themselves; no, with him once to think, was once to be resolved, and he cried: "Hey, boys, for a foraging party to the Fort; I'll engage ye, we find something to eat there."

Away he dashed, and a noble tail he had; their search was short, but minute and zealous, and they soon stumbled upon a magnificent store of grain, cattle and such other of those creature comforts as the natives usually collect to preserve that union of soul and body which some of us believe to be Nature's first law, and some, I fear, the chief, perhaps the only one, they care to obey.

We soon afterwards discovered a grinding-mill, and whilst some killed the cattle, prepared food, made soup, &c., others ground the wheat into flour, and made cakes, &c., so that ere long we were feasting happily and plentifully; and, as we had worked our newly discovered mine to our

own satisfaction, we failed not to spread the golden treasury to our famished comrades. I trust under, all these circumstances, this little trifle of felony will be overlooked, and that, for once, we may be looked upon rather as self-invited and famishing guests, than as daring and reckless burglars, which we might be considered at other times, and in other places.

By nightfall the waters had almost disappeared from the face of the land; and the sun, which, after a long and desperate struggle with the clouds, broke forth about four, P. M., shone brightly, gloriously and powerfully until a little after six, when he left us as happy as though the night of the 21st of February had never frowned upon us."

There is much painful reality in the subjoined picture of

"THE SICK SOLDIER ON THE LINE OF MARCH.

It will be almost impossible for any one unacquainted with the life of a campaigner in India, to even conceive the miseries of an hospital in the field. A more dejected, lost creature, does not exist, than a sick soldier on a long march in India; it must nevertheless, be admitted, that the allowances of Government to the medical branch of the Army in India, is on a most liberal scale; surgeons, apothecaries, apprentices, stewards, and a most extensive establishment of not less than three hundred attendants to each Regiment are allowed for the sick; no stint is given to the allowance, comforts of any and every kind at the discretion of the surgeons; but it is the attention evinced by these attendants; it becomes a more nominal duty to them; they are of different castes, Hindus, Mussulmen, &c., and they perform their respective duties in a certain extent, but do not enter, into that fine feeling of humanity towards the Christians, as is shown in an English Hospital. Let a man be ever so sick, though in the last stage of life, if the troops are ordered to march, he must be carried in a palanquin, and jolted on the shoulders of four men a day's march, averaging about twelve miles. The chances are, on his reaching the new ground, through the non-arrival of the hospital tents, that he may lie exposed to the heat of the Indian sun two or three hours in the palanquin, perhaps in a high stage of fever or dysentery (and several times have I seen when the palanquin has been examined, that the poor wretched man was a corpse; none knew the exact time of his death; suffice to say, he was alive when he left camp in the morning,) or on the arrival of the tent, tossed helpless into it on an unprepared bed, on damp ground, with perhaps bad brackish water, and have to remain so, four, six, or eight hours, before the course meal would be ready, and when ready, issued in a most rude manner; truly it may be said, every nicety of comfort cannot be expected in a place like that, which will be readily admitted; but it is merely to point out the absurdity of our Government in India, in placing so much trust in these native attendants, whose general idea is to plunder the allowance of the poor sick, and who, from a conviction that the Europeans are in a sphere above them, and infidels in their belief, contrary to their caste, and adverse to the white face, feel an inward pleasure in privately (for openly they dare not,) oppressing and filching at any little opportunity they can. I could speak at a far greater length on this subject; but, perhaps, my readers may be able to form an idea of their general conduct from what I have already said, and one cannot be found that could exaggerate this subject; it may be said, Does not the surgeon prevent this? Yes, would be the true answer, when he can ever detect anything; but they are too cunning: who is there that has travelled in India, but will agree with me in describing the general character of the menial native, to be that of the most hostile to humanity, and whose extreme craftiness and truly mean, dishonest disposition, render them al-

most hated? In short, the menial native servant of every European feels a pleasure, and considers it a matter of course, that a portion of anything entrusted to him, is his, and it is well known that an imaginary item in a gentleman's account of expenditure, is, so much pilfered by these servants; and there is no evading it."

In the following the perils of vagrancy in an enemy's country are strikingly illustrated. These are, indeed, among the shadows of military life—but such catastrophes are not peculiar to Affghanistan :—

"STROLLING OUT OF CAMP

It happened about the first of May that for some time previous, pipe-clay, an article much used by soldiers, had become very scarce, and none could be got in camp for money, save a small quantity, which two merchants brought from the Presidency, and for which they charged a rupee-and a half a pound, (three shillings;) this of course was quite inadequate to a soldier's purse, and it was necessary that something should be got as a substitute. It had been discovered, that in the hills about two miles from camp, a great quantity of the article could be got, which, if manufactured would do as well as the best, and a deal of it was brought into camp; three young men, thinking by going further, better could be got, and they could have a walk in the fields, which was now a luxury, unfortunately bringing to bear the old adage, "go farther and speed worse," determined on trying, and armed themselves with bayonets fastened to the end of sticks, but had not proceeded more than a mile and a half, when they were attacked by eight of the insurgents, who fired their matchlocks at them, and shot one; they then flew at them, and the struggle was very great; the two remaining men killed two of their opponents, when the other six succeeded in disarming the two poor fellows, who by this time were quite overpowered, and one who had received a severe wound, fainted from loss of blood; these unfeeling wretches tied the two soldiers together and dragged them some distance, and kindled a fire, round which they sat for some time, smoking and amusing themselves by stabbing the two bound, miserable mortals, unable to defend themselves. They, not satisfied with piercing them with their swords, thinking that insufficient torture for them, began to burn them with fire-sticks, and after keeping them in excruciating torture for some time, the men begging to be put to death out of their agony, were, according to their wish, killed, their heads were carried off as a prize, and their three bodies left, as food for the beasts and birds It, however, fortunately happened, if fortunate it may be called, that an old man, a tranquil shepherd, was watching his flock hard by, and witnessed the whole proceeding. At the cantonments, when the roll was called in the evening, the three men of course were missed, next morning the same, and until the afternoon of the second day, all kinds of surmises were afloat, but none knew the right one; several parties of men armed themselves, and went out some distance, in hopes of finding their comrades, but returned unsuccessful, till suddenly the old shepherd appeared with the three bodies tied on a bullock, carrying them to the camp, and related the whole affair. There were several versions of the tale told, but I managed to get the old man in the bazaar, and through the medium of the Chowdry, (a petty magistrate,) who was an interpreter, I succeeded in getting the exact detail, which I give as above; the heads of the three men would of course be a great prize to their chief, and would entitle the men to a large reward, though they lost two of their number; the old man stated that the three young soldiers fought most desperately; he could not say which of them killed the Affghans. On examining the bodies they

were found to be awfully hacked and cut in several places ; the whole were quite young and had not joined their regiment more than three years, this was another warning to the men not to venture too far from camp, which was contrary to orders. Let the soldier strictly obey orders, and he will be much safer ; the old man was rewarded for his trouble, and would no doubt have brought in the bodies much sooner, but was afraid he would be detained as being connected with the massacre."

Mr. Hall was present with General Nott's force at the re capture of Ghuzni. Of the apartments in which Colonel Palmer and the other prisoners were confined, he gives the following account—noting down the inscriptions, which he found on the prison-walls :—

" Close by was an arch-way leading to the citadel ; two large copper cased gates, studded with huge nails, formed the entrance, and on winding round to the left, led to an inner square ; the buildings were of fine eastern construction, being ornamented with most delicate, perforated work, so joined with ingenuity together as to form a net-work, introducing most tasteful figures and designs. The walls plastered white and enamelled, ornamented and corniced ; the houses were of two stories, and the lower ones were used as kitchens; in one of the upper landings I discovered two oblong, dark, narrow rooms, which, on examination, I found to have been occupied by our unfortunate countrymen, when prisoners here for several months ; they were in a very filthy state, and the stench exceedingly disagreeable. On closer examination, which of course curiosity would lead to, several portions of writing were found on the walls, some written with burnt stick, a nail, or some other cutting substance, and one was in pencil. I took a literal copy of every portion of the writing, and it will of course be interesting to my readers, as well as corroborative and illustrative of the feelings of the unfortunate fellows ; it will also fully bear out the brief detail given by me of the affair, which is taken from an account I had from one of the prisoners own lips.

The following are true copies :—

First, (written with a blunt pencil.)

" Col, Palmer, Capt. Olston, (Alston) Lt. Powett, (Poett) Lt. Harris, Ensigns Williams, Nicholson, and Davis, and Dr. Thompson, 27th N. I., Capt. Lee Burnet, 54th, and Lt. Crawford. S. S. F., prisoners in the fort of Ghuzni, through the treachery of Sirdar Shums-ud-Dien Khan, his brothers Gul Mahomed, Nahib Ravulish Khan, and Sirdar Mullok Mahomed, in having broken every article of two treaties solemnly sworn to. If on the arrival of any British force, the prisoners are not forthcoming, avenge them on the abovementioned, and on Khan Mahomed or Killa Maduf (a cousin of the Sirdar's) his brother Taj Mahomed, and Nizar Mahomed—they had charge of the prisoners, and treated them most infamously, having once tortured the Colonel, and taken every opportunity of being insolent and oppressive.

(Signed) " C. HARRIS."

" P. S.—26th May, 1842.—Khan Mahomed Khan is said to have a wife and two childern in the power of Captain Mackeson in Khanzez."

Second, (written with a nail or hard substance.)

" If we are killed, let our blood be avenged on Sirdar Shums-ud-Dien Khan, Nizar Mullok Mahomed, and Gul Mahomed Khan."

Third, (scratched on the wall.)

"May 28th.

"Let Sirdar Shums-ud-Dien, and all his brothers, be blown away; Khan Mahomed Khan, and his brother Taj Mahomed, be hanged; and their followers, and as many of our jailors as can be caught."

Fourth, (written with a burnt stick or charcoal.)

"27th May, '42.

"An Affghan, by name Futtullock, a Shikari, and an infernal scoundrel, must be hanged without the least mercy.

(Signed) "T. D."

Fifth, (scratched on the wall.)

"Colonel Palmer, Capt. Burnett, 54th, Olston, (Alston,) 27th, Powett, Lts. Crawford (Christie's Horse,) Harris, Williams, Nicholson, Davis, Dr. Thompson—confined in the Bala Hissar, as prisoners, since the 10th March, 1842."

Sixth, (written with burnt wood.)

"Shuja was killed on the 6th April, 1842."

Seventh, (written with burnt wood.)

Mrs. Lumsden's room opposite, *in which was written*,—"Thomas Persey,"—"Teague,"—"Rathfarnam,"—"23 Rupees, 13th June."

Initials, &c. &c., were written in every part of the rooms, evidently having been the occupation of the poor, miserable, incarcerated creatures, expressive of their inward sentiments, when thinking of their home and friends, who knew not of their condition, and perchance should never meet again. It is needless to comment on this, as it will convey sufficient to the mind of the reader, to enable him to enter into the feelings of those who were so long oppressed by an insolent and treacherous foe.

On reading the portion of writing, stating that "Mrs Lumsden's room was opposite," I of course went thither, and a sorry hole it was; a small room in which were several broken bottles, an old tin clothes box, and the head of a human being! I believe it was that of a native. I proceeded up a staircase leading from the four sides of the square to the turret of the place, which was high, and afforded a beautiful view; this formed also a nice promenade, and at each corner was a bastion, in which was a small room, most elaborately ornamented, and was used by the chiefs as a lounging room. A small window to each, under which was a couch of marble, enabled them to see for a vast extent round the beautiful country, the whole of which, for miles, was richly thronged with orchards filled with trees, bending with the choicest fruits, apples, plums, peaches, grapes, &c., in abundance. Of such a variety of flavors were those fruits, that it now became a matter of taste and difficulty to suit oneself. The grapes in particular, varied in size from a currant to that of a pullet's egg. I weighed several that exceeded half an ounce, and it was common to see bunches so large that two men would carry them on the centre of a pole, to prevent destroying them; nay so plentiful were the fruits, both apples and grapes, that we used to feed upwards of 35,000 head of cattle with them, during our stay."

We have given some samples of Mr. Hall's historical correctness. A better illustration, however, of his accurary is not to be found, than that supplied by his account of the failure of General England at Hykulzie. It appears desirable on more accounts than one, that we should dissect this passage. It commences thus:—

"..... The General (Nott) thought it better to await the arrival of

Major General *Sir R.* England, who was daily expected to cross the Kojuk heights from Quettah with a reinforcement for the Upper Provinces and a convoy of stores, cattle and treasure. There being still no mail, we were quite in the dark as to when his movement towards Candahar would be made. At length a courier arrived with news for Nott, and reporting the departure of General England *early in February* from Quettah to Kandahar."

England left Quettah not "early in February," but on the 26th of March.

"……With a large convoy of cattle and a force consisting of eight guns, three Regiments of Light Cavalry, H. M's. 41st Regiment, 21st Regiment of Native Infantry, and eight Light Companies of different corps forming a Light Battalion…… It appeared that on their reaching their second day's stage, a strong body of the enemy, who had long held possession of the passes, intercepted their route."

Now the force with which General England left Quettah, not early in February but late in March, consisted of not one half the number of troops mustered by Mr. Hall. A little acquaintance with camps might, we think, have satisfied even a purveyor, that a force such as is here collected in type, is one of very singular composition. To have sent with such a detachment three Regiments of Cavalry through the Kojuk pass, would have been quite enough to have assigned any General Officer in Christendom to a lunatic asylum. England's own account of his force is that it consisted of four guns—one troop 3d Light Cavalry; five companies H. M's. 41st Regiment; six companies Bombay Native Infantry, and fifty Puna horse. It is not difficult to perceive how the three Regiments of Light Cavalry crept into Mr. Hall's narrative. Passing through the Historian's hands, a note of "3d Regiment Light Cavalry" has grown into "3 Regiments of Light Cavalry;" and Mr. Hall has apparently not sufficient military knowledge to recognise the glaring impossibility of the thing.

To proceed:—

"Mahomed Shereave, who had been in our employ had joined the rebels and headed a strong force against us."

The man's name was not Mahomed Shereave, but Mahomed Sadiq.

"And held possession of the Kojuk heights, cutting off all supplies and correspondence from both Candahar and Quettah. On the approach of General England he formed for an attack. The General directed the baggage to collect and the 41st Regt., with a native corps, were ordered to advance up a hill, which was held by Mahomed's force. The light company of the 41st was commanded by Captain May and Lieutenant Evans; the line advanced a short distance when the sepoys began to lag and all but refused to advance; spite of the entreaties of their European officers they still hung back. The portion of the line formed by Europeans was considerably in front of the others and were in action long before the rest."

We shall come to speak of this presently when we consider in detail the causes of this failure.

"Mahomed having pessession of all the cover, took advantage of their approach and several of the 41st were cut up. The Captain of the light company was killed and the command fell on Lieut. Evans a gallant young officer. He cheered on the men and I regret to say, the majority of the light company of that Regiment fell; a finer set of fellows could not have been, and their loss was much deplored The success of the affray terminated with Mahomed. General England was necessitated a retreat with a severe loss, but I believe nothing could be more praiseworthy than the conduct of the Europeans and the greater portion of the natives, on this occasion. The 21st Native Infantry were much to blame, for it was believed that had they advanced to the charge with the 41st, victory was certain."

It is always the way to impute a disaster of this kind to the backwardness of the sepoys. General England, we believe, was not slow to encourage the belief that the native troops failed him at a critical time. It is said that he insinuated that although he and Nott united might have 15,000 men in all, they "could not oppose a whole nation with two weak regiments"—meaning that the only troops he could rely upon were H. M's. 40th and 41st regiments. We believe that this was a good deal talked about in camp, and in a strain not very complimentary to the Queen's General.

"The cause of this catastrophe I never learned further than the General was proceeding under the guidance of the Political Agent at Quettah, a Lieutenant Hammersly, whose youth was much against him. It is the practice of the Indian Government to place young men (who doubtless are exceedingly clever in a scholastic view) in charge of the political powers of certain portions of the country, whose duties I have already detailed and whose orders were to be considered peremptory. Now when we consider the fact of an experienced General, like England, Nott, or Pollock, commanding a large army, and necessitated to act under the directions of a mere boy, whose negociations with chiefs are likely to have been misled, owing to their taking advantage of his youth or consequent want of practical knowledge, the chances are ten to one against their success. Sir Thomas Welshire would not listen to them nor did Nott."

The experience of General England in Indian warfare was assuredly very great; and his practical knowledge of the country and the chiefs must have been greatly superior to that of the politicals. How far the disaster at Hykulzye was fairly attributable to the ignorance of Lieutenant Hammersly we shall presently enquire:

"The force generally regretted the result, lest it should he said or even surmised that anything was wanted to establish its valour. They acted nobly, and I was told by Lieutenant Evans that the affair was most unfortunate; that the General had been assured by Lieut. Hammersly that the route was secure, and there was no danger of being intercepted He told me that the conduct of the men, except the 21st natives, was all that Britain could wish; and I must confess that whenever I saw the 41st engaged, they

always behaved most nobly and courageously. It was unfortunate because it was the first engagement Sir Richard had an opportunity of commanding in the country, but he was known to be a gallant officer from his earliest career."

This is a proof of the General's "experience" and "practical knowledge." But we may as well in this place, bring our quotation to a close. The Hykulzye affair was doubtless, "most unfortunate;" and that the force "generally regretted the result" we do not for a moment doubt. We generally do "regret the result" when we are beaten. But that the failure was fairly attributable to the ignorance of Lieutenant Hammersly we may take upon ourselves to deny.

It was said that Hammersly misled the General both by what he stated and what he omitted to state.—He was blamed for not furnishing England with a plan of the defences at Hykulzye; and for under-stating the strength of the enemy. It was alleged that the works were of a very formidable character; that they had been two months in course of creation; and that the enemy had been swelled by large re-inforcements from Candahar without the political authorities knowing any thing about it. In short that there was lamentable want of information: and that owing to this want of information the British troops were disastrously beaten.

Immediately after the unfortunate affair of the 28th of March, General England wrote off to Lieutenant Hammersly to say that as the insurgent force had been much reinforced from Candahar and had so strongly protected themselves with breast-works, &c. on the ground commanding our line of route this side Hykulzye he should fall back to Hykerzye on the following day —his presence at the former place being of no use and only inviting the insults of the enemy. He had had, he said, so many men killed and wounded that his baggage was increased whilst his means of defending it were diminished; and he added that as the enemy was "a hundred to one stronger than any one imagined," he must wait for reinforcements until he could try them again.

Now, first as regards the defences. They were not the works of two months—but might easily have been and probably were, thrown up in two hours. Such was the opinion of competent authorities after the successful attempt at the end of April to form a junction with the force from Candahar. Long before this, however, Lieutenant Hammersly had assured himself that the enemy did not begin to make any preparations to oppose England till the latter had reached Kuchlok. Lieut. Evans, indeed, to whose authority Mr. Hall refers in the above quoted, and who was allowed by all to have seen the defences, said that

there were "no breast-works, but merely a four foot ditch filled with brushwood." There was nothing it is certain, of a very formidable character. The elevations were merely the common *sungahs*, such as are to be seen on the commanding points of nearly all the hills in the country, and such as may be made by throwing up earth and stones, within the course of a few hours. Hamersly thought it very hard that he should be blamed for not furnishing the General, before he left Quettah with a plan of the defences which were not then in existence; and that, in spite of the information received from different quarters, both as regarded the nature of the defences and the strength of the enemy, he should have been so long and unjustly accused of misleading the general in command.

General England said that the strength of the enemy at Hykulzye was a hundred to one stronger than any one imagined. If so, no one could have expected to meet more than a dozen men there. Lieutenant Hammersly had told the General that Mahomed Sadiq would very probably make a stand at Hykulzye; and he had estimated the enemy's force at 1,000 foot and 300 horse. The general opinion after the engagement, among the officers of England's brigade was that the enemy were from 1,000 to 1,300 strong. Hammersly took considerable pains to ascertain what their calculations were and he has recorded that the greatest number with whom he conversed, told him that he was "above the mark in his estimate of the horsemen and nearly right in the numbers of the foot." A native who furnished him with a very minute account of the action, said that there were not above a hundred horsemen.

There appears to have been no sort of foundation for the story about the reinforcements from Candahar, which were said to have joined Mahomed Sadiq's camp before the luckless 28th of March. There was no talk of such a movement among the Affghan Sirdars, until after the affair with Colonel Wymer's brigade on the 25th of that month. Then it was proposed that a party should proceed towards the Kojuk. The invitation from Mahomed Sadiq seemed to come opportunely enough. Their spirits greatly dashed by the failure of their efforts in the neighbourhood of Candahar, the Durani chiefs were about to break up their camp, when news arrived of the fall of Ghuzni. Expecting reinforcements from Shums-u-din they rallied at Dehli, some 35 miles to the north of Candahar, where they heard of General England's departure from Quettah with treasure, and received a pressing invitation from Mahomed Sadiq to proceed southward to intercept the convoy. (This was at the end of March. It could not have been before the 28th.)

Of the confederate chiefs, Mirza Ahmed, Mahomed Attah Khan, and Sydul Khan were left with the Prince, Suftur Jung, whilst the remainder crossed the Urghundab and proceeded southward towards the Kojuk; but they had not been a couple of days in company before they quarrelled amongst themselves and separated in all directions—Salu Khan alone proceeding towards the Kojuk. This we believe to be the true history of the movement from Candahar. How much effect it must have had on the affair of the 28th of March we leave our readers to determine. Lieutenant Hammersly, in this matter, was treated with cruel injustice. He was a fine, high-spirited young fellow—but this was more than he could bear. He felt acutely the wrong that was done him: and it is said that he sunk under it. But his merits are now fully recognised throughout the service to which he belonged.

We may as well give in this place Colonel Stacy's account of this disastrous Hykulzye affair :—

"The 28th was a sad day for us; we were fairly beaten. We marched early about six miles from camp, and found the enemy capitally posted. Shortly after leaving camp, we saw horsemen on every hill to the left. I went myself to ascertain if the enemy were in force in the valley which lies behind. I had travelled that road once, when by myself, after leaving General Nott's force at Chummun for Quetta. I examined the valley minutely with my glass; only a few single men here and there, making for the enemy's intrenched position, were to be seen, and several small parties amongst the hills, all making for their head-quarters.

The column was halted, whilst the general and his staff rode forward to examine the position of the enemy; and in a quarter of an hour, it was ordered to advance. On coming up to where the general was standing, Leslie's troop of horse artillery were ordered to form battery, and try the men on the hill on the left, which completely commanded the road. In the meantime, the general took the column to the right; the light battalion, under that gallant officer Major Apthorp, of the Bombay Native Infantry, was ordered to the front. I remained with the battery. Two guns were afterwards ordered to accompany the column. The enemy on the high hills, after standing about six or eight shrapnells, appeared resolved to storm the guns, which had been left unprotected, and were coming down in a dense crowd. The guns were beautifully served. Captain Leslie ordered grape to be ready; Dr. Baxter and I were serving with the left gun. In the meanwhile he laid two guns, with round shot; the first went into the very centre of the body of men, and brought with it a heavy mass of earth; the second was fired with equal success, and the whole group were in the greatest consternation and distress, making every endeavour to regain the top of the hill. In this situation, several shrapnells were fired into them, at a slight elevation with great effect. It was afterwards ascertained that the general had moved on the smaller hill; seeing which, the force on the hill to the left attempted to join their comrades, but were prevented, as has been shewn. A slight undulating ground, descending to the road between these two hills, hid the column from us. The firing became smart; it was evident that the light battalion was engaged. Every thing being settled on the left, I went off in the direction of the firing. Crossing the first ridge, I was astonished by seeing our men

beaten back, and rallying in disorder I passed Major Apthorp, wounded, and being led to the rear; I think Assistant-Surgeon Davidson was with him. He was sensible when I passed. The light companies had rallied, and I walked on towards her Majesty's 41st on the extreme right. General England and his staff were dismounted, and standing in conversation, not far from where the light companies had rallied. I joined them. It was useless to stand and lament over what could not be recalled A retreat was determined upon. I observed to the general that the day might be retrieved, and offered to lead into the intrenched position with 100 men, properly supported; and I am confident that I should have succeeded. The men were in courage, and anxious to recover the bodies of their comrades The general replied, he had not men. I proposed that the left hill should be attacked first, as it commanded the smaller one. The enemy were certainly in strength, and very bold; but our men burned with rage at seeing their comrades cut up before their eyes I think I pressed my offer three times, the last time volunteering to lead with 80 men; but the general felt he had too few, and that the stake was too great; there were some lacs of rupees in the waggons. After about a quarter of an hour, the general resolved to retreat, and wait at Quetta until the arrival of the detachment which was to have joined us here. I was asked for the nearest water, which I pointed out, and begged the general to remain until I should find a spot by which we could take the guns across the ravines on our right. A place was soon discovered, and the retreat commenced: it was evening before we reached Niah Bazaar."

It was certainly a most unfortunate affair, and not easy the work of extracting any good from it; but the philosophic temperament of Colonel Stacy found a drop of comfort at the bottom of the cup. On the 31st, he wrote to General England: "The affair of the 28th, however distressing has not been unproductive of good. It has shown us, besides other facts, that our intelligence is next to nothing, our information so imperfect that the existence of the intrenched position, which it appears the enemy had been engaged on the last two months,

after the victory of Hykulzye the troops at that place were correctly described as a mere rabble, and Salu Khan, the only

one of the Sirdars from Candahar who got as far as the Kojuk was quarrelling vigorously with Mahomed Sadiq. Colonel Stacy himself furnishes ample information upon this latter point. "It appeared," he writes "that Mahomed Sadiq and Salu Khan 'were jealous of each other. The latter was appealed to by 'the Peshinis, who looked upon him as their head, against 'the conduct of Mahomed Sadiq and his rabble, who took 'twenty sheep a-day for their consumption and refused pay-'ment..... Again Salu Khan was displeased that the other 'should assume authority over him. The day preceding the 'action, Salu Khan was sent for by Mahomed Sadiq to be 'at his post, but he made some excuse, and did not join until 'the next morning, after the action had commenced. Subse-'quently, when I was treating with Salu Khan, I heard that, 'in order to ruin Mahomed Sadiq, he had discouraged the 'choice troops with him by telling them that we had now 'brought two armies, and that it was folly to stand and be killed 'by guns, &c. &c." All this certainly indicates "astonishing unanimity."

We now return for a little while to Mr. Hall, who carries England safely through the Kojuk in the following brief passage:—

"After a short time a courier arrived with news to the General, that England was to make a second attempt to advance on the 1st of March; and Nott under the impression that the enemy had got possession of the Kojuk heights, despatched a brigade of two regiments and four guns, to the pass in order to act in conjunction with General England, who was on the other side, and thus hem in the enemy and at once capture him. On their arrival, however they found that the foe had disappeared and the whole returned to Candahar without even the risk of placing a spot on British fame."

As England made his first attempt on the 28th of March we need not say that he did not make his second on the 1st of that month. It was on the 28th of April that England found himself a second time at Hykulzye. Whether there was any "risk of placing a spot on British fame," we do not very well know; but General England obviously thought that he had achieved something considerable in dispersing the enemy on that occasion. It is right, too, that the troops should have full credit. Colonel Stacy says, "they advanced in excellent order, led by 'their gallant commander, and the Affghans moved to meet 'them: but were dispirited by the determined bearing of this 'party, and not one would advance beyond their last sungah. 'As soon as the party on the left had gained the hill, the whole 'pushed forward with a "hurrah." The troops were as steady 'as on parade; the artillery practice was admirable. Discipline

'and tactics were too much for the enemy who turned and fled."*

It is a pity that after this exploit England's brigade was not pushed forward with a little more rapidity. After the unfortunate affair of the 28th of March, England had fallen back upon Quettah and had there begun vigorously to fortify his position. The General took some credit to himself for the orderly manner in which he restored and formed his camp on the evening of the 28th, but Colonel Stacy gives a different coloring to at least one part of the affair. "Our reverse," he says, "appeared to 'have affected the whole detachment. Never was a camp put 'down which was calculated to give greater confidence to the 'enemy; it was of no form or shape; her Majesty's 41st were 'huddled within the ruined walls of the fort of Old Bazaar, and 'the commissariat and native regiments were in no order at all. 'It rained heavily from 10 till past 11 P. M., when the full 'moon shone forth. I did not go to bed and was standing at 'the door of my tent, when I saw Majors Wyllie, Boyd, and 'Davidson passing from that of the General who had called 'several officers. I had not been summoned. Pointing to a string 'of camels, moving towards the godown, I asked them whether 'the men could have correctly understood their orders to load. 'Neither of the three officers (to whom I am well known, and 'whose merits are known to me) seemed inclined to reply: it 'appeared to be a secret. This was not a time for scruples, and 'I observed it was evidently in contemplation to retreat immediately, and earnestly begged them to return to the General 'and represent to him that to attempt a retreat at that hour, 'the tents charged with rain, would expose the force to confusion, disorganization, and destruction, and pledged myself if 'he would wait until day, I would shew him a road direct 'to Hyderzye. After a long conversation, the three staff, at 'my earnest request returned and communicated what had 'passed between us to the General, who adopted my recommendation and the camp enjoyed repose until sun-rise." On the following morning the force moved off, halted on the 30th at Kuchlag, and on the next day reached Quettah. There the General began to entrench himself. "On the 3d of April," writes Colonel Stacy, "plans of very extensive fortifications were 'submitted by the engineer and approved of by Major General 'England, and next day half the troops were employed upon

* A private letter now before us says, "The sepoys especially the 8th, are spoken of in the highest terms. I am delighted to find the sepoys can do something even with Europeans; a havildar of the 8th was first into the breast-work, where the flag stood and carried it off in triumph."

'them or upon out-works, their labour not being suspended even 'on Sunday."

On the 10th of April, General England wrote to General Nott.—"I am throwing up breast-works to protect the straggling 'cantonments, whilst the walls of the town are also in progress 'of being strengthened, and a covered way is prepared to com-'municate from the latter to the Commissariat godown. I am 'not aware if you know these localities, but I mention these 'particulars to enable you to judge of the number of men 'required to defend works of this extent." To this General Nott replied, that he knew them well, and that he could not help expressing "surprise that the authorities at Quettah should for a moment have thought of throwing up breast-works and entrenching that straggling and wretched cantonment, when the town and citadel are so well calculated for every purpose which can render a post at all desirable in Shawl." "And," added the General, "I am quite certain it may be well defended by 500 men."* On the 17th (it was a Sunday) General England sud-

* The entire letter has such a fine Soldierly flavor about it that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting it entire. England's letter, a portion of which we have given above, set forth, in strong terms, the dangers of a forward movement and the evil consequences of leaving Quettah without a strong garrison, "the impossibility of adopting concerted operations" and the possibility of being "obliged to retire without effecting any part of the intention of the march"—to all of which General Nott replied as follows:—

"*Candahar, 18th April*, 1842.

SIR,—I have been favored with your letters of the 1st and 10th instant. I have also heard of the affair you had with the enemy on the 28th ultimo, and deeply regret the result. I have attentively perused the Government despatch of the 15th ultimo, forwarded through you. I have looked at our position in Affghanistan in every point of view that my judgment, aided by three years' experience of its people will admit of I now deliberately note what I consider to be necessary to carry out the intention of the Supreme Government and to assert and uphold the honour of our country. Even should the Government ultimately determine on withdrawing the British troops from the right of the Indus—it would be impossible to retire the troops below the passes before October. The Troops at Candahar are four months in arrears, and we have not one rupee in the Treasury. In the event of much Field Service we should run short of musket ammunition and we are without medicine for the sick and wounded. I think it absolutely necessary that a strong Brigade of 2,500 men should be immediately pushed from Quetta to Candahar with the supplies noted in the foregoing paragraph. I therefore have to acquaint you that I will direct a Brigade of three Regiments of Infantry, a troop of Horse Artillery, with a body of Cavalry to march from Candahar on the morning of *the 25th instant*. This force will certainly be at Chummun at the Northern foot of the Kojuk on the morning of the 1st May, and possibly on the 30th of this month I shall, therefore, fully rely on your marching a Brigade from Quettah so that it may reach the southern side of the Pass on the above mentioned date. I believe there can be no difficulty whatever in accomplishing this, nor of crossing the Kojuk without loss, provided the heights are properly crowned on either side. I have crossed it three times in command of troops and I know that what I now state is correct. There can be no danger in passing through Pesheen provided a careful and well ordered march is preserved and patroles and flanking parties of horse are thrown well out. The people of this country cannot withstand our troops in the open field. I am well aware that war cannot be made without loss, but yet, perhaps, the British Troops can oppose Asiatic armies without defeat: and I feel and know that British officers should never despair of punishing the atrocious and treacherous conduct of a brutal enemy. You say you not aware if I know the localities of Quettah. I know them well, and I hope I shall be excused when I express my surprise, that the authorities at Quettah should for a moment have thought of throwing up breast-works and entrenching that straggling and wretched cantonment when the town and its citadel is so well calculated for every purpose which can render a post at all desirable in Shawl, and Iam quite certain may be well defended by 500 men. Did I command at Quettah I would relinquish the cantonment—it is useless—

denly struck his tent, and went into his house within the breast-works. No one knew anything of his intentions but Major Browne who had received the General's orders to move his regiment within the works; the artillery, the native infantry and the irregulars followed; and the whole force was soon comfortably located as though for a long spell of cantonment life.

General Nott's letter was received on the 23d of April. By this time all idea of an advance seems to have been abandoned. "So general," writes Colonel Stacy, "was the belief that the force would not move towards Candahar that houses had been purchased and every body had settled down as if in a cantonment." But the letter from Candahar was unanswerable, General Nott had despatched a Brigade of three infantry regiments (not two as stated by Mr. Hall,) with guns and some cavalry details to form a junction with England's detachment. On the 26th of April, the latter marched—out of Quettah. On the 28th, as already shown, it beat the enemy on its old ground at Hykulzye—but when two or three days afterwards it entered the Kojuk pass, it found that Colonel Wymer's brigade had made better use of its time. The pass was already occupied by British troops. We give Colonel Stacy's account of this matter:—

"The force moved off a little before day broke. I was delayed some time by the unsatisfactory parting with the chiefs, and afterwards went to the ground occupied by Murj Mull, to learn whether I could, if required, procure horsemen to convey a letter to Salu Khan. I then rode to the head of the column, and joined General England before the low ground and stunted trees which mark the entrance of the defile leading to the Kojuk Pass. Having been over this pass four times before, each time in command, I was intimately acquainted with every turn. I was riding with the horse artillery, when the halt sounded. I waited full half an hour, until, tired of the delay at such a moment, I went back to ascertain the cause, and met General England, with whom I was returning when at a spot near the head of the horse artillery, he dismounted, called for his chair, and sat down. I explained to him that we were entering the defile leading to the pass, and observed that the Candahar troops would rob us of our

Quettah is not a place for a large body of troops I feel obliged to you for pointing out the many difficulties attending our position, but you are aware that it is our first and only duty to overcome difficulties when the national honour and military reputation is so deeply concerned—nothing can be accomplished without effort and perseverance. In the last para. of your letter of the 10th instant, I have only to observe that I have not yet contemplated falling back. Without money I can neither pay the long arrears due to the troops, nor procure carriage for field operations I deeply regret this state of things which ought to have been attended to, months ago. Had this been done, I should now have been on my march to Ghuzni. I shall fully rely on your Brigade being at the Kojuk on the 1st May or before. This letter I request may be forwarded to Major Outram.

(Signed) W. Nott,
Major General.

To Major General England,

Commanding S. F. Force.

P. S.—You will of course perceive that I intend your Brigade should join and accompany the detachment sent from this to Candahar. I have no cattle for Treasure or Stores.

share of the credit of forcing the Kojuk if we delayed The column was at this time well locked up. I continued to urge this for at least a quarter of an hour, and finding that the General did not think it expedient to move, I begged him to give me a havildar's party, and offered to go in advance, and ascertain whether the pass was occupied This and every other proposition I made were refused. Disappointed in the extreme, I went to the head of the horse artillery. Major Waddington, of the Engineers, hearing the halt had returned from the head of the column, composed of Bombay native infantry, and joined General England, and, observing that the column was well up, begged him to proceed. The General still declined, and Major Waddington left. He was passing to the head of the column, when we spoke to each other, and found that our communications with the General had been of the same tenour. We agreed to proceed on, and taking twelve men from the advance, we had scarcely got half a mile before we met some of the irregular cavalry of the Candahar force, who very composedly reported all clear for us. We could only say, "You will find the General a little further on" I accompanied Major Waddington to shew the gun-road, by the water-course, and, as we walked on, we found the Kojuk crowned by parties of the 2nd, 16th, and 38th regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, part of the force sent under Lieutenant-Colonel Wymer by General Nott, from Candahar.

General England's troops were much disappointed and vexed at being kept back, yet generously expressed no jealousy at the distinction won by their comrades. These fine fellows had been led forward by Colonel Wymer at daybreak to occupy the heights commanding the pass from Chummun to the western side to secure General England's party a safe passage. I have never seen our sepoys to such advantage It was impossible to climb the precipitous hills in pantaloons; this part of their dress had, therefore, been discarded, and the men were in their dotees. As they shewed on every accessible point they were the admiration of all. I can easily imagine how painful it must have been to the Bombay regiments to find the Candahar troops in full possession of the pass before they were allowed to enter it."

On the 10th of May, the force reached Candahar—and there for the present we must leave it. We had intended to have accompanied it further, but time presses, and we are compelled to forego our intentions. It is not without a melancholy interest that we have made these quotations from Colonel Stacy's Narrative. Scarcely had the book reached India when its gallant author was removed beyond the reach alike of friendly and of adverse criticism. It may be doubted whether he lived to see it in its completed form. It is bootless now to say anything more about the "case," which forms the leading design of the work. Death has settled the question—has placed it beyond the reach of human adjudication. Honorary rewards and titular distinctions are now nothing to him. And having already, in a general way, expressed our mind upon the subject, to prosecute it any farther in our pages, would be a wholly superfluous task.

ART. VII.—1. *Post Office Reform—Its importance and practicability. By Rowland Hill.* 1837.

2. *The Post Circular. Nos. I to XIV.* 1838.

3. *Reports from the Select Committee on Postage; together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed.* 1838.

4. *Hansard's Parliamentary Reports: Debates on the Budget, July and August,* 1839.

5. *State and Prospects of the Penny Postage. By Rowland Hill.* 1844.

6. *Taxation and the Funding System. By J. R. McCulloch.* 1845.

7. *Post Office Returns.* 1846.

8. *Progress of the Nation. By G. R. Porter, 2d Edition.* 1847.

9. *De la Réforme de la Taxe des Lettres.* [*Revue de deux Mondes, 1st May,* 1847.] *Par Leon Faucher.*

10. *Reports to the Chambre de Deputés, by M. M. Chégaray* (1844), *Vuitry* (1846), *and Emile de Girardin* (1847).

11. *Articles on Indian Postage Reform, published in* 1846, 1847, *and* 1848, *by the Friend of India, the Bengal Hurkaru, the Calcutta Englishman, the Calcutta Star, the Eastern Star, the Delhi Gazette, the Mofussilite, the Bombay Times, the Bombay Telegraph, the Madras Spectator, and the Madras Athenæum.*

12. *Post Office Reform M.S.S. By Lieut. Staples, Bengal Artillery.*

IF on a careful and deliberate review of the great social improvements recently achieved in Europe, or now in agitation among the friends of progress, a person were asked which of them it would be alike expedient, feasible and gratifying to the general public to introduce in India, we think he would unhesitatingly answer—"Cheap and uniform postage."

The expediency of a measure which shall secure to India the blessings bestowed on Britain by Rowland Hill is suggested by the positive injustice of the present postal rates, by the startling inadequacy of the revenue accruing from them to the imperial exchequer, by the importance of the class interests which a judicious and sufficient reform will benefit, and above all these objects of the day, by the manifest and proved stimulus that will be given

to civilisation in its noblest aspects, if we re-adjust this fundamental tax upon civilizing influences, and place it under the operation of sound fiscal principles.

The feasibility of such a change is not less marked than its expediency. No vast, intricate and expensive machinery is required to enforce it; no immense accumulation of capital to lay a foundation: there are no invincible vested interests to obstruct its progress, no paltry political jealousies to baffle it when near its close. Its details are not difficult to be understood, and are still more easy to be carried out. Its safety has been demonstrated on the most magnificent scale, and in the most hazardous theatre which the world could present. It has been studied and approved in its application to this country by the local rulers. It is urged by the very department which in all other countries has, from selfish motives and contemptible jealousy, been strenuously opposed to it—the Post Office itself. In England and France we behold the indecent spectacle of the Office objecting to cheap postage that it would overload the subordinates with work. In India, the only question is—with which of our Postmasters General has the proposal for reform originated, and to which of them do we owe the most liberal measure of it, as suggested to the Supreme Government.

Finally. It is not a change in contemplating which an enlightened Government is far in advance of an uninstructed community. In India, those from whose purses the postal revenue is extracted constitute a select body, out of all proportion to the population of the empire or to its wealth. This is in evidence by the amount of the revenue. The most cautious statist feels himself upon safe ground, when estimating the wide surface of the British possessions in India to be peopled by twice as many inhabitants as there are in the British isles. These contribute to the coffers of the Company an annual sum of twenty millions sterling —and yet in the latest authentic abstracts, those for the year 1845-46, laid before the Houses of Parliament last July, the following figures illustrate the value of the Post-office to the Indian Exchequer—

		Charges.	Receipts.
Bengal,	Rs.	5,45,447	Rs. 5,59,319
N. W. Provinces,	„	6,26,771	„ 5,56,738
Madras,	„	4,03,609	„ 4,02,066
Bombay,	„	3,83,568	„ 2,47,909
Total for India,	„	19,59,355	„ 18,66,032

That is, the gross receipts of postage from all India do not exceed £187,000; while net revenue there is none, for the simple

reason that the expenses of the department rise to £196,000, proving the Post Office a drain upon the consolidated fund to the amount of nearly ten thousand pounds a year! Such is the result of a scale of charge that closes its doors to the great body of the people. For the People of India, the Post Office does not exist. Not because they have no use for it,—neither capacity nor occasion for epistolary intercourse,—but simply because they cannot afford it. To them, as to the most cultivated of our species, belong human passions and human affections. The son who, though he regularly remit half his slender pittance to his aged parents, has not beheld them for years, may surely be supposed animated by a desire to listen to news of that distant hovel-hearth for which he labours so untiringly. The husband yearns for the family he maintains, provinces apart from himself; and surely these feelings are reciprocated. It is true the lower classes cannot write, but that profession which is maintained by the purest sympathies of the human heart in all unlettered communities is usually at hand—the itinerant letter-writer. Even where he is not, there is the learned man of the village. The fee for recording "the short and simple annals of the poor" is suitable to their habits and circumstances; a present of fruit or a hearty meal repays the unambitious scribe for his labour. But when his task is finished, who is to convey the letter? Who is there to pay for its receipt six or eight annas, out of a monthly income of four or five rupees? Nine pence or a shilling from the monthly receipt of eight or ten shillings? Correspondence under such charges becomes impossible. If there be those whom emergency or necessity compels to communicate with their absent relatives, such either do so by the contraband channels which the prohibitory rates of Government have induced men to devise, or through the medium of some neighbour who chances to travel to the district in which those connexions reside. The Government is not by a pice the richer for such letters.

The postage-bearing classes then are to be sought for among the comparatively wealthy: we may shortly say, they are constituted of the European and East Indian community, and the mercantile or litigious natives. The latter, as we shall have occasion to shew, have many ways of evading the full payment of the *dues* on their correspondence, and it is mainly upon what we may term the *exogens* that the burden of supporting the Post Office rests. This body is daily increased by earnest and enterprising men, who for years have enjoyed the benefits of cheap postage and can appreciate its results. They feel acutely the existence of a contrary regime, and have exposed its evils through one or another

source, till there has undoubtedly grown up through the length and breadth of the land a desire to be relieved from a weight that is felt to be intolerable and injudicious, exercising a deleterious influence in suppressing the development of our resources, in impeding the extension of our commerce, and in confining the spread of education with its train of purifying and enriching attendants. The closer that our connection with the mother country has become, the more definite and intense has the feeling of these classes grown; and they constitute our *public*. Any one who is a regular reader of the Indian papers can appreciate the strength of the prevalent conviction that the hour has arrived when the consideration of this great question can no longer be staved off. For the last three years the Press of India has not ceased to agitate the subject of Postage reform, amassing facts, dissipating errors, discussing objections and advancing resolutely—carrying the public with it—towards a distinct end. Nor have the conductors of that Press, singularly unanimous among themselves, been without the sympathy and encouragement of their brethren at home, who, advocating the general principle that every blessing the Briton enjoys on his natal soil should, if possible, be placed within his reach in every British possession, have cheered on the Indian agitators for the introduction of a cheap and uniform postage, the benefits of which they themselves have fully tested, and gratefully assented to in a voice that was unanimous the moment the scales of party fell off from their eyes at the command of Experience.

There are not wanting some, however, to insinuate that the Press of India has been instigated to this steady advocacy by purely selfish motives, and that it has far more strenuously demanded cheap and uniform postage for newspapers than for correspondence,—the latter measure being the one of greatest concern to the public. This has been frankly and fairly answered. But we may well ask what is the value of such objection in itself. Admitting that the parties who discuss any question of policy are inspired by selfish motives, the decision of the question itself depends logically upon the intrinsic merits of the specific proposition. It is rare to find any measure thoroughly sifted and powerfully urged by disinterested and philosophical reasoners: how many is it easy to point to, which, maturely considered in the closet, have remained for years a dead letter in political science, till some important Interest has clearly perceived the operation upon itself of the evils that these measures tend to abolish. Then, impelled by the irresistible incentive of the pocket, the man of the world flies to the deductions of the man of science, and lends his hearty aid in embodying them; the familiar knowledge of the Mart

illustrates the abstract philosophy of the Library, and within a short time the truth becomes law. In the very subject now under notice, when Rowland Hill first indicated the important results which were to be sought for by a reform of the Post office, the enthusiast in the cause of human progress hailed the blessing in prospect to the poor and the needy. But the cold sneer of the sceptic was ready. "How many letters did a working man usually receive, that he would derive pecuniary benefit from a measure that must heavily affect the revenue?" "Why confine this philanthropic principle to so slight and rare an incident in a labourer's life as the receipt of a letter?" Thus wrote the organ of the Post Office. But as the rich and influential were also found arrayed on behalf of the proposition, and the same tactics did not apply to them, with characteristic hardihood the same organ in the self same article assailed the second line of entrenchments with the reproach of selfishness. "Mr. Hill's scheme was not only thus dignified by parliamentary notice, but it also acquired a still more powerful though somewhat concealed auxiliary in a combination of some extensive merchants and bankers in the city of London, who, as we learn, formed a committee, and subscribed and expended a very large sum, and were prepared with a still larger if necessary to organise an agitation in favour of Mr. Hill's plan. * * * We...should readily accept the evidence of Baring, Brothers and Co., or of Messrs. Glynn and Co...if that evidence were wholly unbiassed by individual considerations; but when we are told that some of the houses who were most active for this Post Office reform, now pay such (to us almost incredible) sums as 6,000*l.* 8,000*l.* 10,000*l.* and even 11,000*l.* a year in postages, we cannot receive their testimony in favour of a uniform penny rate as altogether disinterested .....All we mean to say is that neither their individual authority, nor the evidence which they so carefully prepared and so cleverly produced before the committee of the House of Commons, can have the weight which belongs to a disinterested testimony, and we think that the great and immediate profit to themselves has intercepted or obscured the views that they might otherwise have taken of the serious difficulties and disadvantages to which many other individual as well as public interests may be subjected." We quote this passage as clearly shewing the hopelessness of satisfying an unscrupulous enemy by submission to his preliminary ordeal of motives. The many must not be listened to because they are too uninterested; the few because they are too interested. Like the Irishman at the halberds, strike high or strike low there is no pleasing such writers. We must do then, as the House of Commons did, scan the

facts and judge them by themselves, without caring who set them in evidence, except so far as is required to estimate their value as *facts*.

But the Indian Press has had another ground for dwelling specially upon the question of newspaper postage, because on that point the ample details furnished by the inquiries at home do not elucidate the consideration of the local reform. The English press is taxed, paying a stamp duty : the Indian press is not. The English press on the other hand, is free of the post office : the Indian press is not. The question, therefore, to be adjusted in regard to newspapers assumed a new aspect. Was it expedient to assimilate the proposed regime to the home one, imposing a stamp duty, which of course would be uniform, and in return granting the journals the freedom of the Post ? Or should the Press cast in its lot with the Public, and free from that stamp which was essentially a tax upon knowledge, be assessed with such a postage as should be an honest and remunerative payment to government for the service performed by it, of circulating the journals through the country ? In the adjustment of these points, it is evident there was more room for debate than on the question of postage-reform as regarded letters, which the success of the European experiment had in fact decided. But further, the almost unanimous conclusion of the Press, to go with the Public, was avowedly the result of something higher than a belief that its own interests would be better served by cheap and uniform postage than by a general stamp. It was felt and expressed that, considering the small revenue which the State now received from newspapers, an experiment to convince the Court of Directors of the safety of a change was more likely to be tried on this definite fraction of the general income of the Post Office, than on the whole receipts ; and were it once proved to the Court that there was the elasticity it doubted, there could remain no plea for halting in the career of reform, and withholding from the community what it had granted to its journalists. The interests of the two in fact were seen to be inseparable, every argument that was cogent on behalf of the one told with equal if not greater strength for the other. More individuals would naturally write to their friends if the expense of conveyance were lessened than would subscribe to the papers, and besides this correspondence to be created, a large amount already in existence conveyed through illicit channels would fall into the Post Office. It was only desired that an experiment should be instituted, and there was every thing to justify Government in doing so in the case of the Press.

We have been induced to insist upon this view of the matter as due in simple justice to the journals : they being in fact strictly

guardians of the public interests while directly discussing their own. And even in those cases in which a stamp duty was acceded to, though to the manifest advantage of the larger journals, it was avowedly because that change was better than none, and as a *pis aller*, the more comprehensive and just one being apparently hopeless. They did not confine the scope of their exertions, until the result became dubious, and they have a right, therefore, to be treated as organs of the public desires and aims.

That they have in temporary despair abandoned the wide field in which they originally took ground and receded to measures personal to themselves, we can perfectly understand, though we think the step unwise. It is impossible to mistake the strong feeling which prevails among us on the subject of postage at the present moment, and we feel that a temperate and full statement of our grievances, conjoined with proof of the safety of a reform, will unite the public of India in its assent to the weight of the evil and the value of the remedy, and obtain for us the suffrages of our countrymen at home, who have tasted both and can consequently appreciate our claim to their sympathy as well as our demand for their advocacy. Such a statement it is the object of this article to present.

It may be reckoned a misfortune to the cause of cheap and uniform postage all over the world that its victory in Great Britain was achieved so rapidly and with such little expenditure of argument. In the early part of 1837, a private and then obscure individual published a pamphlet, in which he detailed a plan by which the post might convey correspondence from one end of the United Kingdoms to the other, at the small charge of a penny for every half ounce in weight; the immediate loss to the exchequer being compensated by the introduction of simplicity, celerity and certainty into the operations of the office, and, even in a strictly pecuniary sense, by a steady increase of income which in a few years should result in a flourishing and permanent revenue. Such were the Man and the Measure. The Hour was singularly propitious.

The postal rates of Great Britain were confessed to be too high even by the officials, and they were prepared, at least so it was said, to concede a reasonable amount of reduction—as much as was consistent with the paramount claims of the exchequer and the efficiency of the system itself. But beyond the official circle, those who were especially taxed by the Post Office remonstrated not only against the expense to which they were subjected, but far more against the inefficiency

of the whole management by which the deliveries of letters were rendered dilatory and uncertain. Official inquiry into these complaints had been accorded—and at the time Mr. Rowland Hill's pamphlet appeared, there was sitting a "Commission of Inquiry into the Management of the Post Office department," composed of Lord Duncannon, Mr. Labouchere, and Lord Seymour.

It further happened that at the same time the ministry were steadily drifting down the political current towards that financial maëlstrom,—a deficit in the exchequer; and they were, therefore, reasonably anxious to make some stroke which if it did not diminish the velocity of their course, should win them the aid of popular sympathy by the bribe of a great popular boon.

Conjoined to these two great incentives to innovation on the existing system was the unsettled condition of public opinion, which awakening from one and another illusion of the many it had revelled in after the passage of the Reform Bill, clung only the closer to the reliques of its magnificent ideal, and never failed to manifest itself with vigour and power when occasion served to shew that philanthropy was not altogether the political capital of a few trading agitators.

Such was the aspect of affairs, when Mr. Hill published his scheme. The Commissioners had closed their investigation into the state of the General Post, and the principles on which it was conducted. Still they summoned Mr. Hill before them and subjected him to a searching inquiry, testing his statements and opinions by those furnished by the Post Office functionaries expressly in comparison with him.

Meanwhile the pamphlet had acted on the public with greater effect than on the officials. The immense advantages which the scheme offered were at once appreciated by the men of business whose ledgers shewed how greatly they suffered in pocket from the high rates then charged—by the literary and scientific men, never too prosperous, who felt their means weighed down even by the absolutely necessary correspondence they were compelled to hold—and by the religious and philanthropic bodies who perceived the great extent to which their usefulness would be increased by a penny rate. In May, a petition was presented to Parliament signed by the most respectable names out of every important class of society in the metropolis. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge backed the application by a memorial to the Treasury, in which it detailed valuable facts relative to its own operations. And within a short time the Municipal authorities of London, followed by those of several great provincial capitals, expressed in very decided

terms its desire for a serious and specific consideration of the uniform penny postage.

In July, the Commissioners laid before Parliament their Ninth Report, in which they spoke thus favorably of part of Mr. Hill's plan—"We propose that the distinction in the rates and dis-'tricts, which now applies to letters delivered by the two penny 'and three penny post, shall not in any way affect correspon-'dence transmitted under stamped covers; and that any letter, 'not exceeding an ounce in weight, shall be conveyed free 'within the metropolis, and the districts to which the town 'and country deliveries now extend, if enclosed in an enve-'lope, bearing a penny stamp."

Mr. Hill's plan, however, was a whole; portions doubtless might be advantageously adopted, but he rightly and vigorously contended that neither he nor it should be held reponsible for official experiments, the result of which we all know is fatal to bantlings who have the misfortune to be adopted into the bureaus, being not of legitimate red tape descent. He was strongly supported both in and out of Parliament; and in November, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the motion of Mr. Wallace, nominated a Select Committee, the object of which was,—"To inquire into the present rates and mode of charging postage, with a view to such reduction thereof as may be made without injury to the revenue; and for this purpose to examine especially into the mode recommended for charging and collecting postage, in a pamphlet by Mr. Rowland Hill." This Committee sat 63 days, asked 11,654 questions and examined 83 witnesses exclusive of functionaries. Every facility was given to the Office to hold its own against the reformers by the selection of its testimony. But the result was a report deciding for uniformity of charge accompanied with prepayment by stamps, and though, believing themselves restricted by the terms of their nomination, above given, from recommending a rate which should occasion immediate loss to the revenue, the Committee proposed a two-penny rate; yet it distinctly stated its opinion that a penny-rate would not ultimately be injurious to the exchequer, whatever the temporary depression might be.

During the official inquiry, an agitation prevailed throughout the kingdom which had a very material effect in determining the course of the ministry. We have said that the Committee was appointed in November 1837. In February 1838, the merchants and bankers of London formed themselves into a committee, for the purpose of collecting and preparing evidence for the Parliamentary Commission In this body were enrolled the Barings, the Rothschilds, the Palmers, the Morrisons and the

Grotes, all shades of political difference being overlooked in the attainment of the common object. Large sums were subscribed towards it, and a small newspaper immediately established called the "Post Circular, or Advocate for a cheap, swift and sure Post." It was circulated through all parts of the country by means of the very office it was destined to reform, and by the extensive correspondence it elicited, enabled the mercantile auxiliaries of Mr. Hill to baffle all the obstacles that would otherwise have been thrown in their way. The working clergy of every denomination flung themselves with accustomed zeal and energy into the rank of labourers for a measure so intimately connected with the interests of charity, morality and religion. The Clergy of western England, the Congregations of Durham and Northumberland, and the Board of Scottish Dissenters exerted themselves with equal and admirable assiduity; and their testimony on behalf of the poor perhaps more powerfully impressed the public than that of the bankers and merchants on behalf of the upper and middle classes. During the session of 1837, not more than five petitions had reached parliament in favour of the plan. During the session of 1838, 320 petitions with 38,709 signatures were presented to the House of Commons. In April the Committee submitted its First Report and in less than two months it was out of print, so great was the excitement it created. By the end of the session, the entire result of the Committee's labours was before the public. The effect may be judged, when we state that the session of 1839 witnessed the presentation of 2,007 petitions bearing 262,890 signatures!

The press was not less active in its demonstrations than the public. The liberal papers of course in championing the penny scheme only stood by their principles, but the unanimity even of the conservative journals was extraordinary. The *Times* called the cause of penny postage, "the cause of the whole people of the United Kingdom against the small coterie of place-holders in St. Martin's-le-grand and its dependencies." The *Standard* "promised the hearty concurrence of the conservatives to a practical measure like the penny postage," and insisted that it was "a superior means to all others for promoting popular education." Even the *Morning Post* pronounced the reform of the Post Office, to be of all reforms, the one "most justified by common sense and most called for by the circumstances of the country," nay it went so far in theory as to doubt whether in seeking revenue from the Post Office, "we are not abstracting seed instead of gleaning from the harvest."

This was an extreme opinion not unshared by recognised leaders

of political party. Lord Ashburton boldly pronounced the Post Office charges "the worst of taxes, none having so injurious a tendency." Mr. Jones Loyd, another influential intimate of Sir Robert Peel, expressed his opinion that "if there be one thing which the government ought, consistently with its great duties to the public to do gratuitously, it is the carriage of letters." Lord Lowther, himself long Postmaster General, had in time past pressed upon the government the principle that public convenience was the primary end of the Post Office, as recited in the earlier Acts, and that revenue was a secondary and subordinate matter.

The general language of the wary chiefs of the conservative party was unusually encouraging: probably they did not expect a stroke so splendidly rash in the eyes of red-tapists as one that for popular good should hazard half-a-million of revenue in the face of an existing deficit of a million. The ministers however had calculated broadly on public support, and perhaps were not without hope of committing their opponents to some error in political tactics, the effect of which should be to damage them irretrievably. They therefore resolved on a radical measure with regard to the Postage duties, and on the 5th July, 1839, the Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded a long and able speech by moving the following resolution:—

"That it is expedient to reduce the postage on letters to one uniform rate of a penny postage, according to a certain amount of weight to be determined—that the parliamentary privilege of franking should be abolished—and that official franking be strictly limited—the House pledging itself to make good any deficiency that may occur in the revenue from such reduction of postage."

After a short debate, it was agreed that the distinct discussion on the policy suggested in this resolution should be reserved to the 12th July, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to move that the Report of the Committee on the Postage be read. Mr. Goulburn on that occasion moved a series of counter resolutions, the tenor of which was that in the face of a deficit of £1,657,000, "it was not expedient to adopt any measure for reducing the rates of postage" on inland letters to an uniform rate of one penny, the reason being that the measure had been introduced "at a period of the session so advanced, that it is scarcely possible to give to the details of such a measure, and to the important financial considerations connected with it, that deliberate attention which they ought to receive from Parliament." The debate was long but uninteresting, the only ground of opposition being the inopportuneness of the measure and the peril of hazard

ing any revenue at that particular moment. On division, the House affirmed the ministerial policy by 215 to 113, or a majority of 102. Sir Robert Peel then moved an amendment to omit such part of the resolution as pledged the house to supply any deficiency in the revenue occasioned by the reduction in the rates of postage. The conservative leader was however not more successful than his lieutenant, the House preserving the resolution intact by 184 to 125 or a majority of 59. On the 18th July a bill founded on the resolution was read the first time in the Commons, which it finally passed on the 29th. It went through the Lords without a division though opposed, on the same grounds as in the lower chamber, on the second reading. It then received the royal assent on the 17th August and ranks in the statute book as 2 and 3 Vict. cap. 52. It was thought necessary to educate the refractory Department to the working of a measure it so pathetically deprecated, and accordingly on the 5th December 1839, as a preparatory measure, the inland rates were reduced to an uniform charge of four pence per half ounce, except those previously passed at lower rates, such as the London District post, which were reduced to a uniform penny rate. On the 10th January, 1840, the uniform penny rate per half ounce came into general operation, the postage to be paid on posting the letter or double postage to be charged. The same day parliamentary franking ceased. The use of stamps which, originally suggested by Charles Knight, formed an important item of Mr. Hill's plan came into operation on the 1st May, 1840, from which date we may fairly reckon the effects of the new system.

Before examining these, it is but justice to the leaders of the conservative party to state that their opposition to the ministerial measure, was not merely negative as regarded the merits of Mr. Hill's plan. In many respects, it was directly laudatory of that plan. All they said was "This is not the time to risk such a measure, and you are not the people to whom we shall entrust its working." Thus the Duke of Richmond, himself ere while a Whig Postmaster General but at the moment a strenuous antagonist of his former colleagues, told them "that if they brought forward a plan for an uniform postage at all, they should bring forward Mr. Hill's plan of a penny rate, and not one of two pence, as was recommended in the Report of the Committee of the other House. He felt perfectly certain that if the measure were to be put into execution, it ought to be on the more liberal footing of a penny rate, or there was danger that the plan might prove detrimental to the revenue." With certain regulations, "and a penny stamp,

he felt that in a few years, the revenue would recover itself to a considerable extent." Sir Robert Peel, not less celebrated as a practical financier than as a statesman of enlarged views, spoke of Mr. Rowland Hill, as one "whose remarks it was impossible to read without being prepossessed in his favour." "He should reject the plan not from objections to the plan 'itself, but because the pledge by which it was accompanied 'was indefinite, discretionary and almost unintelligible." And even far beyond this—"If Government had maturely con-'sidered the details of this measure, had calculated the probable 'loss to the revenue, and had come forward to propose, in this 'acknowledged deficiency of the public revenue, some substitute 'to compensate the public, he should have thought that suffi-'cient. So convinced was he of the moral and social advan-'tages that would result from the removal of all restrictions 'on the free communications by letter, that he should have 'willingly assented to the proposition." If there were one authority on the Conservative side, which might carry equal or greater weight to the minds of our readers than this, it ought to be that of the most cautious legislator of the day, *the* Duke, as he is distinctively called. In his reply to Lord Melbourne, on the second reading of the Bill in the Upper House, the Duke of Wellington frankly admitted "the force of the argument urged by the noble Viscount as to the expediency, and indeed necessity, of establishing an uniform and low rate of postage. The arguments in favour of it had been more than once stated in that House by his noble friend near him [Lord Ashburton], and by the noble Duke [Richmond] who had filled the office of Postmaster General, and whom he did not see in his place. He admitted the great inconveniences that resulted from the present high duties of postage, tending as they did to the contraband conveyance of letters, and to many inconveniences that must be obvious to all. The object, then, was to reduce the expense of postage and to establish in lieu of the present system a low and uniform rate of postage. With reference to the adoption of any particular plan, he was disposed to admit that that which was called Mr. Rowland Hill's plan was, if it was adopted exactly as was proposed, of all the plans, that which was most likely to be successful. *He certainly felt it desirable, that there should be a low and uniform rate of postage.*"

On the strength of these united opinions, disregarding the mere political objection, Parliament resolved that an experiment should be tried. Let us briefly exhibit the results.

The following tabular statements are reduced from the second edition of Porter's Progress of the Nation (1847).

Year.	Letters delivered.	Increase per cent. from 1839.	Gross income.	Change of Management.	Returns.	Net Revenue.	Paid into Exchequer.
1839..	99,014,156	..	2,522,494	741,676	131,730	1,649,088	..
1840..	191,931,365	94	1,392,934	846,690	50,330	495,514	447,664
1841..	234,866,995	135	1,539,073	930,933	43,733	564,407	455,000
1842..	256,248,601	158	1,610,479	966,759	32,335	611,385	608,000
1843..	265,699,689	168	1,656,513	966,395	93,061	598,057	595,000
1844..	290,630,164	193	1,736,282	974,365	31,213	730,704	691,000
1845..	329,161,811	232	1,927,905	1,114,848	52,469	760,588	753,000

The most superficial glance at these figures carries conviction as to the operation of the measure. Within twelve months, the number of letters sent through the post had nearly doubled; within six years, it had nearly tripled. The benefit of the Post-office being now satisfactorily distributed over all classes and its weight similarly adjusted, it was natural to find that its statistics exhibited strong relations to the national prosperity: hence we can understand the fluctuations in the rate of increase, its diminution in 1842-43 the year of commercial dormancy, and its acceleration in 1843-44 when trade again sprung into activity. Still taking all in all—"If," says Mr. Porter, "the increase should go forward at the same rate as in the six years from 1839 to 1845, the gross receipt of the Post Office revenue under the uniform rate of a penny would in 1850, be equal to what it was in 1839 under the old system of high graduated charges." Mr. Hill had previously shown that a six-fold increase under the new system would yield as high a revenue to the state as the highest rates charged. The last column indicates how steadily this revenue increased from year to year, and even despite the disasters of the two last years, we have at length Mr Hill's most sanguine expectations justified. Genius is never without its detractors, who are guided by no conscientious scruple in their selection of weapons to assail it, and of whose artifices the most usual is to substitute the glowing assertions of some imaginative disciple for the doctrine of the master and make the latter responsible for the consequences. We do not now require to be reminded that Wilkes never was a Wilkite. And Mr. Hill in like manner never went to the extremes of his less *savant* followers. He had never held out fallacious hopes that the revenue would not experience any injury in its Post Office Department,

or that a year—or two—or five—would suffice to recover it, if injury were manifest. His own words are plain and perspicuous.

"In considering the subject of increase, it must be remembered that, however desirable, and however probable a large increase may be, it is not counted upon as either certain or essential to the plan. The proposed regulations are not founded upon the presumption that in their adoption, the revenue is secured from all risk of suffering. What I have endeavoured to shew is, first that it is very possible the revenue may not suffer at all; and secondly, it is highly probable it will not suffer much. Supposing however, that the Post Office revenue should suffer even a serious diminution it can scarcely be doubted that the cheap transmission of letters and the papers, particularly commercial documents, would so powerfully stimulate the productive power of the country, and thereby so greatly increase the revenue in other departments, that the loss would be more than compensated."

Cautious this language undoubtedly is, but even the possibilities it contemplated have been established as facts in a few years. The increase of communication must have promoted objects social, moral and literary, the effects of which we cannot calculate in pounds, shillings and pence; it has stimulated manufactures and increased the national wealth, beyond this, in modes whose pecuniary value we can appreciate. Let us take the statistics of the paper-trade. Since 1836, it has laboured under the burden of an excise duty of 1½*d.* per pound, and in that year the quantity charged for duty was 82,108,947 pounds; in 1840 when the postage act had come into play, this amount swelled into 97,237,358 pounds and by 1845 it had risen to 124,495,148 pounds! Yet it was this trade and that of the stationers which so emphatically objected to the penny post scheme, because the stamps and stamped envelopes might be monopolised under a ministerial job!

But beyond—far beyond—these merits of the cheap and uniform rate in the eyes of the Tadpoles and Tapers of Office is the fact that the direct injury to the revenue has been compensated within a very limited period, and thus the fiscal success of the measure has atoned for the imprudence that adopted it solely for its philanthropic and scientific advantages!

We have quoted the opinions of great statesmen, delivered *á priori*, on the prospects of Mr. Hill's principle of adjustment—opinions, the sagacity of which has been demonstrated by the result. Let us also record the opinions of a few great officials—men of what is termed great practical familiarity with detail and possessing a thorough knowledge of their department. Col. Maberly, the Secretary to the Post Office

"Considered the whole scheme of Mr. Hill, as utterly fallacious; he

thought so from the first moment he read the pamphlet of Mr. Hill; and his opinion of the plan was formed long before the evidence was given before the Committee. The plan appeared to him a most preposterous one, utterly unsupported by facts, and resting entirely on assumption. Every experiment in the way of reduction which had been made by the Post Office had shewn its fallacy; for every reduction whatever led to a loss of revenue in the first instance. If the reduction be small, the revenue recovers itself but if the rates were to be reduced to 1*d*, the revenue would not recover itself for *forty* or *fifty* years."

The Earl of Lichfield, as Post-master General, of course voted with ministers, but he salved his conscience by a detailed exposition of his reason for doing so.

"He had turned his attention to all Mr. Hill's calculations and opinions, and had then come to the opinion he had expressed already in that House and to which he still adhered; and that opinion was that it was totally impossible, but that by the proposed reduction, a considerable loss to the revenue must accrue. He therefore supported the measure on entirely different grounds from those on which Mr. Hill proposed it. He assented to it on the simple ground that the demand for the measure was universal, after three years' consideration—after public meetings at which the matter had been fully discussed, and the voluminous evidence which shewed a material loss to the revenue from the change had been published, petitions from all parts of the country crowded the tables of both Houses of Parliament, and the people, through their representatives were strong in their expressions in its favour; and therefore, he was entitled to come to the conclusion that it was highly expedient that this measure should pass into a law. So obnoxious was the tax on letters that the people had declared their readiness to submit to any impost that might be substituted in its stead, and on these principles he agreed to the plan."

These were the gentlemen on whom the execution of Mr. Hill's scheme devolved—and yet it succeeded! We have preserved the expression of their opinions, because it conveys the lesson never too often inculcated on the directors of national destinies, that there are more things in heaven and earth to be taken into view when weighing the probable results of comprehensive measures than is dreamt of in the philosophy of the bureau, or indicated by the figures of a misinterpreting statist.

This brief sketch of the great British movement for postal reform, concluded in less than two years and a half from the original publication of Mr. Hill's pamphlet, will suffice to show that the legislative triumph of the principle of low and uniform postage was the consequence of the evils of the previous system being demonstrated to be hideous and incalculable, at a moment when popular sympathies were of particular political value. The validity of the principle itself was appreciated by comparatively few persons, and the general public certainly, if one were to judge by the current literature of the time, was neither impressed with, nor discussed, the scientific merits of

the proposed measure, or the theory of a postal revenue. A uniform penny postage was a simple idea and a strikingly brilliant one; the pecuniary advantages to the public were self-evident, and it is easy to see how, when these were contrasted with the then existing system, the popular feelings should spurn the control of financial considerations, and enforce innovation. The victory in the legislature has been so rapidly followed by the executive triumph, that all abstract disquisition has been superseded—and we may fairly say that the principle of a low and uniform postage is one of the very few in fiscal science, experimentally established before the social mind was thoroughly inured to its doctrinal stability. And it is precisely to this cause, that we attribute its slow progress elsewhere. Its success, being empirical, is attributed to a variety of contemporaneous influences working concurrently with it, and legislators who may be too conservative of abuses, or actually too apprehensive of innovation, allege as a plea for their tardiness in following the lead of Great Britain that one or another of these supposed influences is absent within the sphere of their operations. One points to the constant increase of the corresponding classes resulting from the active progress of education, and to the vast diffusion of cheap literature, as having been greatly instrumental to the glory of Rowland Hill, and then he turns despairingly to his own neighbourhood where they are not, and affirms that the day of cheap and uniform postage has not yet arrived. Another considers railways to "have done it all," and it is currently reported in India that the objection which the Court of Directors entertained to Lord Hardinge's proposals on the subject was based upon the absence of the rail in this country. But the day is dawning, when these prejudices will be swept away with a rough hand, if they are cherished despite the countervailing influences of temperate discussion. Already on the continent,—amidst the mighty turmoil which appears to have dislocated all human society, the end of which the Almighty alone can foresee, but from which, inasmuch as we believe in his superintending providence, must be educed results in harmony with his laws, and a higher and purer type of civilisation than existed heretofore—already on the continent are evinced symptoms that the People will not be bound by the pedantic sophistry which fettered their rulers in many great and important improvements—and among these in relieving the taxes upon knowledge and the free communication of ideas. France has at length resolved to tread in the steps of Britain, and from the first day of the present year, it has been announced that an uniform postage of a very low amount will be the law of the land. A similar measure may be expected from her southern

and eastern neighbours, as soon as their domestic troubles have been assuaged. They have long investigated the feasibility of such a plan, aye even before Britain adopted it, and nothing but the fundamental dislike to free communication natural to despotic Governments prevented them from adopting what financially they felt to be highly promising. We desire it may not be left to us in India, after the principle has been empirically established under every variety of aspect, to pine for its benefits; and with this view, we shall endeavour to show that there are better grounds for its adoption by the legislature than its success elsewhere: that there are arguments as well as illustrations.

Opinions on the appropriate character of a postal charge differ, and there are not wanting, as we have indicated, authorities of weight to support the heterodox as well as the orthodox,—speaking in a financial sense. The extreme party buttress their dogmas by the language of the original statute of Charles II. which declares that "the Post Office was established, not as a branch of the revenue, but for the advantage of trade and commerce." They consider with Mr. Warburton that "the advantage of Post Office communications ought to be accessible to the whole community, and that the subject was in fact one which ought not to be made matter of taxation at all." They fortify their position by the deliberate assertion of Lord Ashburton, that a tax upon communication between distant parties was of all taxes the most objectionable. Mr. Jones Loyd's opinion on the same side we have already quoted.

Mr. Cobden, one of the witnesses before the Committee, viewed the Post Office in the light of a commercial establishment conducted by Government—and his verdict upon the existing system as well as his suggestions for its reform was based upon this aspect of the question. In his testimony he says:—

"I think the general feeling throughout the commercial community has not been so adverse to the mode of managing the Post Office, as to the legislation to which it is subjected; the rate of duties, which of course are laid by Act of Parliament, is not in the hands of the executive functionaries of the Post Office. That it is a total failure as a great commercial establishment—if I might so term it—is proved unquestionably to the whole community by the fact of its being stationary in the amount of its profits and returns; we consider that the mode of conducting it has proved it to be a total failure—commercially speaking, the greatest failure in the country."

Mr. Stuart Mill, a writer of entirely the same practical turn as Mr. Cobden, takes the same view of postal charges, to judge by the following extract from his recently published "Principles of Political Economy:"

"The common mode of levying a tax on the conveyance of letters is by

making the government the sole authorized carrier of them, and demanding a monopoly price. When this price is so moderate, as it is in this country under the uniform penny postage, scarcely if at all exceeding what would be charged under the freest competition by any private company, it can hardly be considered as taxation, but rather as the profits of a business; whatever excess there is above the ordinary profits of stock being a fair result of the saving of expense caused by having only one establishment and one set of arrangements for the whole country, instead of many competing ones. The business too, being one which both can and ought to be conducted on fixed rules, is one of the very few businesses which it is not unsuitable to a government to conduct. The Post Office, therefore, is at present one of the best of the sources from which this country derives its revenue. But a postage much exceeding what would be paid for the same service in a system of freedom, is not a desirable tax. Its chief weight falls on letters of business and increases the expense of mercantile relations between distant places. It is like an attempt to raise a large revenue by heavy tolls: it obstructs all operations by which goods are conveyed from place to place, discourages the production of commodities in one place for consumption in another; which is not only in itself one of the greatest sources of economy of labour, but is a necessary condition of almost all improvements in production, and one of the strongest stimulants to industry."

Lastly, there is the school of practical financiers who do not disturb themselves with high wrought visions of popular enlightenment, or doctrinal crotchets, the busy fancies of the political economist. The *is* and the *can be* are their subjects of meditation; the *might be* or the *should be* they cannot away with. Their business is to fill the treasury, no matter how soon or to what effect it is emptied. A surplus is their millennium; the prospect of a deficit, their purgatory. Such writers judge of an object of taxation by two definite considerations, and two only—Will it yield anything? Can we safely impose a tax upon it? The immense profits derived by the influential classes of the British public during the wars of the French Revolution enabled them to bear a vast amount of exaction to support a system from which they derived their wealth, and the principles of taxation for them comprehended no more recondite science than that which consisted in answering the two questions above, the legacy of those by whom taxation was originally viewed as "the raising of money upon the subject to supply the necessities of the monarch." "There cannot be devised," writes Blackstone, "a more eligible method than this of raising money upon the subject; for therein both the Government and the people find a mutual benefit. The Government acquires a large revenue, and the people do their business with greater ease, expedition and cheapness than they would be able to do if no such tax (and of course no such office) existed." But where Government chooses to fix a monopoly price, an overwhelming majority of the people cannot do any business

through the office, and the portion that does, proves that it can do so with greater ease, expedition and cheapness through illicit channels. In such cases the eligibility of the method becomes very doubtful, and we must leave the regions of dogma and descend to the terra firma of argument.

In the category of those who look upon the post office as an eligible object for taxation, we regret to have to include the name of Mr. McCulloch, who at the time Mr. Hill propounded his plan was its most respectable opponent, and whom its subsequent practical triumph has not conciliated. In his volume on Taxation (published in 1845), this eminent economist devotes a chapter to the duties on the postage of letters, in which while frankly admitting that the British rates in 1839 were so oppressive that it was a wonder the revenue did not fall off instead of continuing stationary, he yet thinks that the adoption of the uniform penny postage was rushing blindfold from one extreme to another. He allows "it had various recommendations in its favour... ...No doubt however, the scheme was far more indebted for its popularity to the oppressiveness of the old rates of postage, than any intrinsic merits of its own." Mr. McCulloch goes on, "It has been alleged indeed that taxes on the transmission of letters are objectionable on principle, and should therefore be repealed, independently altogether of financial considerations! But it is easier to make an allegation of this sort than to prove it. All taxes however imposed, if they be carried (as was the case with the old rates of postage) beyond their proper limits, are also objectionable; but provided these be not exceeded, we have yet to learn why a tax on a letter should be more objectionable than a tax on the paper on which it is written, on the food of the writer or on fifty other things." He speaks contemptuously of the "quackery of an uniform penny rate," thinks pre-payment a troublesome practice, and sees no good reason why if it were abandoned, and the present rates were doubled, the revenue should not be nearly doubled with little or no inconvenience to the public. Indeed he sees very many good reasons why it should—though the public is not favored with them, and in their absence must be compelled to accept the teachings of experience as an efficient substitute for the opinion of a single economist, great as his reputation may be. There are many however with whom the influence of a name like Mr. McCulloch's weighs as much as perhaps his unrecorded reasons would, were they accessible; and halting legislators especially, are willing to avail themselves of an impediment to their progress, so plausible. It is necessary therefore to examine the subject fundamentally.

We are of those who think with Lord Ashburton and Mr. Loyd, that if there is one duty more than another which Government owes the people, it is to ensure the freest possible communication, within the limits of its jurisdiction. But this is an *end* towards which we must work, the limit to which in the steady advance of civilisation we unrestingly approach, but the attainment of which we cannot safely predict, and the benefits of which it will require a great concurrent advance of society rightly to appreciate.

In the present condition of the community, there are great necessities which are to be met, and many of them, as aptly termed by Mr. McCulloch, unreasoning ones. The world is not prepared to sacrifice one of its interests for another, however supreme the importance of this other. In fact, it cannot. For the progress of social science is like that of its sisters. Mutually connected as all sciences are by the homogeneous structure of the universe, when we unveil the arcana of one we are presented with phenomena illustrative of another; nor is it till we have penetrated into this new line of research that we find ourselves able to return to our old position so as to make a decided step in advance. The financier is like the philosopher. His future path may be distinctly before him, but he cannot step into it at once. To the scientific statesman freedom of communication seems simply wise and just. The financier believes it cannot be ventured upon without injury to other important interests of society; in his eyes therefore it assumes the appearance of extravagant generosity, and so he holds his hand, while repeating the old saw of "justice before generosity."

We are content to take up our position, therefore, with those who consider the Post Office as a great commercial establishment conducted by Government for the benefit of the state—all the rightful profits of the business, it being based on commercial principles, fairly accruing to the public coffers. In this light the income of the Exchequer is not to be considered as a tax, but the legitimate profits of a business which conducted exactly as it would be against the freest competition, is yet monopolised by the State on the same obvious grounds, that in ordinary trades a person with an indefinitely superior capital and consequent superior powers of organisation drives out of the market the small producers. His immense facilities, the certainty, celerity and simplicity of his operations, his ability to seize upon every improvement that promises to assist them, all conspire to secure him a practical monopoly, and as long as he proceeds on the same principles under the same

circumstances, he need ask no legislative protection to struggle against his would-be competitors.

There are plain reasons why the conduct of the Post, being a business which Government can carry on, on fixed rules, should be carried on by it, instead of falling into the hands of a private individual or company. These need no discussion. What we are concerned with, is to show that Government, undertaking the management of a General Post Office, should conduct it on such principles as have been indicated. In the first place, there is its superior obligation to the people by which it is bound to weigh the general benefits derived from cheap intercourse against the acquisition of one or two lakhs charged (by way of tax) over and above legitimate profits. The benefits we refer to are directly pecuniary, as well as moral and intellectual. The commercial man, if he can write cheaply, does not put into his pocket the remitted postage; no, he writes more—because the more extensively he communicates the more his business is likely to thrive. "A number of letters might be written from which nothing would flow, but one at last was written, and followed by a business transaction of the utmost importance." This pays his speculation in postage and rewards him besides. Thus is trade stimulated and of course as national prosperity results, the revenue accruing from direct taxation is in a variety of ways benefited. But we have shewn the stimulus to trade originates in an extended correspondence, and therefore, the revenue which trickles into the exchequer through the Post itself suffers little, if any ultimate loss. These are facts amply proved by the English experiment, and they were predicted by almost every one of the witnesses examined by the Committee on Postage on *à priori* considerations such as we in this country must yet rest upon.

In the second place, suppose the Government to anticipate that the bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and to refuse to recognise the validity of such reasoning as that of the preceding paragraph,—Will it in reality be wise in its generation, if wielding the terrors of penal law to keep off competitors, it endeavours to compel the public to employ it at its own price? There is ample proof that it will not. Correspondence is suppressed, or conveyed through illegitimate channels. Men will not write unless absolutely compelled, and the smuggler will intervene, braving all the denunciations of the Government, to carry off a portion—and no small one too—of what is written. Set your traps ever so neatly, watch them ever so vigilantly—give a pecuniary

inducement to the needy, and human wit acting for its own benefit will baffle the choicest devices administered on behalf of the Government. "There will always be evasion," says a great Post Office authority, "inasmuch as the smuggler must always beat the Post Office." A wonderful man this smuggler, against whom no Government can succeed; who yet is the mere creature of the Government, called into being by its sins against social science, and endowed with power according to the blackness of the sin, as a just moral punishment to the sinner. Wherever the profits of Government are largest, there the smuggler plies his trade the most merrily; those lines which Government would on account of inadequate revenue willingly abandon, he has never entered upon. Yet there is an effectual remedy against him; let the Government put away the accursed thing from itself, let it repudiate covetousness, and it becomes at once all powerful against illicit trading of any kind.

In all postal charges there are three items, the actual *cost* of managing the office, the fair commercial *profits* of business, and if there be a surplus it is what may fairly come under the denomination of a *tax*. Now of these elements, the cost ought to be clearly determinable by the statistics. By uniformity of arrangements, by regularity in paying its establishment, by guarantee of responsibility, by power to command the best organisation, the State ought necessarily to attain a minimum in the item of costs. Were it therefore, to conduct the Post Office as a purely commercial establishment, it should be able to drive all competitors out of the market, and therefore, it would be justified in charging the public not merely a fair percentage on its own costs, but one on the costs of the cheapest competitor. Thus supposing the cheapest remunerative price at which a private speculator could carry a letter from Calcutta to Allahabad to be eight annas, while the Post Office *could* convey it at a cost of four, we think it perfectly justified—viewing it exclusively in a commercial light—in charging eight annas, for the simple reason that it would be preferred as a medium of communication, *ceteris paribus*. It is plain then the State would receive on this theory a steady income over and above its expences from the treasury of the Post Office. The public could not grumble at the management of the department, for the simple reason that no body else could do its work cheaper. In a widely scattered and thin community, the postal charge thus constituted of the costs of conveyance and profit of stock might be high, but still it would be just. Those members of the community whose business could not afford it, or whose affections were not strong enough to stimulate them,

might be debarred from the pleasures of correspondence. Or they would be obliged to wait a casual opportunity—time not being regarded, nor speed—to communicate with their distant correspondents. Professionally, they could not do it cheaper than Government.

But the moment the Government, desiring an increased, and what we shall term an illegitimate, revenue from the Post Office, imposes on it a *tax*, the smuggler is at once called into being.

The hardship upon the public is more peculiarly felt along all the great lines of communication, because there are more individuals who feel it there. Precisely along these great lines of traffic, the profits of Government are naturally greatest, because the more letters sent along them the less the cost of despatch on each becomes in proportion, and hence there is always the greatest tendency towards organised smuggling in such lines awaiting only the vital motive, remuneration. But when the State, too greedy of revenue raises its rates above the level of fair competition, it supplies this motive, and smuggling begins,—striking a severe blow on the existing revenue, as well as effectually impeding its extension. The smuggler's profits are immediate and great. Where communication is less brisk, it may not be worth his while to work, and so Government may not be injured, but then these are precisely the least remunerative quarters. Yet even here, as is notorious in this country, the smuggler may drive a lucrative trade by availing himself of the very Government arrangements, without any trouble to himself. He has only to make up a letter for the Government post which shall serve as an envelope to five or six small letters written on thin paper, so as to come within the required weight. This is directed, paying the price of one letter, to the agent at the other end of the line who on its receipt distributes the enclosures. It may be said there is no precaution but that of *grahamising* which can defeat such a practice—certainly mere cheapening of the post has no tendency to do so. But if by adopting a low and uniform charge, we place the office on an efficient footing, all the industrial classes at least will not find the trifling saving in postage compensate them for the loss of time and danger of detection, attending the resort to illicit conveyances.

It needs no vast experience of this country to learn that with its natives *time* is not *money*. They will spend a day to save an anna, and hence there is always a body of men at hand to filch the annas for which Government exceeds its just charges. Thus Government would be stoutly struggled against even upon bye lines. We, ourselves, have

often, from a spot not 45 miles from Calcutta and which had a regular water communication with it, sent a letter by native fishermen to legal advisers in town, for the same charge as the dawk—*four* pice! For this immense reward, the bearer walked some four miles directly, and reached about six hours after the dawk would have delivered a letter. We need scarcely say that our motive for resorting to this mode of conveyance was distrust of the dawk moonshee's honesty. Private dawks are notoriously kept in India, even by those to whom the public post is available, and simply because of the untrustworthiness of the official subordinates. This is incidentally mentioned to shew that there are other causes than mere expense which maintain the smuggler, and other considerations than that of high rates which demand a general inquiry into the management of the Post Office.

Having thus indicated the incentives to the smuggler to start into existence, let us ask what is there dangerous about his trade in this department. Pains and penalties of course there are. But what is there to make him shy of them? He carries no bulky casks, issues from no suspected port, runs along no definite line of coast, is watched by no ardent and organised police. Through the length and breadth of the land, he is free to ply his trade unquestioned. It is impossible to put him down, and, if it were, *le jeu ne vaut pas les chandelles*. Every impetus to national prosperity is felt by him. Does trade prosper making the community brisk, inciting the passions and revivifying the affections—are better roads laid facilitating passage, or new cuts, shortening it—the smuggler is the first to benefit. Of the three elements, *costs*, *profits*, and *tax* which compose the postal charge, the last only is fixed. All social improvements diminish the costs, and therefore the profits in proportion may and must increase in gross. Hence the item, costs *plus* profits, lessens as society advances, bearing a less and less proportion to the fixed item *tax*. In a like proportion therefore the ability of the Post Office to compete with the smuggler lessens. But this is not all; it preserves its charges unaltered, though postal facilities increase; hence it has to struggle against the dead weight not only of the *tax*, but of an unchanging *commercial price*.

It may be said, we overrate the influence of the smuggler. We say, we do not. In England where veneration for law is more or less imbibed with our mother's milk and at our father's knee, every one knows how extensive was the revenue diverted from the Post Office before 1839, how ingenious the devices to evade the postal tax, how signal the defeat of the Government in its struggle with the sympathies and feelings of the people.

The Post-master of Liverpool pointed out that the inward letters at that port amounted per annum to 370,000, whilst those going outwards were returned as 78,000! shewing that a vast number must have found their way out through other channels. The Post-master of Dublin stated "that every species of contrivance that 'ingenuity can devise is resorted to for the purpose of evading 'the payment of postage. It exceeds any idea persons in 'general may have formed of it. In May 1837, a warrant was 'issued against Patrick Gill, a carrier, who travelled regularly 'between Granard and Dublin, and on his person were found 'fifty-seven letters directed to persons in Dublin, which he 'had collected on the road." It would be strange if in a country, the natives of which are proverbially keen for turning a penny, for deficiency of respect to the law, and for ingenuity of device, the postal revenue were less injured by illicit intercourse than in Great Britain. We have not the same authoritative evidence to refer to in India, as exposed the smuggling carriers at home—because so great was the desire to have a vicious system rectified, that numbers of those who were thoroughly versed in its details came forward to impress upon Parliament the seriousness of the evil to be combatted. An earnest and eloquent writer reviewing that evidence writes:—"The 'extent to which smuggling is carried in letters, no one we ven-'ture to say, has ever yet dreamt of; smuggling which in a 'free country, and where the laws profess to be the embodied 'and established will of the people themselves, is the mode 'in which the people express generally the injustice of their 'own enactments, and by so doing contemn and disgrace alike 'themselves, their legislators and their rulers. This vice—one 'of the most anarchical of all the social vices, and one of 'which bad laws and bad rule are sufficiently productive—is 'carried on to illimitable and incalculable extent, by men whose 'characters receive not the slightest stain from it; and 'avowed by them, well knowing that there perhaps does not 'exist a single man in the whole realm entitled to blame 'them for it, by being himself guiltless. However the univer-'sality of the practice and the badness of existing laws may 'excuse it, our legislators and governors should bear it in 'mind that this vice for the existence of which the sup-'porters of the bad laws make themselves responsible, bears 'aspects, each of them fraught with measureless evil—it 'is an universal contemning of authority—it is a habitual 'violation of law, and it is an education in fraud which spreads, 'like a leprosy through every rank and to every member of the community. The laws ought to educate the people to order

'and obedience; the Post Office laws educate every man 'woman and child to evasion and disobedience." Never was so sweeping a denunciation so terribly supported by facts. It was calculated of ship letters that about 4,000 went by each ship, which never passed the Post Office (Ev. 1043). Messrs. Baring used to send 200 letters a week in boxes from London to be shipped on board the American packets at Liverpool. Another great American merchant in 1836 despatched 5861 letters by private carriers, for 2068 sent through the post. Mr. Oerton of Walsall "would certainly say that not a fiftieth part of the letters to any of the neighbouring towns were sent by the post." Another witness thought the probable number of letters conveyed illicitly in his neighbourhood bore a ratio of 15 or 20 to 1 as compared with the letters sent by public post. The Chamber of Commerce of Manchester stated, through Mr. Cobden, the result of probing inquiries on the subject; from which it appears that that great town sent to London alone six times as many letters surreptitiously as by a legitimate channel, and at Glasgow a similar investigation gave the ratio as ten to one. A dissenting minister in a letter to a member of the Mercantile Committee writes, "I have had my mouth stopped when I have 'been protesting strongly against more serious evasions of 'the revenue laws as disgraceful to those who practised them, 'by the question, 'Pray do you never send letters otherwise 'than through the Post office?'"

The quotation of these instances is not without local point. If such things be done in the green tree, what must be done in the dry? If in moral and religious England—nay, we need not soar so high—if in respectable England, a patrician merchant barters his title to legal protection by evading the law, if the servant of God be struck dumb by direct retort when he insists upon the justice of paying to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's—what are we to expect in benighted India? But it is not upon analogy only we desire to rest in the absence of accurate statistics and responsible testimony. As far as the secrets of the prison house are permitted to transpire, the uncontrollable existence of smuggling has stimulated the several Post-masters General in India, above all other considerations, to support a reform of rates. In Bombay a well known case occurred in 1846, when a Marwaree was seized under warrant of the Police, being suspected of exercising the illicit trade of letter carrier. It was found on examination that he had upon him not less than 305 letters, for each of which he expected on delivery to receive two annas! The Post Office Act imposes a penalty of fifty rupees for every letter so carried; this man

therefore had rendered himself liable to a fine of some 15,250 rupees. It is not an easy task to draw blood from a stone, so the legal fine was commuted to what was thought a practicable one of Rs. 250, or in default, two months' imprisonment with hard labour! There were evident symptoms in the case that this man was a young apprentice to the trade, but if so, the greater right have we to accept the case as indexing to some degree the immense amount of current illicit intercourse. It is only a few weeks ago that the Bombay Post Office was compelled to re-publish the legal penalties against private carriage of letters, so completely did it appear that the present generation was ignorant of them and plied a merry trade in the full conviction of its harmlessness! We have no doubt that the Government officials entertain no mean estimate of the extent of smuggling carried on. But in attempting to form a just idea of it we must be prevised that the organised native posts are not merely cheaper but speedier and safer, than that proffered by Government. We believe it is generally known that there never has been any great political event, at a distance from the metropolis on the main lines of communication, of which intelligence has reached us by the public post before the native letters conveyed illicitly have spread it through the native mercantile body. It is notorious that the Cabul catastrophe was confidently reported in the bazaar three days prior to any authentic advices being received by Europeans. Nor was this a solitary instance to be explained away by quoting the old proverb of "ill news flies fast." We can vouch for definite rumours of the victories of Meanee and Hyderabad reaching Calcutta at least 24 hours before even a newspaper office had the slightest suspicion of a conflict. A yet more marked case of speed was furnished in the early part of the present year, when a correct account of the decision of the Judicial Committee on the opium appeals, transmitted from Bombay as soon as the London mail arrived, was circulated through Calcutta, full thirty-six hours before the *express* dâk reached the General Post Office! It must not be supposed, because bazaar rumours traced to respectable houses occasionally confound disaster with victory, that they are therefore the mere offspring of random guess instead of actual intelligence. The correspondents of the native metropolitan house may not be accurately informed of the circumstances be they ever so near the scene of the occurrence reported, but what they hear they transmit, and those rumours which first infest the capital will be traced to be identical with those circulating in the vicinity of the spot. But it is idle to dwell on a point than which none requires less proof in the eyes of an old Indian. It may

suffice as a last instance to say that a friend at Delhi deeply anxious to communicate with a relative in Calcutta on the point of embarkation for Europe and fearful of missing the opportunity, abandoned the legal for the illegal mode of transmission, and was rewarded for breach of the law by his letter being lodged in the hand it was destined for, a full day before the public dawk of the same date reached town.

Finally, we would insist upon the safety of the native posts as giving them an additional title to patronage on the part of the community, to which the Government dâks can lay no claim. The illicit carrier is strictly honourable, for the plain reason that he is illicit: if he robs or cheats his customers he is liable to be handed up to the law and his trade destroyed as well as himself heavily amerced. Not so the legal carrier. Let the following passage from the *Friend of India* describing some scandalous disclosures in 1846, in a single district, testify. "At one of the 'Mofussil stations in the lower provinces, various letters had 'been addressed to the Post-master by the Accountant General, 'the Post-master General, and other officers in Calcutta without 'being attended to. The remonstrances on this neglect gradu-'ally became more importunate, and it was at length discover-'ed that not one of these letters which referred to irregularities 'in the office had ever been delivered to him. They had been 'regularly opened and burked by the dâk moonshee. Suspi-'cion was thus aroused and on further search, it was ascer-'tained that no fewer than SEVEN THOUSAND letters—such was 'the number stated to us—addressed to various individuals had 'never been delivered, and were lying in his house! Such 'an instance of atrocious perfidy may not have occurred at 'any other station; but there is reason to believe that the prac-'tice of neglecting to distribute letters on part of the dâk 'is far more general than is usually supposed, more espe-'cially in reference to the letters of the poor natives, who 'refuse to pay the extra charge for each letter which is inva-'riably demanded where the native in charge of the office has any 'hope of escaping detection." Similar cases, though not so aggravated as the above, have been the subject of frequent comment in the papers. Thus also during the greater part of the present year, there has been standing in the *Government Gazette* an advertisement offering a reward for the discovery of a four per cent. Government security, abstracted or stolen from an envelope giving cover to an official letter, directed by the Commissioner of the Soonderbunds to the collector of Backergunge, and forwarded through the General Post Office. And in like manner the frequent advertisement of the loss of halves of bank-notes may

be traced to the misplaced confidence of individuals, yet untaught by disaster, in the fidelity of the Government post. It is not our business at present to discuss the merits of such cases; it is sufficient to establish their existence and draw from it legitimate conclusions to support our immediate object.

On all these grounds we leave the reader to appreciate the influences that conspire to strengthen and organise the illicit carriage of letters in India. The State offers to its native subjects a medium at once most expensive, most dilatory, and most untrustworthy. Are they likely to accept it, if they can get a better? And is it not the fact that better are offered them? Judge then by the proportion of native commerce to British over India, of the proportion which illicit bears to legal conveyance, and of that by which the smuggler's income interferes with the revenue of the Post Office. On this point we have the direct opinion of Lieutenant Staples, of the Bengal Artillery, an accomplished officer who has devoted much time in an official capacity to the study of the subject, having been for a long time Post-master of the large district of Dacca. He writes:—

"When we find the tax on one letter to be fully equal to the 'amount that any of the lower classes spends in a week, we 'see that it must be in a great measure out of the power 'of the inhabitants to make use of such means of commu-'nication. We know also that the general opinion is that 'the lower classes of natives have little need for correspon-'dence and never feel the loss of a means of communication, 'but though we are much in want of information on this point, 'yet we have ourselves seen letters which would puzzle most 'of the department as it at present exists to decipher, written 'rudely enough on palm leaves and forwarded correctly to their 'destination. That they did not come through the Post Office 'was certain." The same officer, whose personal experience rendered available by a skilful Committee of Inquiry would go far to elucidate a number of Post Office mysteries, continues,—"We are confident that native dawks exist every where; 'that it would be impossible for the business of the coun-'try to go on without them; that consequently, though un-'known to the English authorities, yet they are winked at and used 'by the native servants of Government. Let any one cast his 'eye over the many populous and thriving towns having mer-'chants and bankers carrying on trade with all parts of India, 'transmitting by hoondies large sums of money and performing 'with regularity and tolerable despatch all the business connected 'with the trade of the country; agents—many of them—to mer-'chants in Calcutta or indigo planters or sugar manufacturers

or wealthy zemindars. Let him also reflect that there is no visible means of transmission for these merchants either for their hoondees, or for giving information to their principals or dependants, and then let him consider whether if, as some now suppose, they do not communicate, they would not be benefitted and enriched by communication, or if they do, contrary to the laws of the land, communicate privately and by stealth on all matters most important to themselves and to the trade of the country, they would not be benefitted by being enabled to communicate freely by means appointed by law, freed from the risk of detection and seizure." Let us take this view and then recur to the fact that the rich and populous provinces under the Bengal and Agra Governments, teeming with life and commerce, do not avail themselves of the Post Office to a greater extent than yields government a rough income of twelve lakhs of rupees a year, or one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; let us ponder over an instance of extensive smuggling like that published at Bombay, and then let us reflect whether the assertion that three times as many letters are conveyed illicitly as by post is extravagant? Our own belief, and we believe it is shared by official authorities, is that the proportion thus given is understated —but for the sake of reform we are quite willing to accept it even at less, say *double*.

Now the existence of such extensive smuggling is proof demonstrative that our postal rates are not based on commercial considerations, that they are far beyond what would be necessary to reimburse government for the work it does, yielding it a fair profit; that in short they contain the surplus item of *taxation*, the existence of which we have deprecated as impolitic and unscientific. It needs no extreme sagacity to point out how this item is introduced; no access to statistical calculations to guess its value. The tax consists in throwing the correspondence of the state into the public mails without making it defray the costs of its own carriage, and thus saddling the chargeable letters with the expence of carrying their privileged companions! Now were the franked packets only equal in bulk to the paying packets, the tax thus imposed is burdensome to the last degree for the simple reason that the post office expenses are thereby saddled upon an income just half what it would otherwise be. But there is no doubt that the proportion is very much greater, though the obvious interest of Government —we use the word *interest* in the usual perverted sense—to suppress the publication of figures precludes us from estimating the specific ratio. The *Friend of India*, the most cautious and accurate of our local journalists in his statistical statements, and

enjoying peculiar opportunities for judging such questions, has repeatedly rated the official correspondence as quadruple the private letters in bulk. Occasionally a fact will ooze out despite the prudent silence of the authorities, illustrating the iniquities of this tax. Thus in the early part of this year, the loss of a mail coming from Assam to Calcutta induced the Post Office to advertise its contents, when the curious public were startled to find that the franked correspondence was upwards of fourteen times as heavy as the chargeable letters. Let our readers glance over the list of parties authorized to frank all letters, packets and parcels relating to the business of their respective offices or departments. It contains no fewer than one hundred and sixteen *classes* of officials. Then there is a supplementary list of parties authorized to frank letters *bonâ fide* on the public service relating to the business of their several offices and departments, *but only within their respective districts*, or *to certain authorities*. This comprises twenty-four classes of functionaries. But these are not all, there is a third list of authorities who do not possess the privilege of franking, but having occasion to correspond on the public service, are entitled to obtain franks from certain specified functionaries—they amount in number to twenty-five classes. The exemption of official correspondence is thus tolerably comprehensive, and if even the privilege were never abused, still keeping in view the limited use of the Post Office by the public it is easy to believe the *Friend's* estimate to be considerably on the safe side of the mark.

Nor is this all. The shrewd selfishness of the Government has exempted its Soldiery from the payment of postage. "Letters 'from commissioned native officers and non-commissioned 'officers, privates, and others borne on the returns of Her 'Majesty's or the Honorable Company's Army, including 'guides, lascars, and men of the regular corps of dooley 'bearers shall pass free of postage when not exceeding single 'weight, and containing no enclosures, or other than bills of 'remittances, superscribed with the name and rank of the 'sender, and directed in English according to the annexed 'form, in addition to any direction they may bear in any 'native language." Such letters are franked by the commanding officer, who is empowered to take effective precautions that the privilege is not abused. If there is any real boon conferred by this exemption, it is tantamount to a recognition that the native far removed from his friends does desire to inform them of his welfare and keep alive the flame of the household affections. Where such desire exists, the

repeal of a prohibitory duty on the transmission of letters must be followed by a vastly increased use of the post; its retention must be unwise and felt as oppressive or else it must be an idle formality—the illicit carrier entirely superseding the public post in the service of the masses. Government cannot recognise in the unmilitary native any wish to correspond with absent relatives or friends, or any right to have affections to be cultivated or human impulses to be indulged If he entertain such expensive fancies, he must pay for them by a graduated scale. The further removed he is from his friends, the more dear they naturally are to him, and the Company takes care that *dearer* they shall be. But let him enlist: his right to family feelings is at once legalised. Poor fellow, he who maintains our empire and is unfailingly appealed to, to cut the gordian knots in which irresistible events or appalling blunders every now and then entangle the meshes of our policy! He cannot afford to correspond with his family; we must therefore release him from the heavy tax we lay on *pekins:* he shall write as often as he pleases and we shall charge him nothing. Very right minded and very politic truly! But what generosity is this? What is it, but saying "We decree the lower grades of our army shall not assist the postage bearing classes in maintaining the Post Office, but they shall be entitled to use it?" The money relinquished is not the just dues of Government, but in plain fact the property of the postage paying community who are overtaxed to make up the deficiency among themselves. Such is the usual character of great political boons—the reward of A for the glorification of B at the expense of C! We do not, in fine, object to our gallant soldiery being exempted from oppressive postal taxation, we ask only that it should be admitted sundry odd millions are endowed with the like faculties and passions as the odd thousands who constitute the Army. When great officials talk periodically of the empire of opinion being far more desirable than that of the sword, they practically concede that it would be at least as desirable to win the affections of these millions as of the military thousands. Why then do they not do something towards it in the same line as that of which they recognise the efficacy towards the soldiery? We demand no lavish charity, no extravagance in one direction supported by injustice in another. We ask them merely to open their eyes to the false principles of their fiscal system, which in the first place deprives them of the full amount of revenue available from a certain source, and in the next compels them to liberate large bodies of subjects from its operation because they do not think

it expedient to hazard unpopularity among them. Thus they exceed the bounds of justice on the one hand by exempting one party from all charge, as on the other by overcharging every body else. We are aware that we shall be immediately told the soldiery do not avail themselves of the privilege conceded to them to any great extent, and that it would be most inexpedient to rescind the privilege now. To both objections we answer—you do not allow the soldier's relatives to correspond with him, for they must pay postage, hence it is that his correspondence being all one-sided is naturally languid, as it is even among ourselves. But were it frankly explained to him that for the compromise of surrendering his right of free postage his friends and relatives would be permitted to write to him at Ferozepore, Assam, Arracan, or Midnapore for the low charge of an anna—we confidently believe he would rejoicingly yield it up, and a healthful and regular intercourse spring into life between him and his family. But we must return to the main thread of our discourse: the fact that franked correspondence is at least four times as bulky as chargeable letters.

Those who use the Post Office and obey the law are in this predicament, then, that they have evidence that at least twice as much correspondence as they put into the post escapes it, while at least four times is carried by it free of charge. Now, this is sufficient we submit, to entitle them to demand a full and searching inquiry into the system, the expence of which is entirely defrayed by themselves. They are entitled to ask for an alleviation of their burden and, if that is not granted, at the very least for the due improvement of the office in just reciprocation of their heavy assessment.

The fundamental evil of the present system is the tax we have pointed out, which, profoundly unjust in itself to the public, impolitic in crippling the resources of the department by depriving it of just dues, and unscientific as injuring the elasticity of the postal revenue adjusted on commercial principles—weighs like a millstone on all improvement, and must be repealed as an essential preliminary to any reform.

The abuses of franking at this time of our social existence do not require to be suggested. Men, the most honourable, see no harm in availing themselves casually of a privilege confided to them for an especial purpose. It has been broadly stated that to have a member of parliament in a large firm in London, in the olden time, was a saving of eight hundred pounds a year! Members have literally rented out their franking privilege to bankers; and Dr. Lardner, in the preface to one

of his mathematical works, openly expresses his obligation to a legislative friend, without the unlimited use of whose franks the book could not have appeared, in consequence of the author's residence at Dublin while his printer lived in London! And in lower ranks when the clerks of certain offices had power to frank parcels without limit of weight or bulk, it was no secret that haunches of venison sometimes travelled on service, and on one occasion even a pianoforte!

Now in this country we are not to expect a necessarily higher standard of official morality. We have ourselves seen a bulky literary periodical sent from Simla to Calcutta by a private secretary to a Governor General, unblushingly bearing the magic word "*Service*" and the official frank. We have heard also of ladies' sandals despatched, by another responsible officer, from Calcutta to the Upper Provinces in anticipation of a fancy ball, to a Secretary to Government, whose wife happened to be the Cinderella demanding them. We are equally cognizant of glowing descriptions of recent shikar sent by one official sportsman to another, and put up with the *missl* of some revenue case which was despatched about the same time. And if we reflect that such practices are tolerated by those whom educational influences as well as freedom from pecuniary considerations should preserve from them, we are not without grounds of belief that as we descend in the scale, they become more frequent and consequently detrimental to the revenue—first by diminishing the number of chargeable letters, and secondly increasing the number of those that go free.

But there would be greater abuses checked by the abolition of franking than the free transmission of chargeable letters. Government would find it necessary to grapple steadily with an evil it has repeatedly denounced, but been hitherto unable to overcome—the unnecessary multiplication of copies of public papers—leading in the first place to unnecessary entertainment of establishment and expenditure of stationery; and in the second to the pernicious waste of the time of the higher officers. Hitherto Government has struggled against it, as it were on behalf of the Post Office. It was in truth felt that the franking privilege discreetly exercised was quite as heavy a tax as the public would bear, and the authorities were reasonably apprehensive that to abuse it would lead to serious recalcitration and the necessary repeal of their tax. We have therefore been favored from time to time with official notifications directing the use of gum instead of sealing wax, thin paper and similar petty contrivances to alleviate the evil. Even

while we write this, the following Notification appears in the *Gazette*.

"It having been brought to the notice of the Government of India that the Letter Mails are frequently overloaded by the despatch of bulky and heavy official documents, whereby the Mails are seriously delayed, the President in Council directs the particular attention of Public Officers to Article XLIV. of the Post Office Rules, published under date the 30th of August 1837, requiring all Public Despatches to be made up in the most compact form possible, and each Packet not to exceed 12 Tolas in weight.

The President in Council further directs that, in addition to the strictest attention to the prescribed mode for making up the despatches, all public Servants shall use the lightest paper for envelopes compatible with the purpose, and that where expedition may not be essential and the packets are beyond the prescribed weight of 12 Tolas, they shall invariably superscribe them, for transmission by the Banghy.

In any case where an Official Packet may exceed the weight of 12 Tolas, and its rapid transmission be desirable, the Despatching Officer shall superscribe the Packet "per Letter Mail." In the absence of such superscription, the Post-master General and Post-masters shall exercise their discretion in forwarding such Packets by the Banghy Mail.

The *Friend of India* says with reference to the above notification that it has not appeared before it was wanted—"We 'have had an opportunity of seeing hundreds of public letters 'from the interior of the country, in the course of the last two 'or three years and in not a few cases the weight of the cover 'has been double that of the letter which it enclosed. We think 'it would be found on examination that the weight of the mere 'covers of the public letters, does not fall far short of the weight 'of all the correspondence of private individuals out of Calcutta." Such scandalous abuses are not to be remedied by orders; if they were, they would not have been in existence, for so far back as 1837 stringent rules were passed against them. They are the natural fruit of irresponsibility. What is it to the careless official that he violates them? It is not Government who pays for the despatch of the unnecessary and ill-selected documents he forwards in a cartridge paper envelope of the most primitive form. No, it is the unfortunate public who resort to the Post Office, and whose letters are overcharged that these official monstrosities may not be charged at all. There is but one radical cure—a repeal of the tax by the abolition of franking. And then, when Government has before it the distinct item of postage in the accounts of the several departments, it will hold in its hands a clue conducting it to every one habitually extravagant in this item. Inquiry will no longer be vague in its results, because the interest of every superior to keep himself free from blame will compel him to exercise habitual surveil-

lance over his subordinates. Not only will gum and thin envelopes be used, and letters be copied into moderate compass, but the higher qualities of judgment and analysis cultivated in selecting documents for transmission to superior authorities when their opinion is desired, an object now too much neglected. In fact in appeal cases, the junior acts somewhat like that Chandos who was called upon to render accounts of his stewardship, and promptly forwarded a few cart-loads of formidable looking papers, promising to send as many more daily till the treasury was satisfied. This of course it immediately professed itself to be. Appellant authorities are not quite so easily frightened in this country; but there is no question that unjustifiable encroachments upon their time are often thus occasioned—the gallon of sack exemplified in the ponderous *missl* sent up being paralleled by the ha'porth of bread in the matter really germane to the question. A pretty good test of an official's carelessness would be his postage bill, and his knowledge of the fact would be an incentive to keep it within strictly justifiable limits, to the great advantage of Government in other and higher points of view than mere expense.

It has been considered an essential element of this question, how we are to contrive that the public business shall not be impeded by the abolition of franking? We are not now considering the question of Post Office reform, the details of which we hope hereafter to take up, but it does appear to us, without going out of our way, that there is no great difficulty in managing the matter. If uniform postage be introduced, it must be accompanied by wafer-stamps, and these would be supplied to the members of the administrative body along with their stationery, of which indeed they would become a component part. The value of the stamps officially expended would be set down in the monthly charges of every office, and the balance would be held to account of the official, when his next supply was furnished. There would thus be no delays occasioned to the public service, no complication of accounts, and yet an effectual check preserved upon extravagance or malversation. At the same time the Post Office would be credited in the General Treasury with the amount of stamps annually indented for by the Stationery office.

The immediate result of the repeal of the postal tax would be as we have shewn to rectify the Government error as to the actual value of the Post Office, and exhibit in its books, even with its present limited operations, a *surplus* of many lakhs instead of a *deficit* of one.

But as we have insisted, this surplus, though gratifying in itself, is drawn from rates, oppressive to the public and provo-

cative of illicit dawks. Having disposed of a too rapacious government, it is our next duty to drive the smuggler out of the field with the view of thoroughly reconstituting the department upon a commercial basis. To do this we must lower our rates *per saltum*, and to do so effectively and safely we must adopt the principle of uniform charge.

The Court of Directors, it is said in official circles, have their doubts upon the principle of uniformity, and believe that till our means of intercommunication are extremely advanced, its adoption will be unsafe. We think it not difficult to show that there are no grounds to support this belief.

Suppose an uniform rate established to-morrow, and the effects in stimulating intercourse to manifest themselves as they would undoubtedly do in a degree, from the first. Activity of communication would not spring up at once through the length and breadth of the country, but successively extend itself from the great centres, along the arteries of commerce, and thence growing by what it fed on would creep into the less frequented nooks of the land. Now our postal arrangements at present are chiefly confined to the great centres and the main arterics, and they would therefore not be prematurely taxed with an undue quantity of work which they could not undertake. They would therefore be at hand to meet the sudden change of conditions, and they would receive development and extension by the very call upon them, continuously (if rapidly) increasing, for greater assistance to the public. For let it be remembered this is not a vexatious call, but one which it is immediately remunerative to answer. No one has yet heard of a public house the keeper of which confessed himself afraid that the multitude of his customers would distract him. Yet this is at bottom the fear of the Court.

Our present arrangements outline accurately the track in which we expect the tide to rise, and we therefore have the means of draining off the water. But the very process of draining supplies us with the pecuniary means of enlarging the old outlets and constructing new ones, and thus if we manifest only ordinary energy and liveliness, the fear of an inundation is seen to be chimerical. The correspondence between Calcutta and Assam would perhaps exhibit hardly any remarkable increase the first year, that between Mirzapore and Calcutta would perhaps increase by twenty-five per cent. But it would be comparatively no trouble to meet the increased demand for conveyance in the latter case, while in the former, a similar rapid increase might seriously embarrass the operations of the Post office. But this is not to be apprehended; and therefore there is no necessity for halting in the

career of post office reform until the naturalisation of railroads.

The abstract argument for uniform charge stands thus. The items of which the costs of postage are constituted, are :—

1st Cost of receiving houses and respectable Post Masters at both ends of the line.
2d „ of sorting, arranging, and despatching the bags.
3d „ of transit.
4th „ of sorting letters for delivery.
5th „ of actual delivery by competent parties.

Now of all these the transit cost is the only one affected by distance—as a matter of course, other things out of view, the more complete our means of intercommunication, the less it is; and therefore one mode of reducing it to a minimum is that extensive introduction of fast travelling which the Court contemplate. But there are other modes also of materially reducing the cost. The man who carries a Calcutta wallet to Delhi travels twice as far as the man who carries one to Mirzapore, and therefore if each carried one letter only, it would be excessively imprudent to debit the Delhi letter with the same charge as the Mirzapore one. But if the Delhi carrier had two letters, the expence of the transit over 900 miles would be equally divisible between them, or the transit cost of each would be precisely that of the solitary Mirzapore letter going 450 miles. Now if again, the *Delhi* carrier had 200 letters, while the Mirzapore man had only one—it is evident, the transit cost of a letter to Delhi would be one-hundredth that of one to the half way station. This illustration is utterly irrespective of improvements in road. But we may prove the fallacy of making distance the ruling element of charge, yet further. To-day the Delhi wallet carries a hundred letters, the transit cost of each then is one-hundredth of the mail expense, to-morrow it carries a thousand and the transit costs of course fall to one-thousandth! In the inaccurate language of common conversation, people describe uniform postage as making the short distances pay for the long ones, and they consider the amount of the rate as struck by a sort of average. But this, as is readily gleaned from what we have said above, is far from being true or lucid. It is not the short distances that pay for the long ones, but the thoroughfares of commerce that pay for the backwoods. From Calcutta to Patna the distance is 369 miles, from Calcutta to Sylhet 332; on the present system the postage to both is the same, but as probably a hundred letters travel to Patna for one to Sylhet, it is evident, each of the former costs a hundredth part to the Post of what the Sylhet letter does—consequently in the long run the Patna mail pays for the

Sylhet on an uniform charge This however is not all. As resort to the post increases, the cost of transit diminishes in proportion to the number of letters despatched—and the adoption of a sufficiently low rate by strongly stimulating correspondence concurs to establish the validity of the uniform rate.

Under the combined influence of these considerations, it is not difficult we hope, to see how as correspondence increases throughout the country, its direct result—independent of any remarkable improvement in roads—is to diminish the influence of the cost of transit as an element of price. And lastly, when it is considered that even in the present system the diurnal or seasonable fluctuations in the cost of transit are safely neglected, by the postal charge to every place being the same all the year round; we have a right to conclude, that in practice we may in an extensive and thriving community accept the assertion that this item is infinitesimal in comparison to the other items of the postal charge. As improvements in the means of communication progress, the assertion approximates to theoretical truth.

We do not need, at this day in the world's experience, a repetition of arguments for cheapening postage as a means of increasing its amount. The ten years that have elapsed since the merchants of London felt themselves called on to establish the fact that diminished duties produce increased consumption, have seen the experiment tried under the most varied aspects and on the most gigantic scale, and always successfully. We may only allude in passing to the fact that in India too has experiment established the existence of elasticity and in this very department. Without going to the earlier changes, it suffices to record those of 1837. Previous to that year, the charge in Bengal for conveying a letter 2,300 miles was 20 annas and in Bombay 28 annas—it was then reduced to 16. All the Bombay rates for distances up to 1,000 miles were diminished by an anna, and those of Madras for distances between 100 and 1000. But on the principle of uniformity, about which there is so much hesitation now, the Government of India added to the Bengal rates, the two annas they took off from the other Presidencies! Ship postage was also remarkably reduced, and especially on parcels. Thus on a parcel of 250 tolahs the postage was reduced from five rupees eight annas to three annas. Similarly newspapers had their burden greatly alleviated. In 1836, a Calcutta paper sent to Madras cost 8½ annas and one to Bombay 11 annas; a Bombay or an Agra journal going to Madras incurred a charge of 10½ annas—all these rates were made uniform and reduced to *three* annas! Let us trace the

effects on the gross revenue from Mr. Macgregor's newly published volume on Indian statistics.

	1809-10. £	1819-20. £	1829-30. £	1839-40. £	1845-46. £
Bengal and Agra	38,707	48,937	73,745	84,272	1,11,000
Madras	14,689	18,144	26,838	30,693	40,000
Bombay	5,189	5,295	10,893	16,641	24,000

A great portion of increase must of course be attributed to the continually increasing swarm of English settlers, but in the department of newspaper postage in which the most remarkable reduction had been made, the results were almost instantaneous. The highest dawk circulation in those days was five hundred. A Mofussil Press has since sprung into life! The only two Mofussil papers then existing were the *Agra Ukhbar* which circulated about 400 dawk copies and the *Meerut Observer* which circulated 125. It is astonishing to see how rapidly the effects were felt. On the 1st January, and the 1st July 1837, the dawk circulation of some of the best conducted papers were respectively

Englishman.....	376	464
Ukhbar.....	315	398
Oriental Observer	186	236
Meerut Observer.....	25	125

Now, we have the *Delhi Gazette*, the *Bombay Times*, and the *Friend of India*, all with dawk circulations we believe above a thousand—circulations in those days thought chimerical, but now attained not only by the talent which is exerted upon the Press, but by the stimulating influence of cheaper postage such as it is.

We think therefore that there is no ground to dread the plunge into a reform based, not on pseudo liberality, but the claims of justice and the suggestions of self interest. Cheapening postage must stimulate intercourse, and increasing intercourse confirms the validity of an uniform rate. Again the uniform rate itself is the only way in which we can decidedly cheapen distant postages; it therefore tends to increase correspondence and thereby acquires additional validity from its own operation. On all hands we see concurrent influences waiting

the removal of an oppressive tax, to repay the financier with their golden thanks. Manufactures and commerce daily extend over the land despite every obstacle, and are they not to be helped, particularly when they are prepared to reward such assistance almost immediately?

The last question is at what rate is it proposed to fix the uniform postage? To determine the exact amount as a safe one, is not very difficult. When all the Government correspondence is made to pay its dues we may reasonably anticipate a great reduction in its dimensions—say one-fourth—there will then still remain, three times the amount of chargeable letters to be added as a result of the reforms proposed. There will therefore be four times the quantity of correspondence to begin with as chargeable, to form the basis of the reform. Were we then to impose one-fourth the present average income which Government derives from a chargeable letter at the rate of the uniform charge—the revenue would be in precisely the same position as it is now, with every thing to gain in prospect. It is credibly stated that the present number of letters—the chargeable ones we mean which constitute the Post Office revenue—yield on an average four annas a piece to Government—but this is a point to be accurately ascertained by the Post-master General. If he confirm the common report, there cannot be the smallest practical objection to

THE ANNA UNIFORM POSTAGE,

the specific measure for which the Indian press and public have languished for the last three years.

It is not merely however on statistical figures we would rely —though it is a notorious fact that the Post Masters General of Bengal, Agra, and Bombay have united in the support of this specific measure. The immediate increase which we are to expect is chiefly within the 300 mile circle round every spot and especially the great marts. The postage charged on this distance is already three annas; the same reasons as prevailed with the statesmen of Great Britain without distinction of party to make a saltatory reduction must also prevail with our rulers to imitate their example. A two-anna rate would not offer sufficient inducement to try the Post, and the smuggler would continue to hold his ground. England nobly dared the risk of great loss and richly has she been rewarded for her sagacity. She has held up her successful example as well as her striking arguments for our edification, and it is to be hoped not in vain.

Pre-payment of postage is the only detail of management, accompanying the adoption of a low and uniform rate, which it is necessary to allude to in the present article, because it is essentially requisite to the honest working of the proposed reduction, and a but fair concession to the government for their concessions. In fact pre-payment would be only a return to the original system of the Indian Post Office from which it is a pity any deviation ever was made. The permission to send letters "bearing" was a foolish and most objectionable innovation suggested by the Postage Committee of 1837. It might have had some influence in keeping up correspondence while heavy postage was the order of the day, but its effects may be estimated from the fact that lately about 30,000 returned letters had accumulated at the Post Office in Calcutta alone, which it cost Government 1,500 Rupees for an establishment to open and read, beside the loss of the postage. It is remarkable that at the very time when our authorities were relinquishing the pre-payment plan, the existence of the system in Bengal and Madras, and its successful working in spite of high rates of postage, were adduced in England on behalf of its adoption as a constituent item of Mr. Hill's reform. The only serious objection that we can see among those urged against it arises from the present state of the Post Office, the venality and uncontrollable negligence of the lower subordinates. There being no motive to deliver pre-paid letters and no check upon delivery, great suppression will follow, as indeed is now known to be the case. To which the answer is obvious. Such abuses must be eradicated by generally re-casting the constitution of the Post Office and reforming its management—a thorough reform which is imperatively demanded by the general voice of India, utterly irrespective of the adoption of a change in rates. The details that are essential to a Post Office reform will be fitly treated of elsewhere, and we allude to them here only to indicate that what is believed to be an evil consequent upon pre-payment already exists to a fearful extent, and must be grappled with on its own merits. Pre-payment may aggravate the evil, but there is nothing in pre-payment to originate it; if then it be suppressed by recourse to its true remedy, departmental reform, and it must be seriously looked to at once, there can be no reasonable objection to return to pre-payment as the custom of the office.

We have confined ourselves strictly to our subject, and not touched on the field of Post Office reform. There is much in the departmental management, the details of registration, the

schemes of promotion and remuneration for the subordinates by which we must endeavour to remove the venality which at present is a plague spot upon them; there is much regarding the later inventions by which the English Post Office is every day acquiring superior efficiency in simplifying its operations and securing regularity and safety—which we desire to dilate upon. But they must form the subject of another article, being essentially independent of, though supplementary to, the present.

A few words in regard to the Press. It has every reason to look forward to far more flourishing days than the present, if a comprehensive measure were passed to treat a newspaper or any other printed document of three and a half tolas weight, on the footing of a letter of one half-tola, charging it an anna for the specific service of carriage and distribution through the country. There is no need of stamped envelopes or other contrivances, to complicate the duties of government—the anna stamp wafer should be sufficient, affixed to the usual envelope put on in the Journal's office. Pre-payment of course is an essential result of the simplicity required in the operations of the Post Office. But there is nothing harsh in the sound; a stamp tax, the alternative to uniform postage which has been suggested to the journals, is equally exacting, and it will be well for the Press itself if the pre-payment line taken by Government compels it to reform the system in operation among its members, and diminish those deleterious credits that have so much contributed to demoralize society in India.

A stamp tax upon newspapers in India we hope never to see, being as uncompromisingly opposed to a tax upon the dissemination of ideas and the diffusion of public information as we are to one upon the culture of the social affections or the freedom of commercial intercourse. "There ought," says Mr. Stuart Mill, "to be no taxes which render this great diffuser of ideas, of mental excitement, and mental exercise less accessible to that portion of the public which most needs to be carried, as it were out of itself, into a region of ideas and interests beyond its own limited horizon." In England the press is stamped with a penny stamp, in return for which it obtains the freedom of the post office and may be sent dozens of times from Land's end to John O'Groat's through the post without charge. It is probable the Press has the best of the bargain, for in 1837 not less than 44 millions of newspapers passed through the English offices, the cost of which of course as a post office charge fell upon the penny-paying letters. There is no honesty of principle in this plan. If the State

performs a service to the journals, it is just they should pay it for that service. The subscriber who but for the post would not obtain the journal is rightly charged by the proprietor with the cost of the service. But in the case of stamps, the man to whom no service is rendered is saddled with a charge. True, if he like he may send the paper so stamped to any body he pleases—but how if he do not? He is not charged for a service performed, but taxed for the benefit of Government and then as if it were ashamed of its rapacity, it confers on him a privilege which he may or may not value. As a consequence of the privilege he may load the post as often as he likes with this stamped paper, giving it a vast gratis circulation doubtless, (for which the proprietor of the paper does not thank him), but contributing to swell the expenses of the Post Office. As a mere matter of finance we very much question whether with a comparatively small Press like that of India, Government would derive a larger revenue from stamps than from postages. About five or six people have the perusal of each copy of a paper in town ; let the post be free, and the gratis Mofussil readers would increase, without a corresponding benefit either to Government or the proprietor of the paper.

It is now time to conclude. We entreat the Court of Directors to re consider the official plans laid before them. It is understood that they are not satisfied with the statistics furnished. There are questions in which statesmen walk on terra firma when they shape their course by broad views and large experience, and when the desire of carefully picking out their steps, by inducing them to follow a Will o' the wisp in the form of pedantic accuracy, leads them into bog and quagmire. Figured statements are arguments that cut both ways; they are useful and convincing in the hand of the enlightened and sagacious; they are the instruments of dire mischief in the hands of those who are their slaves instead of their masters. The figured phalanx of the Post Office bore down upon Rowland Hill in stern and apparently close locked array. But the short sharp Roman sword of common sense soon broke their column, and their captured weapons were pointed at their former directors with murderous effect.

We are in this predicament. A heavy and oppressive tax is laid in India upon certain classes. The nature of the tax is such that these classes cannot obtain the co-operation of other classes to share the burden with them. Further the taxed classes have the satisfaction of seeing the people whom they desire to help them deriving the benefits *they* derive from the tax, but

through cheaper and safer channels. Beyond this, Government unsatisfied with laying a heavy impost upon these classes, participates in the benefit they derive from it, but takes the *lion's* share or four-fifths of the benefit. Lastly, when reform is solicited, a finger is solemnly pointed at a deficit as if to mark the presumption of the request, and hint the rightfulness of increasing the tax a trifle in weight.

Under these circumstances, the taxed classes come forward to propose an entire re-construction of a system so false and pernicious. They suggest that the scheme they support has been tried and proved under the eyes of the Court itself, that the principles on which it is founded involve considerations sufficiently based upon notorious local facts and that they are independent of others, which popular misconception believes essentially connected with them. They desired to impress the many moral benefits, the social progress, and the simply commercial prosperity that will flow from re-adjusting the tax. And they parallel from a glaring instance the direct fiscal returns which it is not being too sanguine to anticipate.

Between them and the Indian Government there is at bottom no conflict of interest. But there is the necessity that the Government will be under, as the first step of concession, to assess its other official departments with their postal expenses hitherto defrayed from the pockets of the public. *This payment of the value of the franked official correspondence, constitutes the difficulty, the lion in the path.*

It remains to be seen whether the Court of Directors is less magnanimous than the British parliament and will deny to the people of India a great and a just measure because for the moment it curtails the perquisites of the Government. Whether they will or not, it is certain that the inefficiency and the untrustworthiness of the Post Office department in its lower grades of subordinates can no longer be suffered to exist, loudly as they are denounced from one end of India to another, and every succeeding day exemplified by the publication of new and painful facts.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Introduction to the Bengali Language, by the late Rev. W. Yates, D. D. in two volumes. Edited by J. Wenger, Cal., 1847.

We owe an apology to the respected Editor of this truly important and useful work for not sooner introducing it to the attention of our readers. The truth is that we intended to bestow upon it something more than an ordinary notice. Already we have had dissertations on the Sanskrit, the Urdu and the Hindi; and our purpose was next to follow these up by a similar dissertation on the Bengali language and Literature—designing in time to survey the entire circle of our Indian languages and dialects. As we were meditating on the subject of Bengali, the volumes from the pen of the late Dr. Yates and his learned Editor came opportunely to hand; and then we at once resolved to make them the basis and *materielle* for our intended dissertation. But, alas, for merely human resolutions! Again and again have we been baulked and defeated in our designs by endless interruptions and nameless calls and claims on our time, attention, and strength. And not seeing for certain, even now, when our larger purpose may be carried into effect, we have determined to wait no longer; since even the briefest notice may be better than a prolonged or total oversight.

Obliged, for the reason now stated, to eschew all minutely detailed or critical remarks, we can only say, that, having carefully looked over these volumes, we can confidently recommend them to all who desire to cultivate an accurate acquaintance with the Bengali language. The grammar, which is extremely simple and lucid in its arrangement, contains every thing really useful. The reading lessons in the first volume, with the accompanying notes and vocabulary, are admirably adapted for beginners; while the second volume contains selections of a higher order, fitted for those who have made considerable advancement. The whole constitutes a complete Encyclopædic apparatus for the acquisition of the language, which the intelligent student will look for in vain elsewhere. The selections alone are worth far more than the entire cost of the two volumes. They contain, in truth, all that is choicest and best in Bengali Literature—a Literature, which, in its intrinsic worth, or rather, for the most part, its intrinsic worthlessness, bears no proportion to the capabilities of the language itself. But let us remember how comparatively little the English language contained of what is really genuine and worthy of being preserved before the Elizabethan era. And let us hope, that, from the various educational processes now in busy operation, a new and better race of native authors will arise, who will rescue their

mother tongue from the disgrace of being the vehicle of a contemptible, debasing, and even polluting literature, and convert it into a medium for the wide and diffusive communication of all that is useful in science and noble in philosophy—all that is lofty in thought, pure in sentiment, and heavenly in devotion.

With the view of doing all the justice, which our brief space will allow, to the work we shall here subjoin, first, the Author's—and secondly, the Editor's preface.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

The author of these volumes, having published an Introduction to Hindustáni, which has succeeded beyond his expectations, and in a comparatively short time reached its sixth edition ; and having been encouraged by his friends to believe that, as the study of the Bengáli is now advancing, a work upon a similar plan would be equally useful, has been induced to prepare the present work, which he now submits to the public, for the use of Bengáli students.

It consists of two volumes, the first of which is chiefly of European, and the second entirely of Native compositions. They are complete in themselves ; and it is hoped that by means of them the learner may gain a competent knowledge of the language, and if he studies them thoroughly, such a knowledge as will enable him to stand a rigid examination.

The first volume consists of a Grammar and Select Reading Lessons, with an explanation at the end.

The Grammar is divided into ten chapters, and the division is so simple that the student will have no difficulty in referring to any part he may wish to consult. Though not large, it will be found to contain all that is of importance to a correct knowledge of the language. For the use of those who may have to converse with pandits, a list of the native grammatical terms has been added.

The Reading Lessons of the first volume consist of simple sentences, fables, anecdotes, &c. which have been so arranged as to form an easy introduction to the reading of the second.

The Notes appended to the first volume will be found particularly useful to the learner, as they will present to him at once the exact sense of the word in the place where it occurs ; and thus save him from the perplexity which too often arises from having to select from a number of meanings in a dictionary, the one most suitable to the passage he is reading. He will also be able to refer to what he reads, for examples of the exact sense in which particular words are used.

The second volume contains, in a condensed and corrected form, the best parts of all the native prose compositions in Bengáli.

When a person commences the study of any language, he is anxious to know what books it contains, and what prospect he has of meeting with any adequate reward for his labour. To the student in Bengáli the promise of remuneration is not flattering ; for although the language itself is a noble one, capable of expressing almost any idea with precision and force, yet there are in it at present very few books.

Little, however, as it may contain of native composition, every one studying it, whether for purposes of traffic or religion, will wish to be acquainted with that little, not for the sake of the ideas communicated, but for the sake of learning how those ideas are expressed, and what may be considered the peculiar idiom of the language.

Next to the desirableness of possessing what the Natives have written, it is of importance to a learner to possess the whole in an arranged form. It requires some knowledge to determine which books are easiest and which most difficult to read, which ought to be read first and which second ; and it is no small advantage to him to have them laid before him in the order in which they ought to be read. To this particular attention has been paid, so that each book has been placed in the order in which it ought to be read, beginning with the easiest and proceeding gradually to the more difficult.

Another advantage arising from this work will be that the most indelicate and disgusting passages are omitted. It would have been well if every vestige of idolatry could have been removed, but that was impossible. While purified from the most offensive parts, there will still be enough left to remind the reader that the writers were not Christians. It is however of consequence, when necessitated to read such writings for the sake of acquiring a correct knowledge of the language, to have them free from the most impure and defiling passages.

Here the philanthropist will see what is the real state of Bengal in regard to literature. He must understand that up to the period when Dr. Carey commenced his labours in 1800, there was scarcely a printed book in the language. And from that time to the present there has been, with the exception of religious books and tracts, scarcely one work of original native composition; nearly all that have been printed have been translations from Sanskrit, Persian, or English.

We may hope from this time that the scene will begin to brighten, and that from among those whose minds have been stored with knowledge by the study of European literature and science, some will rise up who will enrich their native language not only with excellent translations of standard works, but with original compositions which will shew that they have drunk deep at the fountain of true knowledge.

In the meantime it will not be without its use to have collected into a small compass all that the language contains of general literature up to the year 1840. It will be useful as furnishing materials to form a correct estimate of the past, and will at the same time fix a point from which the progress of future generations may be fairly calculated. Would that the eyes of Bengáli youth might be fixed on this second volume, till they blush for the literature of the past, and resolve with all their hearts that their language shall present to the world something better for the future.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The peculiar circumstances under which the present work is published, render it necessary for the Editor to append another preface to the preceding.

When the lamented Author left India in June 1845, never to return, he made over to the Editor all his literary manuscripts, and gave him his last directions concerning them. With reference to this work he said, "Here I have collected the materials for an Introduction to the Bengáli Language, but the whole is in so imperfect a state, that I fear it would entail too much labour upon you to publish it during my absence; I shall therefore only request you to keep all the papers until my return." Two months afterwards, when the intelligence of Dr. Yates's death reached Calcutta, the Editor was naturally led to examine the papers referred to. He found that the Grammar, the preface, and the table of contents to the second volume were prepared; and he also discovered some materials intended for the Reader, with a few hints respecting their arrangement. It may therefore be said that the author wrote the Grammar, and furnished the plan for the whole, whilst the Editor must be responsible for nearly all the rest.

In the Grammar he has ventured to introduce a few corrections and additions, especially in the Syntax; but taken as a whole, it is Dr. Yates's work. The materials prepared for the Reader by Dr. Yates consist of the first three or four pages and most of the anecdotes in chapter IV. The remainder has been supplied by the Editor, chiefly from the Calcutta School Book Society's publications: he has also ventured to add a chapter of scriptural extracts, being persuaded that it is likely to be of great use to the student of the language. Respecting the Explanatory Notes, he is by no means certain that they are such as Dr. Yates intended them to be: in the absence of any special directions he has been guided by his own judgment, aided by the experience derived from twelve years' practice in teaching various languages, both ancient and modern. His object has been to encourage the learner by meeting every difficulty that may present itself to him, but to be sparing in repeating the same explanation: how far that object has been attained, and the advantage of the student secured, can be determined only by those who may use the work. An ordinary critic may discover much that to him appears to be redundant; whilst the beginner may be glad to find his numerous

difficulties lessened. The alphabetical Index of words will, it is hoped, not only assist and strengthen his memory, but also render it wholly unnecessary for him to have recourse to a dictionary in reading the first volume.

The second volume contains the pieces selected by Dr. Yates himself. It appears from the preface that he intended to re-write several or most of them: thus the Editor has not presumed to do; he has only made a few occasional alterations, when the original readings were either obscure, or too offensive to be borne, or calculated to lead to erroneous conclusions respecting the idiom of the language. His unwillingness to make alterations has arisen from a conviction that it may be useful to the learner to become familiar with every description of style, whether pure or faulty; partly because in conversing or corresponding with Natives, he will meet with a faulty style more frequently than with a pure one, and partly also because it is very difficult to decide which kind of Bengálí style deserves to be called pure. Owing to the extent of the second volume, no explanatory notes have been appended to it; the student will therefore be obliged to have recourse to a dictionary and to the aid of a pandit.

At one time the Editor intended to prepare a vocabulary to match the work, but on further reflection he relinquished the task, not only on account of its difficulty and tediousness, but also because some valuable dictionaries are already in existence. Among these the best, as far as it goes, is *Morton's*; it contains, however, only those words which are derived from the Sanskrit. Dr. *Carey's*, in three quarto volumes, is by far the most copious, but rather unwieldy. For ordinary purposes *Marshman's* abridgment of it, and *Mendies's* dictionary are the most handy. Unfortunately the Editor is not acquainted with *Haughton's* dictionary; but he supposes it to be worthy of that eminent scholar.

It may perhaps not be out of place to offer a few remarks on the best plan to be adopted in studying the Bengálí language. The greatest difficulty, that of learning to read, has to be encountered at the very outset. The student will do well to go carefully, with the aid of a native teacher, through the first six pages of the grammar; and after that to read, at first merely as an exercise in reading, the select sentences which follow the grammar. Let him not be discouraged if he should find that it requires several months to learn to read fluently: others have found it so, and can bear testimony to the consoling fact, that no subsequent difficulty is half so great.

Whilst pursuing the above course of reading, let him by degrees carefully study the declensions, p. 11—16. As soon as he has mastered these, he will be able, with the aid of the explanatory notes, to understand and translate many of the select sentences. He should go through these sentences once and again: he will feel encouraged by finding that he can make out the sense; and they will by degrees convey to his mind some idea of the structure of the language, and a fair knowledge of the most useful words and phrases. Many of them are expressed in the familiar rather than the book style, with a view to enable him to understand the common colloquial language more readily than would otherwise be the case. Whilst going through these sentences, let him, after learning the declensions, study the regular conjugation, p. 35—37, and p. 43, 44. Next let him master the pronouns, omitting in the first instance the inferior forms contained in p. 28. When he knows the declensions, the regular conjugation, and the pronouns, he will begin to see his way, and be able to devise his own plan of going through the whole of the Grammar and Reader.

In studying the Grammar he will derive little benefit from a pandit, beyond learning from him the proper pronunciation of the word as they occur; he should therefore study it mainly by himself. On the other hand he may with great advantage avail himself of the aid of a native instructor in going through the Reader; for the native teacher will not only impart to his pupil the proper pronunciation, but also contribute largely to extend his knowledge of words and phrases by endeavouring to explain or paraphrase those that occur in the book. On this account a pandit who is wholly unacquainted with English generally proves more useful than one who, having a smattering of it, endeavours, from mere politeness, to give his explanations in that language.

Such is the practical plan, which, in the opinion of the Editor, will prove the

shortest way of obtaining a fair acquaintance with a language which is spoken by as many people as any of the languages of Europe. Those who wish to study it critically, will find it necessary to master the structure of the Sanskrit: but even such students will soon discover that a previous acquaintance with Bengálí, as recommended here, is a most useful preparation for that arduous task.

Should the expectations expressed in the Author's preface be realized, the Editor will feel himself compensated for the time and labour bestowed upon a work, which no other consideration than the claims of friendship could ever have induced him to undertake.

To these sober and judicious counsels we have nothing farther, for the present, to add. Our earnest wish is that the lamented Author's expectations may be fully realized; and that the excellent Editor may thus live to see the day, when, in addition to his possessing the delightful assurance of having satisfied the claims of friendship, he may enjoy some foretaste of the fruition of his labours in the visible growth and progress of a new and improved indigenous Literature

The Burnet Theological Prizes.

In the home Journals and Periodicals, the following statement has had a very extensive circulation. Not having observed any special notice taken of it by the Press of India, it has occurred to us that some of our readers would be gratified by being furnished with so important a document As the competition is open to the whole English speaking world, who can tell but in the far East some one may be found, whose genius may be stimulated and his learning summoned forth by so munificent a prize? It may be in the remembrance of some of our readers that the last treatises which won these Burnet prizes, in 1814, were by the late Principal Brown of Aberdeen and Dr. Sumner, now, Archbishop of Canterbury—the former having gained the first, and the latter the second of the prizes. Both works were published, as required by the will of the Testator, and enjoyed a considerable share of popularity;—that of Dr. Sumner, under the title of "The Records of the Creation," being, perhaps, the more popular and successful of the two. The object itself it is needless for us to attempt to recommend: it thoroughly recommends itself. And with all the new light which has been thrown on the domain of Nature, whether we survey the heaven above, or the earth beneath, within the last *forty* years, we may confidently anticipate that the treatises which earn the Prizes in 1854, shall be of a character, both as regards style and substance, vastly transcending those of 1814.

A gentleman deceased left by his deed of settlement a considerable fund to be applied by his Trustees, at intervals of 40 years from 1774, in the payment of two Premiums, for the best TREATISES on the following Subject:—

"The Evidence that there is a Being, all Powerful, Wise, and Good, by whom everything exists; and particularly to obviate difficulties regarding the wisdom and goodness of the Deity; and this, in the first place, from considerations independent of Written Revelation; and, in the second place, from the Revela-

tion of the Lord Jesus; and, from the whole, to point out the inferences most necessary for, and useful to, mankind."

The amount of the fund to be so applied cannot be less, at any period, than £,1,600, and, as nearly as can be ascertained, it will on occasion of the next competition, be about £2,400. Three-fourths of the fund divisible at each period are appointed, by the terms of the bequest, to be paid to the Author of the Treatise which shall be found by the judges, to be named as after-mentioned, to possess the most merit; and the remaining fourth to the author of the Treatise which, in the opinion of said judges, shall be next in merit to the former, "after deducting therefrom the expense of printing and binding three hundred copies of each of the said Treatises, or of purchasing three hundred Printed Copies thereof, as the said Trustees shall direct to be distributed by them among such persons to whom they shall think the same will prove most useful, or in any other manner that they shall judge proper." These Prizes form, it is believed, the most liberal encouragement ever held out in this way for the promotion of Natural Theology, and will, it is hoped, elicit performances of corresponding value, which may contribute to the farther advancement of that science.

The Trustees, deeply sensible of the importance of the Founder's design, and anxious, as far as lies in them, to do full justice to his wishes, venture to give an assurance that, in appointing the judges at the proper time, nothing will be regarded but that eminence of character and qualification which shall secure an impartial and satisfactory decision.

The Ministers of the Established Church of Aberdeen, the Principals and Professors of King's and Marischal Colleges of Aberdeen, and the Trustees of the Testator, are appointed to nominate and make choice of three judges, who are to decide, agreeably to certain rules prescribed in the deed of settlement, upon the comparative merits of such Treatises as shall be laid before them; and it may be proper to mention that, to discourage mean performances, the judges are empowered (if unanimous only,) to find none of the Treatises produced of sufficient merit to entitle the writers to the premiums. The Trustees, however, believe that in the present state of the literary world, this is a contingency which can scarcely occur.

The time allowed by the Testator for the composition of the Treatises for the next periodical competition, extends to the first of January, 1854, and his Trustees do now intimate, in compliance with his appointment, that those who shall become Competitors for the said Prizes must transmit their Treatises to ALEXANDER and JOHN WEBSTER, Advocates in Aberdeen, agents of the Trustees, in time to be with them on or before the said first day of January, 1854, as none can be received after that day; and they must be sent free of all expences to the Trustees.

The judges will then, without delay, proceed to examine and decide upon the comparative merits of such Treatises as shall be laid before them, and the Trustees will, at the first term of Whitsunday, after the determination of the judges, pay the Premiums to the successful Candidates, agreeably to the will of the Testator.

As it tends much to an impartial decision that the names of the Authors should be concealed from the judges, the Trustees request that the Treatises may not be in the handwriting of their respective Authors, nor have their names annexed to them. Each Treatise must be distinguished by a peculiar motto; this motto must be written on the outside of a sealed letter, containing the Author's name and his address, and sent along with his performance. The names of the successful Candidates only shall be known by opening their letters. The other letters shall be destroyed unopened. The writers of the successful Treatises may afterwards have them returned, by applying to Messrs. WEBSTER or the Trustees, and by mentioning only the motto which they may have assumed.

Letters addressed as above (post-paid) will meet with due attention.

Aberdeen, 23d March, 1847.

The new Missionary Quarterly.

THE work of Missions to the heathen has now become one of the *great facts* of the age. Having survived the era of ridicule and scorn it now bids fair to enter ere long on an epoch of triumph. The grand object contemplated is in itself heavenly and sublime; and even the secondary benefits that attend the progress of this cause, are of a description to arrest the attention of all philanthropists, whose views rise no higher than the *material* interests of humanity. Many of the men who embarked on the Missionary enterprize, have proved themselves to be of a high order of intellect as well as piety. In every important walk of Literature, Science and Philosophy, there have been those amongst them who have pre-eminently distinguished themselves. And the published works of not a few of their number have enjoyed no ordinary popularity, while those of others have taken a foremost rank in the domain of scholastic erudition.

It has, however, often been remarked that, while the separately-published writings of individual men have thus attained a well earned celebrity, the *periodical organs* of Missionary Societies and Churches, have continued to occupy a somewhat low position in the realm of Literature. And this, with regard to the greater portion of them, must in candour be freely admitted. They usually consist of threadbare items of intelligence and journals of itineracies abounding with tame and monotonous repetitions—with little or no attempt to classify facts, elicit principles, or establish any available generalization. This probably has been not the effect of choice, but the spontaneous result of circumstances. The monthly records and registers of missions have hitherto been mainly designed for their immediate friends and supporters; and of these, if not the great majority, at least an immense proportion, consist of the humbler members of the Christian Church, whose zeal and piety shine forth more conspicuously than their learning. But be the cause what it may, the fact is undoubted, that up to the present time, Missionary *periodic* Literature, considered merely in a *Literary* point of view, has been at a low ebb. It has not, on the grounds of literary merit, been enabled to find for itself a way into the great and wide spreading circles of reflective and meditative men. This we have often felt to be a great calamity; more especially when we thought of the amount of cultured ability and literary power already devoted to the Missionary cause. We therefore rejoice to have it in our power to announce to the friends of Missions in India, that this grand and long felt desideratum is now at length about to be supplied. The following statement will explain itself. And, when we add that the Editor of this new quarterly is no less celebrated a man than Isaac Taylor, author of the Natural History of Enthusi-

asm, we have said enough to recommend it to the attention of every member of an enlightened and intelligent public.

TO COMMENCE 1ST JANUARY, 1849,

THE QUARTERLY REPOSITORY OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS

At the instance of individual members of the several Evangelic Missionary Societies that are in accordance as to the broad principles on the ground of which the Gospel should be carried forth among the Heathen, the Periodical Work now announced has been undertaken.

As none but the highest objects are to be kept in view in this instance, and as no ends are to be subserved which do not commend themselves as substantially good to every Christian heart, it will be a rule to admit upon the pages of the work that only which, in the *genuine* sense of the term, is Catholic.

It is intended, in the first place, to bring together, to combine, and to condense, whatever is the most characteristic and important relating to the progress and the prospects of Christianity at and around the several Missionary Stations throughout the world. This mass of selected information, derived from the Correspondence of Missionaries immediately with the Editor, would sometimes be presented in the language of the writers; and sometimes it would be digested, so as to embody, within the compass of a few pages, a consistent account of whatever bears upon the progress of the Gospel within specified geographical limits. It will be a rule, in making available for the purposes of the QUARTERLY REPOSITORY any communications from abroad, to exclude what may be of ordinary quality, and, in its general character, of frequent occurrence; as well as whatever may, on any just grounds, be thought liable to doubt, either as to its absolute authenticity, or its exactness.

In the next place, it is intended to devote a portion of the Repository to Papers—meditative or practical, of a sort adapted especially to the perusal of Missionaries themselves, actually labouring abroad; regard being had also to the benefit of those at home who may be intending and preparing so to do. Much importance is attached by the projectors of the work to this department of it; and, therefore the attention of those whose contributions may be invited, is, in this pointed manner, directed towards it.

In the third place, as there is always an interchangeable Correspondence running on between the Evangelization of Heathen Lands, the Settlement of new Countries, and the Progress of Science, it is wished that, for the sake of higher objects ever kept in view, this connexion of things sacred with things secular should not be lost sight of. An intelligent Missionary, while employing his best energies in his proper field of labour, may be able incidentally to note and to record many facts relating to the physical peculiarities of the country wherein he sojourns, to its geological features, to its productions, to its Flora and its Fauna, which may have escaped the eye even of the most observant and best instructed travellers.

Notices and Reports of this sort, Missionaries are therefore invited to supply; and it is hoped, by this means, and in the course of time, to render this compartment of the work a highly valuable repository of materials, flowing in from the numerous Stations of six or seven Societies, scattered over the world, and many of them occupying spots that are the least known or frequented. From the reports and incidental remarks of educated Missionaries, information may especially be looked for, bearing upon the history and physical characteristics of the different races of the human family, and upon the derivation and mixture of languages.

A Treatise on Arithmetic, exemplifying the principles of its fundamental Rules. Part I. Abstract Numbers. By J. A. Wilson;—Madras, 1848.

This treatise is so similar in design to that of Mr. Newmarch, which we recently—(No. xvi. p. xxxiv.) had the pleasure of introducing to the favorable notice of our readers, that a very few remarks, and those chiefly of a comparative kind, will suffice for our present notice. All that we said in regard to the design of Mr. Newmarch's work is equally applicable to that of Mr. Wilson's. They are almost identical, and both have our hearty commendation. We presume that Mr. W. composed his work in ignorance of the existence of Mr. N.'s: and probably, had he known of its existence, he would not have deemed it necessary to lay the present performance before the public. As it is, those who require such a work may take their choice. To our thinking, Mr. N.'s is, upon the whole, preferable to Mr. W.'s; and this for the one grand reason, which with us is all in all, it seems *simpler*. This merit, in our estimation, more than compensates for a considerable number of errors, some of which we took occasion to point out in our former notice. The treatise now before us seems free from such errors, but then it is not so simple throughout as the other.

The work of composing such a work seems to us to bear a considerable resemblance to that of translating from one language to another, which every one knows is not an easy task. In point of fact it is neither more nor less than translating from the language of Algebra, the most concise and accurate of all languages, into the *diffusa oratio* of ordinary speech. Now the former of these languages being one that addresses only the eye, and being capable of being read in an indefinite number of ways, the translator has to make a choice of the best of these ways, or rather the one that is most suitable to his purpose. To illustrate what we mean, let us take a very simple algebraic expression; for example the following:—

$$\frac{m\,a}{n\,b} = \frac{m\,a}{n\,b}$$

We might *read off* this expression, or express the truth contained in it, in any of these ways, and in many others m times a, divided by n times b are equal to m divided by n, multiplied by a divided by b; or thus—If of two quantities multiples by any numbers be taken, the ratio of these multiples is equal to the ratio which is compounded of the ratio of the original quantities, and the ratio of the numbers expressing the multiples;—or thus, If the numerator of a fraction be multiplied by one number, and the denominator by another, the result is the same as if the fraction were multiplied by

another fraction, whose numerator is the former, and whose denominator is the latter number; or thus, If the product of two numbers be divided by the product of two others, the result is the same as if the product were taken of the quotients resulting from the division of one factor of the divisor by one factor of the dividend, and of the other factor of the divisor by the other factor of the dividend; or thus, The product of two fractions is equal to a fraction whose numerator is the product of their numerators, and whose denominator is the product of their denominators. We might multiply indefinitely the modes of expressing the same truth; but these modes are sufficient to illustrate our meaning. Every one can see that the *neatest* of all these expressions is the first; but yet for the purpose of explaining to a learner any of the arithmetical truths taught in the formula, it is the worst of all; in fact for this purpose it is utterly useless. Now the tact of the writer of a work intended to explain the principles of arithmetical operation will consist in his ability to seize upon the very best reading of the algebraical formula in which these principles are wrapped up. We need scarcely say that in order to do this, he must have long accustomed himself to take a large view of the bearings of these formulæ, and hence we see the absurdity of supposing that a very small stock of mathematics is sufficient to make a man a good arithmetical teacher.

We should not advocate the introduction of metaphysics into a work like that before us: yet we think its author might have rendered the nature of number somewhat more intelligible than he has left it; or at least he might have shewn what constitutes the difficulty in understanding it: and this would have been a great point gained, for it is often nearly as important to know that we do not know any particular thing, and why we do not know it, as it would be actually to know it. We believe we are very apt not to give boys credit for all the capacity of accuracy of conception that they possess. We believe for example that all boys can be made to comprehend that the product of two numbers, regarded merely as number has no definite meaning, and we believe also that if they were distinctly made to apprehend that when we speak of the product of two numbers we always mean a certain number of *things* taken a certain number of *times*, they would have a more accurate, and if we may use the expression, a more *hearty* understanding of the process of multiplication. Let not our readers suppose that we desire to lay profane hands upon the multiplication table, or to tell our sons that 2 times 2 *are* not 4. All that we would tell them is that when we say that 2 times 2 are 4, we mean neither that the number *two* taken *twice* makes the number *four*, nor yet that two cheese-cakes or pop-guns multiplied by two cheese-cakes or pop guns make four cheese-cakes or pop-guns, but always that two cheese-cakes, or pop-guns, or horses, or men, or nations, or planets, taken two *times*, are four cheese-cakes or pop-guns or horses or

men or nations or planets. In one word that the product of two numbers always means, and can mean nothing else than, a certain number of *things* taken a certain number of *times*. Into one of the errors which we have indicated Mr. Locke seems to have fallen when he speaks of "repeating the idea of an unit, and joining it to another unit, and so making thereof one collective idea, marked by the name two." Into the other every tyro falls when he accepts the challange to multiply £999-19*s*. 11½*d*. by £999-19*s* 11¾*d*. It seems to us that it would not be difficult so to *work into* a boy's mind an accurate conception of the nature of number, that he should not be in danger of falling into either of these errors. Of this we are certain, that very much depends upon the manner of a boy's initiation into the science of numbers—very much, not only of his advancement in that science, but very much also of his accuracy of thought on all subjects whatsoever.

The India Review and Journal of Foreign Science and the Arts—Vol. VIII. Old Series, Vol. I. (and last) New Series. Calcutta, 1847.

We need not make any apology to our readers for introducing this volume to their notice, as its name is well worthy of a place in our miscellaneous list of Indian publications, and itself of a place on the shelf of every Indian library. The history of the *India Review*, and of its amiable and respected originator and quondam editor, is not unknown to our local readers. On his departure from the presidency, or rather, if we mistake not, on Lord Ellenborough's cutting the bond between all servants of the Hon'ble Company and the Press, the Review passed into the hands of a gentleman in Calcutta, who has collected within the volume before us, a great amount of important matter of a literary and scientific kind, and has embellished the whole with very numerous pictorial illustrations of a very high order of excellence. The number of lithographic portraits, figures and diagrams, is so great, that only a very large subscription-list could have defrayed the charges of the publication, and this the editor did not attain. It was not in him, any more than in other "mortals, to command success," but we have no hesitation in saying that he fully "deserved it."

The volume before us will be of great value to those who long hence shall seek to illustrate the history of Bengal in our times; as they will find in it a vast amount of information respecting the "men and things" amidst whom and which we live. The biographical notices are especially interesting, and will become still more so when the subjects of them shall have passed away. The portraits that accoompany them enhance their value; in every case the likeness being admirable.

We are given to understand that a few, and but a few, copies of this volume are to be had at the booksellers; and, in our opinion, those may account themselves fortunate who are in time to secure them.

A short account of the Materia Medica of Patna. By R. H. Irvine, M. D., Civil Surgeon. Printed by Order of Government. Calcutta: W. Ridsdale, Military Orphan Press, 1848.

THIS is a work of such palpable utility, in a professional point of view, that it requires not a syllable of recommendation at our hands. Were every Military, and especially, every Civil Surgeon in India to follow the praiseworthy example which Dr. Irvine has set them, our knowledge of Indian topography, both general and medical, might, long ere now, have been well nigh complete. Dr. Irvine has heretofore distinguished himself by the diligent application of his talents and learning to the elucidation of subjects of practical and scientific importance. Besides occasional contributions to Literary Journals, we have before us now his truly admirable and comprehensive account of the general and medical topography of Ajmír—a work, that has never had the justice done to it, which it so eminently deserves. And now, as the fruit of his active and accomplished mind, we have his account of the Materia Medica of Patna. With respect to it, all that we mean, at present, to do, is simply to furnish the author's own preface, with a single page to exemplify the *manner* in which the work has been executed:—

"In making investigations as to the nature and properties of the Native medicines most in repute at Patna, great labour and much disappointment had to be undergone. A very great number of substances that were brought forward were absolutely inert and useless.

Materia Medica comprises chiefly the study of remedies, their natural character, their sensible qualities, their effects upon the living system, the theory of their action, and their application to the treatment of morbid affections; forming so many subjects of description or investigation. Divided into such branches is Materia Medica studied in all the schools of civilized countries. In Patna, however, as in other parts of India, the Materia Medica of the Native practitioners is formed on empiricism, superstition, and licentiousness. The result of the empiricism is the general and successful application of very numerous simple remedies; the results of the superstition and licentiousness are frequent death. The Natives unacquainted with Chemistry never consider the medicinal powers of natural bodies as connected with that science. From this they lose the great advantage of being able to extract the peculiar principles constituting the efficiency of many bulky and inconvenient substances. The same ignorance also entirely precludes that proper combination in prescriptions by which the proper addition of one substance may modify or give increased activity to another.

In regard to the Materia Medica of Patna, the fact applies here as elsewhere that many productions now imported are really indigenous; but, indolence and ignorance have prevented their discovery.

Here also, almost every wealthy inhabitant becomes impotent or in a state,

tending to that from excessive early dissipation, and as such, people will pay well for relief, a great number of substances are employed in a very preposterous manner with the view of benefitting in that way, hence a large part of the Patna Pharmacopœia, consists of substances employed for their supposed aphrodisial virtues.

Nearly all the articles of real efficacy used by the Natives are found in our own Pharmacopœia, such as gamboge, impure calomel, pure corrosive sublimate, arsenious acid, senna, cassia fistula, sulphur, mercury, opium, musk, castor, croton tiglium, rhubarb, turbeth root, jalap, impure potash and soda, the impure mineral acids, and several others.

The general nature of their prescriptions is ridiculous in regard to combination and quality of materials.

Such, however, as are the numerous substances sold by the punsaries or native apothecaries, still, though generally very cheap and easily procured, they are constantly adultered, being under no regulation and liable to no investigation whatever; they are at liberty to injure the lieges of the Hon'ble Company, to a full extent, and especially the quantity of arsenic and other poisons sold is terrible to think of.

The latter evil might be greatly obviated by placing all the punsaries under certain proper restrictions; compelling such to bring a written list with small accompanying specimens, twice a year, to the Civil Surgeon for inspection; and levying a fine where the articles were not genuine; and by compelling punsaries to bring a written account of all the worst kinds of poisons sold, with the names and residences of the purchasers, once a month, to the Magistrate. At least, at Civil and Military stations, something of this kind might be effected.

I now subjoin the four hundred and eight articles of any consequence as medicines, selected from the Patna Native apothecaries.

This account of the Patna Native Materia Medica was drawn up to accompany a box containing the 480 specimens of every article described, and carefully arranged for reference when desired.

In all cases the native opinion regarding the action and doses of these remedies has been entered. Some of the articles are ridiculous in application or nearly inert; while many are efficacious, and in the hands of the superior hukeems are applied in reference to qualities nearly in accordance with modern scientific views.

These articles were selected from the "punsaries'" shops at Patna, and, comprise all that possess any energy, per se, or implied efficacy by collateral influence of magic.

In relation to the general state of the native practice of physic, the higher Hindu castes act the most wisely in rejecting interference altogether, and holding with Pliny, that "omnis morbus lethalis aut curabilis; in vitam desinit aut in mortem. Utroque igitur modo medicina inutilis; si lethalis, curari non potest; si curabilis, non requirit medicum; natura expellat;" and they live or die resigned and contented.

But by far the greater number of sick are a prey to native "mountebanks, empirics, quacksalvers or wizards, barbers, and old women."

Quibus loquacis affatim arrogantiæ est,
Peritiæ parum aut nihil!

The community having full faith in the Paracelsian adage, that relief depends not so much on remedial action as upon psychological imbuement through the medium of the preparer; so that with them

Hellebrorus curat; set quod ab omni datus medico, vanum est!

The native surgery of Patna is at a still lower ebb than the native physic; and of both of the most numerous and inferior order of professors it may be truly said—

Chirurgus medico quo differt? scilicet isto,
Enecat *hic* succis; enecat *ille* manu."

The following is the first page, containing *a specimen* of the work itself:—

Names, English and Country.	Botanical Names.	Remarks.
No. 1. Asgandh, Isgandh. Ashwaragandha. आश्वगंध اسگندھ	Physalis. Flexuosa.	root used in substance and decoction as diuretic and deobstruent. Dose from ℈ss. to ʒi. in powder. Price per lb. 0 3 4
No. 2. Amahuldi. Amada. Mangoe Ginger. आमाहलदी اماهلدي	Curcuma. Amada.	The root used as carminative and to promote digestion. Dose from ℈i. to ʒii. Price per lb. 0 1 8
No. 3. Anisun. आनीशुण انيسون	Pimpinella. Anisun.	Imported and used as carminative and to promote digestion. The seed— Dose from ℈i. to ʒii. Price per lb. 0 5 0
No. 4. Agusti. Agati Grandiflora. Œschynomene Grandiflora. आगश्तः اگست	Agati Grandiflora. Œschynomene. Grandiflora.	The bark used in infusion as febrifuge. Dose ʒii. of the infusion. Price per lb. 0 2 0

A Dictionary, Hindustani and English, to which is added a reversed part, English and Hindustani. By Duncan Forbes, L. L. D., Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in King's College, London, &c

THIS work, which only issued from the London Press, towards the end of June last, we are anxious at once to introduce to the notice of our oriental readers. It is in the form of an exceedingly handsome royal octavo, of about nine hundred pages, with excellent paper and a remarkably clear and beautiful type. By his grammars and other works on the Hindustani and Persian languages, Dr. Forbes has heretofore conferred an invaluable boon on all the students of oriental Literature. But this Dictionary crowns the series as his *magnum opus;* for a *great* work we have no hesitation in pronouncing it, whether we regard its vast utility to the learner, or consider the immense amount of labour and practised skill brought to bear upon it by the author.

Our *present* object being simply to notify to our readers the completion of a work, to which, while yet in a state of preparation, allusion was made in a former number, we shall satisfy ourselves by extracting the greater part of the author's explanatory preface Respecting the first part of his work, he thus writes :—

"A Dictionary, Hindustani and English, accompanied by a reverse part, English and Hindustani, has hitherto been a desideratum in this country. It must be obvious that it is indispensable to a student of a foreign language, desirous of speaking and writing, as well as reading it, that he should have not only the words of that foreign language explained in his own, but the words of his own tongue rendered into that foreign language ; and that a Dictionary, intended to assist translation into both languages, which wants either counterpart, is essentially defective.

After more than twenty years' experience in the study and teaching of Hindustani, which has convinced me that deficiency, added to the exorbitant prices charged for Hindustani Dictionaries, has greatly impeded learners, I have endeavoured to remove this impediment by compiling a Dictionary of the principal colloquial language of India at once copious, portable, and of a moderate price. These objects have been attained, without any real sacrifice, by using a small but clear and distinct letter-press ; by employing the Roman character wherever it answered the purpose better than the Oriental ; and by excluding every thing not practically useful, and which is therefore an incumbrance, to the learner. By these means I have been enabled to compress into a single volume, of convenient dimensions, both parts of the Dictionary, including, at the same time, not only more words, but more information really useful to the student, than will be found in any Dictionary of the language hitherto published.

It is proper, and will be expected, that I should give a brief account of the authorities to which I am indebted for the materials of this Dictionary, and of the mode in which I have compiled both its parts. The basis of the first part is the "*Dictionary Hindustani and English,*" in 2 vols. 4to., published by William Hunter, M.D., Calcutta, 1808. Upon this foundation I have superadded at least fifteen thousand words and phrases from the following sources :—1st. A vast number of useful words, both Urdū and Hindī, from the eccentric, but copious vocabulary appended to Dr. Gilchrist's "*Hindi Moral Preceptor,*" 8vo. London, 1821. 2nd.

All the useful words and phrases occurring in Gladwin's "*Dictionary of Mahomedan Law and Bengal Revenue Terms*," 4to., Calcutta, 1797. 3rd. A great number of new words from "*A Glossary of Indian Terms*," 8vo., Agra, 1845, by H. M. Elliot, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. 4th. Many Persian and Arabic words, occurring in Hindustani, from Professor Johnson's edition of Richardson's "*Persian and Arabic Dictionary*," 4to. London, 1829. 5th. Several thousands of Hindī words from Dr. Adam's "*Hindi Dictionary*," 2nd edition, 8vo. Calcutta. 6th. From the Vocabulary accompanying the "*Prem Sāgar*," 4to., Calcutta, 1825, I have extracted all such words as were not found in Hunter's Dictionary. 7th. From Thomson's "*Hindi and English Dictionary*," royal 8vo., Delhī, 1846, I have culled many pure Hindī or Sanskrit words not to be found in any of the sources above mentioned. 8th. I have inserted in their proper places all the words occurring in the Appendix to the "*Dukhni Unwari Soheili*," printed at Madras, 1824; also many words from the "*Qanoon e islam*," by Dr. Herklots, London, 1832. To the materials collected from all these sources I have added numerous words, phrases, and significations that I have met with during a long course of experience in teaching the language.

There is in the India-House Library "*A Dictionary English and Hindostani*," by a Dr. Harris, printed at Madras in 1790. Of this work I have not availed myself, simply because I did not wish to extend the size of the volume by the insertion of words of very questionable utility, more especially as the text-books in which the Company's servants in Madras are examined are the same as in the other presidencies; viz. the *Bāgh o Bahār Ikhwānu-s-safā*, *Akhlāki Hindī*, and *Guli Bakāwali*. In fact, the military language of the Deccan differs, so far as I can perceive, in only a few trifling peculiarities from that of the north: the first is in the optional use of the particle *ne* in certain tenses of a transitive verb; the second is the addition of a termination *ān* to masculine nouns in the nominative plural, which is a decided improvement worthy of imitation I may add a third peculiarity, which consists in a very free use of English military terms, as may be seen in a valuable work by Capt. Edward T. Cox, of the Madras Army, entitled the "*Regimental Moonshi*," 8vo. London, 1847.

In the way of retrenchment, I have rejected from Hunter's work all long quotations from the poets, which merely served to increase the bulk of the volume, without benefitting the student. I have also excluded the parenthetical clauses denoting the derivations of Arabic and Sanskrit words, given by Hunter. To those who know any thing of Arabic and Sanskrit, such derivations will appear superfluous; to those who do not, they are useless and perplexing. An etymological dictionary of the language would no doubt be valuable if properly executed; but in that case the derivation and affinity of *every word* in the language ought to be ascertained. Hunter and his followers have not attempted to throw the least light upon those words which form the substratum of the language—I mean such as are not traceable to Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit.

I have been enabled to save a vast deal of space by making a free and legitimate use of the Roman character, according to a fixed system—that of Sir William Jones. The economy of this plan will be seen at once by a reference to the word آنکھ *ānkh*, "the eye," where I have in one column given as much matter as the large works furnish in four or five, by rejecting the Oriental type, which is not only a saving of room in itself, but has enabled me to use a much smaller Roman type after the first line of every article. The use of the Roman character alone in all phrases and compounds, &c. originating from the leading word (as, for example, under آنکھ), is a little likely to cause error as if the Persian character accompanied it throughout. Every Roman letter has its corresponding symbol in the Persian and Devanāgarī characters; hence there can be no difficulty or uncertainty in converting any of the three characters into either of the others. If the reader has the least doubt on this score, he has merely to cast his eye over the following tables."

Then follow the tables shewing the correspondence of the vowels

and consonants in the Persian, Roman and Devanagari characters. These we would fain insert for the benefit of our readers—glad to have so high an authority as that of Dr. Forbes in favour of the system of representation to which, on principle, we have all along professed our strong and unalterable attachment. But the subject is one of such importance that we have often meditated the design of preparing a separate article upon it And as that design has not yet been abandoned, we postpone any farther references at present. The *only* difference between the system pursued by Dr. Forbes and ours, is, that the learned Doctor adopts the horizontal dash (–) to represent the *long* sound of the vowels, while we, in rigid accordance with the practice of Sir W Jones and the Society of which he was the founder, retain the accent. (')

As a specimen of the *first* part of the work, we here give its commencement :—

"ا *alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet ; in numeration it counts one. *a* or *a-kāra*, the first elementary sound in the Sanskrit alphabet ; it is a name of God, or *Vishnu*. As an inseparable particle prefixed to a word, it signifies negation or privation, as *adharm*, injustice, from *dharm*, justice ; *adhan*, poor, straitened in circumstances, from *a*, and *dhan*, wealth, treasure. It is akin to the *alpha privatirum* of the Greek, the *in* of the Latin, or the *un* of the German and English. As in Greek, it becomes *an* before a vowel, as *an-anta*, endless or without end.

اب *ab*, now, presently, just now, a little while ago ; by adding *kā*, *he ki* it forms an adjective, as *ab-kā zamānă*, the present time. *h.*

اب *ib*, thus, as, in like manner. *s.*

اب *ab* (contract. from ابو), a father. In Hindūstānī, the plural is of most frequent occurrence, as in *abā o ajdād*, fathers and grandfathers, ancestors. *a.*

آب *āb*, m. water, splendour, elegance, dignity, lustre (in gems), temper (of steel, &c.), edge, sharpness (of a sword, &c.). The word *āb* in Persian is used in a great many metaphoric and idiomatic expressions. *p.*

ابا *ibā*, m. denial ; *ibā-k*, to refuse, deny. *a.*

ابا *abā*, fathers, pl. of *ab*, q. v. *a.*

ابابیل *abābīl*, m. a swallow. *a.*

اباحت *ibāhat*, f. permitting, giving liberty. *a.*

آباد *ābād*, cultivated, peopled, pleasant ; full of buildings and inhabitants ; used in composition in the sense of city or *ville*, as *akbar-ābād*, the city of Akbar, or *akbar-ville*, the city of Agra. *p.*"

Respecting the *second* part of his work, Dr Forbes thus writes .—

"In the compilation of the second part, my principal authority is Dr. Gilchrist's "*Dictionary, English and Hindustani*," 2 vols. 4to. with Appendices, Calcutta, 1787, re-printed, &c. Edinburgh, 1810, in one volume, 4to. The merits of this work have been amply appreciated by Hindustani scholars for more than half a century. The first orientalist of the present day speaks of it as "a work of great

merit and labour : the collection of Hindustani synonyma for every word is singularly full, and peculiarly adapted to a language which, varying in the use of words, though not in structure, in every province, abounds with synonymous terms, each of local and restricted employment. The whole (edition 1810) is in the Roman character, a singularity in its compilation which alone is indicative of no ordinary industry and perseverance." Such being the case, I have as a general rule availed myself of all the words occurring in Dr. Gilchrist's Dictionary, subject, however, to a strict course of correction. In Dr. Gilchrist's early days, the Hindustani language was in a manner unformed, and its orthography unsettled ; hence, in a multitude of words he gives the long ū (oo) instead of the short u, and *vice versâ*. I have throughout endeavoured to follow as my guides on this head the standard writers of the language, such as Mir Amman, in the "*Bāgh o Bahār*;" Ikrām 'Ali, in the "*Ikhwānu-s-safa*," &c. &c. To the very copious collection furnished by Dr. Gilchrist, I have added several thousands of Persian and Arabic words (known to be used in Urdū) from the "*Dictionary, English, Persian, and Arabic*," by Dr. Wilkins, London, 1810, 4to. From Adam's "*Dictionary, English and Hindoo*," I have extracted many pure Hindī words which escaped the notice of Dr. Gilchrist. I have also found many useful words and phrases in the "*Dictionary, English, Bangālī, and Hindūstānī*," of P. S. D'Rozario, Calcutta, 1837, 8vo. Lastly, I have added numerous synonymous and expressive words and phrases which my own experience has supplied.

It will probably be thought that the second part of this Dictionary errs on the side of excess ; but I have deemed it the safer course to run the risk of inserting a superfluous or even a *vulgar* word, rather than omit one that could by possibility occur in writing or conversation. It must be recollected that the Hindustani is, in more senses than one, a *vulgar tongue*, and that it abounds in a class of words, for the eschewing of which the great Dr. Johnson is said to have been once complimented by a certain elderly lady. I have excluded many such words ; and if it be found that I have still retained too many, my humble excuse is, that the people of India speak and write more plainly than modern Europeans.

In Part First, compound words are generally to be found under the first or leading member of the compound ; at the same time, it is proper to observe that the Hindustani language is capable of admitting or forming thousands of compounds not to be found in any dictionary ; hence, the learner should bear in mind the more general rules of composition, as laid down in any good grammar of the language. The same remark applies with regard to the rules for derivation, particularly those relating to the formation of causal verbs and abstract nouns.

The few contractions used throughout the work are the following : The letters *a*, *p*, *s*, at the end of many definitions, denote that the word is from the Arabic, Persian, or Sanskrit, respectively. The letter *h* distinguishes such words as are aboriginal or purely Indian ; and *d* such as are peculiar to the Deccan (dakhan) ; the few words marked *t* and *g* are of Tartarian and Greek origin respectively. The other contractions are m. denoting the masculine gender ; f. feminine ; a. an active or transitive verb ; and n. a verb neuter. The letter v. imports vide, and pl. the plural number.

In Part Second, and occasionally in Part First, the following contractions are used in the formation of compound verbs ; *k*, for *kurnā*, "to make ;" *h*, for *honā*, "to be, to become ;" *j*, for *jānā*, "to go, to be ;" *r*, for *rakhnā*, "to keep, to have ;" *d*, for *denā*, "to give ;" *l*, for *lenā*, "to take ;" *d*, for *dālnā*, "to throw ;" and *b*, for *bândhnā*, "to bind." These, with the exception of the first two, are chiefly used in the formation of intensives, and consequently they have then laid aside their own primitive signification. As a general rule, compound words have their parts or members separated by a hyphen, thus, *dil-nishīn*, *tan-durust*, *sar-gardān*, &c. Such compounds, when transferred into the Oriental characters are optionally written entire as one word, or distinct as two. The short *i* denoting the Persian *izāfat*, is indifferently written either as the last letter of the governing word, or separately between the two words, as *dardi sar* or *dard i sar*, the sense being abundantly obvious either way, as no Persian word ends in the short *i* except it be in a state of construction with that which follows.

I have avoided cross references, which are very embarrassing to the learner, retaining only those in which the word referred to is either close at hand, or is attended by a long explanation which it would be needless to repeat.

I have been told it has been suggested that the second part of the work should have been given in the Persian character. Had it been so, I must, in the first place, have added the pronunciation in Roman characters to each word, which would have swelled the work to six times its present size; in the second place, omitting the Roman character, I must have given all the vowel marks and other orthographical symbols, which would have extended it to at least ten times its actual bulk.

In conclusion, I have only to add, that amidst such a mass of small letters, it will not seem surprising that an occasional error of the press should occur. I trust, however, that the number of such errors is small, and I am confident that the generous and experienced (and it is their good opinion I am ambitious to obtain) will not deny me their indulgence."

In conclusion, we know not whether to congratulate the author most on the successful execution of his important work, or the oriental learner on the great facilities which the easy possession of such a work must afford him in the prosecution of his studies

Narrative of services in Beloochistan and Affghanistan, in the years 1840, 1841 *and* 1842. *By Colonel Lewis Robert Stacy, C. B., Bengal Native Infantry, Aide-de-camp to her Majesty, &c. &c.*

From the perusal of this simple and unaffected, manly and straightforward narrative we have risen with deep impressions of the pre-eminent services rendered by the author to the British Government, at one of the most critical periods of its history in India; and with mortifying impressions of the utterly inadequate manner in which these services were acknowledged or requited by the State. We would vastly rather be the author of Colonel Stacy's grand and bloodless achievement in Kelat, than have our name enrolled in the annals of Military renown as the conqueror of Sabraon. Indeed, the former achievement we regard as one of the finest triumphs of moral heroism to be found in Civil History; and, for its successful accomplishment, requiring mental and moral qualities of a higher, nobler, and rarer order than those demanded by the exigencies of an ordinary battle. Interesting as the narrative is throughout, that portion of it which relates to the peaceful victory at Kelat is that which will be found invested with a permanence of interest to the statesman, the philosopher, and the philanthropist. In putting on record the details of his remarkable proceedings at Kelat and their distinguished success, the author might well adopt the language of the Roman Poet:—

> Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
> Regalique situ pyramidum altius.

For the details themselves we have no space, but, in justice to the

ill-requited author and as a seasonable monition to the powers that be, we here subjoin his own concluding and modest summary :—

"A concise summary of the transactions recorded in the preceding sections will place those transactions, and my services in relation to them, clearly and distinctly before the reader.

The khanat of Kelat, having been taken by our forces under Major-General Willshire, towards the close of 1839, was made over to Meer Shah Newaz, the nominee of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk ; and Shah Newaz entered into a close alliance with the British Government. His rule, however, was distasteful to the chiefs and people, who, in the succeeding year, expelled him from Kelat, of which place, possession was taken by Mir Mahomed Nassir Khan, the only legitimate son of the late Mehrab Khan, and the British Government was set at defiance by them.

The retention of the country below the Bolan Pass in our interests and under our control was, at this juncture, of such importance to the security of our forces in Affghanistan and to the policy adopted by the British Government towards the countries bordering upon the Indus, that our envoy and minister at Cabul, the late Sir William Macnaghten, deputed Major-General Nott to retake the fortress of Kelat, which he accordingly occupied (finding it deserted) in 1840, and, leaving a garrison there, he returned with his army to Candahar.

The country of Kelat was at this time pervaded by an almost universal spirit of bitter hostility to the British, emanating from a deep-rooted distrust of our faith, or rather a conviction of our perfidy, owing chiefly to certain occurrences, detailed in the Narrative, which placed the British character in an equivocal light. The young khan, Mir Mahomed Nassir, after abandoning Kelat, was still encamped, with a small force of Brahues and Beluches, a short distance from the capital ; the sirdars, to a man peremptorily refused to submit to our supremacy, and the fierce, semi-barbarous tribes, who inhabited the country between our encampments to the north of the Bolan Pass and the Indus, maintained a harassing, desultory warfare, which threatened our communications and confined our occupation of the country to those spots upon which our camps were actually pitched. All the efforts of the British political agent in this quarter (the late Mr. Ross Bell) to establish a good understanding with the khan, to conciliate the chiefs and tribes, and to tranquillize the country, through which all the supplies from the Indus must be drawn, were completely baffled by this general repugnance, founded not merely upon an apprehension of our power and a suspicion of our motives, but upon a firm belief in our treachery ; a sentiment which would have alienated civilized nations, and which makes ignorant and warlike people the deadliest and most dangerous of foes.

In this state of things, I spontaneously tendered my services, offering to go in the midst of these turbulent, irritated, and suspicious tribes, and endeavour to extinguish their hostility and mistrust, and teach them juster notions of our character. I was accordingly commissioned to negotiate with the khan and chiefs of Kelat, the objects in view being to induce them to submit to the supremacy of the British Government ; to bring the country into a state of tranquillity, and to prevail upon the young khan to disband his army (thereby placing himself entirely at our mercy,) and to wait upon the British political agent, in order to make arrangements with him for the future administration of the khanat. For the accomplishment of these important objects, I was provided with neither a military force to coerce the people, nor money to bribe the chiefs ; I went unattended by a guard, or even a single sepoy ; I trusted to no other protection than honesty of purpose, and employed no other force or influence than reason and persuasion.

The manner in which this very difficult and somewhat perilous office was successfully executed is minutely detailed in the Narrative (which will not be without interest to the students of human character), as well as the unexpected embarrassments thrown in my way, whereby the difficulties and perils of the negotiation were greatly aggravated ; and, perhaps, few diplomatic agents were

subjected to severer trials of temper and discretion. Disregarding all personal sufferings and sacrifices, by a steady perseverance in the course of action which I deliberately adopted, I had the satisfaction of succeeding in all my objects. The predatory and desultory warfare was suspended (not a hostile shot having been fired in the country since I entered upon my mission); the khan was placed upon the throne of his ancestors; the Brahue and Beluche tribes were taught to rely implicitly upon the honour and integrity of a government which they had previously distrusted and were converted from bitter enemies into confiding friends.

The sincerity of the khan and his chiefs, and the success of my negotiations, were severely tested by the calamitous events at Cabul, in 1842; but so firmly had I established throughout the country a trust in the British name and power, that these disasters, which cast a temporary cloud upon the lustre of our arms and tempted some of our allies to desert us, had no effect upon the khan and chiefs of Kelat, who even repelled the solicitations of the Shahzadeh Sufter Jung and the sirdars of Candahar to join them in a religious confederacy against us. In the hour of our supposed adversity (to use the words of Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General of India), "the Court and chiefs of Kelat remained firm in their allegiance;" and although Beluchistan had, for eighteen months before, inspired the Indian Government with anxiety, if not with alarm; at a time when the whole of Affghanistan was in arms against us, animated by a contagious spirit of enthusiasm, to which a British army appeared to have fallen a sacrifice, the country beyond the Bolan Pass, inhabited by restless and barbarous tribes, had been soothed into unwonted tranquillity. It was, I believe, generally admitted that, if I had not succeeded in bringing in the khan of Kelat, and conciliated the Brahue and Beluche sirdars, not a man of our army above the passes would have returned to India.

Meanwhile, the success which had attended my negotiations with the khan and chiefs of Kelat, attended, or rather facilitated, my exertions in the Bolan Pass, the free passage of which became, in the unfavourable position of our affairs, a matter of vast importance, since this formidable defile was the route by which alone reinforcements and supplies could be sent to the beleaguered garrison at Candahar. For upwards of four months, I was engaged in the arduous task of completing arrangements with the tribes between the foot of the pass and the Indus, who had a multitude of real or colourable grievances to allege against the British authorities, and which had inflamed their animosity to the highest pitch. After much difficult negotiation, the Bolan Pass was opened; our convoys were permitted to traverse it without molestation; the Doda Murris, the most powerful of the tribes, and whose hostility was the most inveterate, were brought to accept our terms; treaties were concluded with them, with the Bugtis, the Dumkis, and other principal and minor tribes, the result of which was, their complete subjection to the authority of the khan, our ally, and the entire cessation of hostility and extinction of enmity on their part towards us; so that the country, singularly fitted by its physical features and the habits of its population to be the nest of political disorder, and which in 1840 was a scene of tumult and bloodshed, presented in 1841 the aspect of a settled and peaceful province.

The beneficial effects of this state of things, the fruit of my labours in Beluchistan,—brought about at a pecuniary cost utterly insignificant in amount,—were not restricted to the mere pacification of this particular country, and the transmutation of a vindictive people, mistrustful of our faith, into steady adherents to our interests; they exerted a material moral influence upon the operations of Major-General Nott at Candahar, whose bold and magnanimous movement from that city upon Ghuzni and Cabul would have been scarcely practicable but for the opening of the communication between Candahar and the Indus, and the tranquillization of a country which, in its former state, would have rendered the safety of all our troops above the Bolan Pass problematical. It will be seen from the Narrative, that General Nott, a man not prone to exaggerate difficulties, told the Government that the check experienced by Major-General England at Hykulzye (and which, I repeat, in my opinion, would not have happened if my suggestion had been

seceded to) had produced a great moral effect throughout the country, and "had added considerably to the difficulties of his position."

The influence which my success, and I may justly add the means whereby it was attained, gave me amongst the chiefs and tribes of Beluchistan, operated (if I may so speak) as a species of talisman, in the march of Major-General England from Quetta to Candahar, the communication between which city and the posts to the south was completely closed, owing to the enemy's having taken possession of Killa Abdulla. It was of essential importance that this communication should be re-opened, and my acquaintance with the local chiefs, and especially with Mir Salu Khan, who held paramount authority, enabled me to bring them over to the British cause, and they were conducted by me, in the train of Major-General England's force, to Candahar. The arrangements I had made with these chiefs were sanctioned and ratified by General Nott, and, to repeat the acknowledgment of Major Rawlinson, the able political agent at Candahar, they "provided for the re-opening of our dāk communication with India, and maintained that communication regularly and uninterruptedly during the remainder of our stay at Candahar."

The re-opening of this communication is an incident in the history of this critical campaign which attracted the keen and experienced observation of the Duke of Wellington, who, in the House of Lords, passed a high eulogium upon the measure, the importance of which could not escape his discernment, although his Grace was not, of course, aware of even the name of the individual who had rendered this service.

In the triumphant march of Major-General Nott from Candahar to Ghuznee and Cabul, I had an active share in all the actions with the enemy, and after the arrival of that force at Cabul, I was selected to command the detachment furnished from General Nott's army for the expedition into the Kohistan of Cabul. In the attack on Istaliff, which has been described as one of the most brilliant and decisive actions of that campaign, I commanded the left column of attack, which, it will be seen from the Narrative, did eminent service both at the fortified village of Emullah and at the fortress of Istaliff, the strongest place in Affghanistan. If the army of Aminulla Khan had not been so effectually disposed of at this place (the killed alone of the enemy amounted probably to 1,000), they would have followed and harassed us as we retired, and occasioned our encumbered army much trouble, and perhaps considerable losses.

As it was, on the march of the British forces from Cabul to Peshawur, various attempts were made by the mountain tribes to impede their progress through the tremendous defiles. During this most painful and difficult march, my brigade was every day in the rear (the most arduous position, as even non-military men must know, in a retiring army), and in the Jugdulluk Pass, which has acquired a fatal celebrity, the second brigade, which I commanded, is entitled to almost the entire honour of having saved, by my arrangements, many lives, besides a large portion of the baggage and commissariat supplies, together with the Somnath Gates, a very precious, but a most cumbersome and embarrassing charge, and which nearly fell into the hands of the enemy. In the march from Lundi Khana to Alli Musjid, the most dangerous and critical of all, owing to the desperate determination of the enemy, who saw their expected prey escaping them, and were elated by their success the evening before over a portion of Major-General M'Caskill's force, I was specially ordered by General Nott to take charge of the baggage, guns, gates, &c. My dispositions kept the enemy in check, and brought the long and heterogeneous train of baggage, supplies, artillery, and gates, together with the troops I had in charge, unharmed into Alli Musjid; and in the onward march from thence to Jumrud, the Narrative will shew that my resources were again most severely taxed to provide against the assults of the Kyberries. On one occasion, I was obliged to act, though junior brigadier, upon my own responsibility. It is always difficult, and sometimes presumptuous, to predict what would have happened if certain measures had not been taken; but I am justified in affirming that, if I had not, upon that occasion, strengthened the picquets and rear-guard

with two regiments of my own brigade, the enemy *might* have cut in upon the gates, baggage, and godown, and inflicted upon us a severe loss of reputation as well as of property. I assert this with the more confidence, because it was generally acknowledged in the force that, but for the second brigade, the Somnath Gates and the greater part of the baggage would have been lost (besides the disgrace of a reverse) in the Jugdullak Pass, in that of Lundi Khana, and near Alli Musjid. At Jugdullak we had no orders, yet that affair has never been mentioned in any public despatch.

None of these transactions, indeed, have found any but a very penurious record in the official reports of General Nott. It is mortifying to the officers employed in Sir William Nott's army to observe the extraordinary contrast between his official reports and those of Sir George Pollock; the latter, full, complete, excluding no action or name from notice that had the smallest pretension to such a distinction; the former, brief, meagre, defective, and parsimonious. This contrast is not, however, a source of mortification merely, but of injury, inasmuch as it necessarily led to an incorrect estimate of the relative merits and services of the two divisions of the force, and by an inevitable consequence to an unequal distribution of those honours and distinctions which legitimate and much-coveted reward of military services. The disapprobation of the distinctions conferred upon the officers of the two armies is enormous, being, perhaps, ten to one in favour of Sir George Pollock's.

When the distribution of honours to the Candahar force was promulgated, conceiving myself (as well as other officers of the second brigade, who had been entirely overlooked) to be unfairly treated,—having had the hardest work; having been taken several times out of my roster of duty, marching my brigade every day in the rear from Cabul to Jumrud,—I first addressed myself to Sir William Nott, calling upon him to see me righted. In his answer, he congratulated me upon my having received the Companionship of the Bath (for which I am most grateful), and declared that he made his reports of actions and officers according to the best of his judgment, and could not interfere with the arrangements of Government in the distribution of honours. It seems difficult to understand how, if Sir William did not interfere,—that is, did not recommend and point out the respective claims of his officers,—he discharged his debt of justice towards those who had so heartily co-operated with him and assisted him to win the high distinctions he received. Disappointed in this application, I made an appeal to the Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough), and, failing there, I drew up, in July, 1844, a Memorial to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East-India Company, which I transmitted through the proper channels, setting forth the nature of my services, and soliciting that, through the Honourable Court, a representation of those services might be made to Her Most Gracious Majesty, whereby I might obtain such a mark of the royal approbation as my zeal and success might appear to deserve. In my letter to the Governor-General in Council, which accompanied this Memorial, I ventured respectfully to urge that, of the many difficult, yet successful, duties performed by me, both in the political and military departments, no adequate notice had been taken either by the Honourable Court or her Majesty's Government; and added as follows:—

"I am a cadet of February, 1804; have often been a volunteer, when active service was to be performed,* from the taking of the Cape in 1805-6. I was more recently a volunteer in the Army of the Indus, and served through the whole of the Trans-Indus campaign, from 1838 to 1842. During this period, it is my pride to say, that, as my opportunities of military service were frequent and of moment, so have they ever been successful, though frequently unacknowledged. And here I would beg most respectfully to remark that the different mode of proceeding observed by the two generals (General Pollock and General Nott) towards the

* I may mention that, in October, 1840, when Major-General Nott was preparing to move against Kelat, I volunteered to lead all storming parties; and again, in 1842, when the general resolved to move from Candahar upon Ghuzni and Cabul; in both instances, General Nott, who was much pleased, accepted my offer.

officers under their respective commands, as regards the notice taken of their individual merits in their reports, must not only have left many officers of General Sir William Nott's force reason to complain of neglect as regards distinction, but must also have led to an erroneous estimation of the comparative services of the officers of the two armies by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor-General, the Honourable the Court of Directors, and the Home Government."

This Memorial has hitherto been ineffectual.

Let it not be supposed or suspected that there is any desire on my part to detract in the slightest degree from the merits of the late Sir William Nott, or to carp at the honours and distinctions bestowed upon him. His conduct merits the highest praise; he was brave and intelligent, and deserved all the Government gave him, perhaps even more; for by his gallant and adventurous move upon Ghuzni and Cabul (and the resolution was exclusively his own) he retrieved his country's honour. He may, nevertheless, inadvertently, have neglected an essential duty of a commander, that of bringing fully to the notice of the ruling authorities and of the public the services of his subordinate officers, and thereby caused temporary injustice, which it is still in the power of the Government to repair.

The design of this Narrative does not require that it should be pursued further. I may, however, briefly add that I commanded a large brigade at the battle of Maharajpore, near Gwalior, on the 29th December, 1843; that at the great and decisive action with the Sikhs at Sobraon, on the 10th February, 1846, I had the command of the 3rd brigade, belonging to Major-General Dick's division, and was ordered by Lord Gough to lead the advance against the enemy's intrenchments, which were forced by my brigade; that on the fall of Major-General Dick, at the fourth gun, on the right of the entrance, the command of the division devolved upon me, and I continued to command it until the close of the battle, at the passage of the Sutlej, while in the enemy's country, and up to the termination of the campaign."

In conclusion, we may state, what indeed might be fully anticipated from his generous and chivalrous character, that Colonel Outram, the political agent for Sindh and Beluchistan, at once recognized and keenly appreciated the distinguished services of Colonel Stacy in Kelat, yea more, that he did his very utmost to secure from the Supreme Government "the acknowledgment so justly due, for the untiring zeal and indomitable courage with which he (Col. Stacy) pursued his object to a successful termination." This earnest and magnanimous attempt to notify, accredit and reward the rare merits of a political subordinate, is only one of the many leaves that form the laurel crown which has long adorned the brow of him, whom his rival and antagonist (Sir C. Napier) in one of his generous and soldierly moods, pronounced "the Bayard of the Indian Army," in other words, "the knight without fear and without reproach."

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., TYPS, NO. 7, MISSION ROW.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Historical and Statistical Sketches of Aden in Arabia Felix, during a two years' Residence in that Colony. By an Officer in the Queen's Army. Madras: 1848.

THIS is evidently the production of a poetical spirit. The author we can imagine to be one who denounces the age as unpoetical, who seeks to be useful in prose, having failed to take Parnassus by storm. If such be the case, the "Officer" has done wisely; and it is with some satisfaction that we introduce his "Sketches" of an important Colony to the readers of this *Review*. Some sixty-three years have elapsed since Dr. Johnson, during his memorable tour to the Hebrides, remarked at Lord Haile's, that "it is wonderful how ignorant many officers of the army are, considering how much leisure they have for study, and the acquisition of knowledge." The liberal Boswell hoped the moralist was mistaken. But the *Rambler*, although, doubtless, prejudiced against the possibility of literature or general knowledge flourishing among the Sons of Mars, was not entirely in the wrong. He was, if we may so express it, *unfairly* right. For it is decidedly unfair, in general society, to judge officers of the army by the same code as men of other professions, or of no profession at all, as regards ordinary literature and general knowledge.

Military education is entirely *unique;* and influential Journals and voices have long been, and are still, denouncing the various systems pursued among the British, as poor and insufficient. We will let them speak and write on, to make military education better if they can.

This should form the basis of the *civil* argument. To go beyond it is uncharitable. For, as to the inclination to study, and the state of general knowledge among the officers of the army, we would ask, how many are there of those not in the military profession in England, who, when they have finished their education at School or College, or fitted themselves for the calling they are to pursue in life, are inclined to indulge much in literature as an amusement or gratify the noble ambition of becoming wise and sensible through the continued acquisition of knowledge?—Very—very few!—Comparatively speaking.

When a military Officer enters society, too much is often expected from him. He must be the perfection of a man; or he is nothing. In society he becomes the darling of the ladies, and the butt of the learned; for ignorance is totally incompatible with the dignity of scarlet and gold.

The military Officer—the young one especially—is as much a marked man amid the worldly throng as he is among the enemy in the field of battle; and so his reputation for knowledge and all the superior powers of pleasing must suffer accordingly.

This is a natural evil. And it is one which, among Military Officers, must always be submitted to.

When a volume is published, "by an Officer in the army," worldly social critics become not so difficult to please. They probably say, on glancing at the title page: "Yes!—I dare say a good thing; written by some light-headed, light-hearted, good-humoured, *hairum-scairum* sort of a fellow!" The unfairness and folly of such judgment require not the slightest comment. And even after the persual of the work an *officious* and unwished-for indulgence is often given by the critic—simply because the author happens to be *a military man*. This is unfair to the dignity of the service, to the defenders of an empire, which, notwithstanding the impolitic speeches of some men of the present day, can never uphold its glory simply by loaves and fishes, and letting the men of war and the fortifications look out for themselves.

A writer in the *Quarterly Review** is much too severe when he remarks: "It is no libel upon our young Officers to say, that if 'they do not form the worst-informed and most dissipated section 'of the class of society to which they belong, a very high degree of 'credit is due to them. For at the most critical period in the life 'of man they are not only cut off from all ordinary means of self-'improvement, but they lie open to every conceivable inducement 'to sensual indulgence and folly." If a portion of this general censure be applicable to the Queen's army, we have yet to test the truth of it with our own eyes and experience. In our casual intercourse with "Queen's officers" in India, we have been unable to observe any general inferiority relatively to others of the class of society to which they belong. The conversation may not be on literature and the fine arts. Too much of that would be as unbearable and out of place as too much of what is vulgarly called "shop" at a mess-table. The disinclination of the Officer to talk on such subjects "at mess," accompanies him into general society. So we think it but fair that the Queen's Officer, or Company's Officer, or any Military Officer whatever, should be conducted to the critic's own study—there to let *him* form a just standard of the man. In judging the extent of knowledge and literary inclination among Military Officers, it should ever be kept in mind, that they are equal to others in at least this respect, viz. the average in numbers of those who have the *will* or the *pleasant inclination* to study. And on the degree of this inclination the superiority of any man in any class of society in a great measure depends. In India, at least, re-

* After an excellent dissertation on the subject of Military Education.

giments, of both services, are furnished with book clubs—to which young Officers may pay a subscription on entrance;—in a well-managed book-club there is a splendid field for the acquisition of knowledge. The great fault among book-clubs, or regimental libraries, in general, is the redundancy of flimsy and badly selected romance, and the want of sufficient standard works of reference. Should the Military Officer seek to become author, he must turn for the works that never die to his own library, or he *must* borrow them from his friends. This is often the case. But it can generally be avoided by some literary tact or display of good taste evinced by the secretary.

We dare say our readers, and the "Officer in the Queen's Army," will agree with us in some of the few and imperfect remarks we have now made: notwithstanding they have taken up the greater portion of the space we intended for the notice of the "Historical and Statistical Sketches of Aden." At the commencement, we alluded to the poetical strain of the little work now before us—the production of one, who, according to the Preface, "laboured under circum-' stances of peculiar difficulty, amid the turmoil and bustle of a Camp, ' subject to repeated but often unavoidable interruptions." We shall now entertain our readers with a portion of the "Introduction" nearly the whole—the appearance of Aden from the Sea:—

"The dark and towering rocks were becoming gradually more distinct, though no human habitation, nor anything possessing the least claim to animal existence could as yet be distinguished. Towards evening, however, the promontory of Aden with its spiral and ashy-looking rocks, rising in curious and fantastic shapes, one above the other, frowned on us as we approached. Verily, a fitter region for the residence of his infernal majesty, or for Cain, (who is said to have ended his days there,) could hardly have been selected.

No appearance of vegetation could we see, unless, indeed a solitary tree of stunted growth, that, leaning forward peered at us from the rocky fissures above. Kites stood perched upon the desolate rocks like birds of ill omen expecting prey, and voracious sharks darted along the surface of the waters pursuing their finny victims. Presently the tall masts of the ships in harbour, with here and there a huge steamer —were to be descried; and the neat looking houses of the Political Agent and of the Military at Steamer Point—became visible. We anchored shortly afterwards in the Bay, and the setting sun which had assumed a crimson hue bestowed a parting kiss on the brow of Aden's rocky cape."—*(Introduction, pages 5 and 6.)*

In citing this passage we think we have given the best, in point of composition, in the whole work. In it we find some power of description: but there is too much of *a poet's frenzy* about it; and the whole would read better as a series of hexameters. Then we should have something like

> "Wheresoever I look'd, there was light and glory around me;
> Brightest it seem'd in the *East*,* where the fair town of Aden glitter'd."†

The peninsula of Aden, "or Arabiæ Emporium, as it was termed by the Romans" says our author, "is bounded on the North by

* Eastern Hemisphere. † Altered from Southey.

'Arabia Felix, whilst its remaining sides, viz. South, East, and 'West are washed by the sea of Babel Mandeb, which signifies the Gate of Tears." This last mournful boundary causes us to start from the commencement of the work—(to which we refer the reader for much valuable local, historical,* and statistical, information)—to the Royal Officer's most graceful and most poetical conclusion, which all proceeding to Aden by the Overland route, but particularly young Officers of the Army who are to be stationed there—whether they will or not—should bear strictly in mind. Of Aden, says the Officer in the Queen's Army:"—"Ye disciples of Epicurus go not 'there; gaiety, beauty, luxury, and revelry never hope to find! Avoid 'it ye sons of Genius—the soaring eagle cannot love the confine-'ment of a cage. In vain be imaginative in such a place, the 'flowers of your fancy would soon, alas! 'waste their sweetness in 'the desert air'—of Aden!"† *(Page 112.)* Now that the "soaring eagle" has fairly escaped from his cage, we hope that he will use his talent and research in the production of something better and more original than these "Historical and Statistical Sketches."

The lithographs in the work, if local productions, do little credit to Madras; but, on the whole the pamphlet has been neatly printed and well got up by the Christian Knowledge Society's Press—where, in addition to Mr. Pharoah's *Athenæam Library*, we dare say it may be had for the moderate charge of *three rupees.*

Aden is a colony speedily increasing in importance. But that importance may not have been, had "Tancred" been Governor of Arabia Felix.

Romance has fled before the power of those wonderful machines which walk the water, "like a giant rejoicing in his course"‡

Some of the early Portuguese accounts of this colony, which we once glanced at, are extremely interesting and romantic. The following description of the "city and kingdom of Aden," given by the celebrated traveller Marco Polo, nearly 800 years, may not be uninteresting to some of our readers:—

"This country is subject to a lord, called sultan. The people are all Saracens, adoring Mohammed, and wishing the greatest mischief to Christians. There are many cities and castles; for Aden is the port to which the Indian ships bring all their merchandise. It is then placed on board other small vessels, which ascend a river about seven days, at the end of which it is disembarked, laden on camels, and conveyed thirty days farther. It then comes to the river of Alexandria, and is conveyed down to that city. By this route alone its inhabitants receive their pepper,

* In the 2nd Chap. will be found a very good description of the Advance of Syed Ishmael, in August 1846,—when the enemy were repelled by the vigorous measures of Colonel Milner, H. M. 94th Regt.—commanding Aden—"an Officer of great merit."—(Page 64.)

† "The greatest length of Aden is about 5½ miles, its breadth varying from 2 to 3 miles and upwards."—Page 2.

‡ Canning's Speeches at Liverpool.

spices, and costly goods.* From Aden, too, ships sail for India with various goods, especially very fine and valuable horses, which, as you know, are sold there for full a hundred marks of silver. The sultan draws a great revenue from the duties on these cargoes ; and is thus one of the richest princes in the world. But, I assure you, he did great injury to the Christians ; for when the governor of Babylonia attacked and took the city of Acre, committing much devastation, he was assisted by this prince with 30,000 horses and 40,000 camels. This aid was given rather out of hatred to believers than good-will to that prince."†

The importance of Aden, it is well known, partly consists of the fact, that it is a coal and store depot, for the facility of steam communication, between Suez and Bombay. These two ports are not less than three thousand miles from each other. Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, is about 1,323 miles from Suez ; it is therefore a most convenient position. The climate is, on the whole, healthy ; water apparently scarce ; and provisions dear. The Arabs, we believe, have entirely discontinued their attacks on the place ; and, with an increasing trade, Aden seems destined to flourish. In 1840, the express from London to Calcutta came in *forty-two days*—then considered "The shortest period on record."‡

On the 13th of November, 1848, the express arrived in Calcutta from London in thirty-six and a half days! Truly, Steam, like Time, is working wonders.

* "The splendour and prosperity of Aden in this age is confirmed partially by the oriental writers, and more fully by Barbosa. Moore draws from it the image—

"Blooming as Aden in its earliest hour."

This wealth was derived, as here stated, from its being then the main channel by which the Indian commodities reached Europe by way of Alexandria. At that time, it appears, large vessels did not venture upon the intricate navigation of the Red Sea, and their cargoes were discharged at this city. After the passage of the Cape, and the improved navigation by which they were enabled to ascend, Aden sunk into a mere place of refreshment for seafaring persons. In this view, and as subservient to steam navigation, the British government have recently purchased it, but find it difficult to maintain against the barbarous tribes of the interior.

"In all the early editions, including Pipino and Gryneus, the Red Sea is by mistake called a *river*. The Arabic term *bahr*, water, is issued indiscriminately in this sense, and in that of sea or lake. This circumstance often causes confusion, and might easily mislead our traveller. In Ramusio, it is properly called a gulf. He, or another modern editor, might easily have the information necessary to make this correction. The voyage is also stated at twenty days, a more suitable time."

† "The sultan here alluded to is supposed to be Saladin, the celebrated ruler of Egypt; for Cairo was in that age called Babylonia, having, after the fall of Bagdad, become the capital seat of Mohammedan power (Boni, p. 467) The French, Crusca, and the Paris Latin give no date; but Pipino, Gryneus, and Ramusio have 1200. The true one was 1187; but they might be giving a round number, without attempting precision."

‡ Quoted from a Calcutta Journal in the Sat. Magazine, Aug. 1841.

The Cornet's Assistant, by M. J. Turnbull, Lieut. 7th Bengal Cavalry,—Calcuta 1848.

We are always glad to find that the young Officers in the Company's Service consider it worth their time and attention to study the language of the men under their command; and judging by the number of Officers who have within the last five or six years qualified themselves to discharge the duties of an interpreter, we think that the several orders which have been issued for the purpose of inducing Officers to study the native languages have had the desired effect; and in consequence of this increased attention paid to the native languages, several works, for the benefit of Officers desirous of study, have lately issued from the press, and amongst the rest, the work which we are now noticing by Lieut. Montaguue James Turnbull, of the 7th Bengal Light Cavalry. This work was compiled during the author's sojourn in Sindh in 1845, and the author states that he was induced to undertake it partly owing to the general impression that prevails, that the proportion of Officers who are qualified to discharge the duties of an interpreter in the languages prescribed by Government is less in the Bengal Native Cavalry, than in any other branches of the Service; and that the inference is, that the Officers of the Cavalry seldom turn their thoughts to the study of the requisite languages, and consequently, possess a far more limited acquaintance with them, than do their comrades of the Infantry, and the Scientific branches of the Service. In this remark our author however scarcely does justice to his own branch of the Service; in looking over the Army list for 1848, we find that amongst the eighty Lieutenants that belong to the Cavalry branch of the Service, twenty have passed, and in the 120 Lieutenants of the Artillery, thirty-four have passed examinations in the languages, being one in four, whereas amongst the forty Lieutenants of the Engineers, only four have passed, being only one in ten. Our Author's remark therefore, that the Scientific branches of the Service possess a greater knowledge of the language than the Officers of the Cavalry is not borne out by this test: and indeed we have hitherto supposed that the Officers of the Cavalry were, if not now, yet, certainly in former days, brought more in contact with a better class of natives, and consequently possessed a better knowledge of native habits, language and manners than Officers of the Line or of the Artillery or Engineers. This knowledge of the language was often not very creditably acquired in former days, but a better order of things has arisen, and our young Officers now seek to make their studies useful to their juniors on the service, which we think highly creditable to them, and we think that their efforts will be successful and duly appreciated by the Government.

We consider that this work will be highly useful to all young Officers of the Cavalry or of the Horse Artillery, and to them we

would recommend it; and we also hope that one great object of the author may be accomplished, which is "to impart to the native portion of the Bengal Cavalry the pronunciation and meaning of the English words of command."

The work is divided into eleven sections, containing 52 pages oblong folio of print. The sections are not long, but probably of quite sufficient length for the object in view: a knowledge of the first six sections would be useful to all mounted Officers, and the sentences appear well selected and translated. The 7th and 9th sections we would have left out: the 9th especially, as it is out of place in a work of this kind to introduce a memorandum of forms for the benefit of Adjutants. The 10th section must be highly useful to all the native Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers in the mounted branch of the Service, to whom these orders apply, and we now on this account recommend it to the notice of Commanding Officers of Cavalry Corps especially, if it is still the case, as the author tells us in the preface, that the information it is intended to convey, is not procurable in any other publication. We would have omitted the plates. They must have added considerably to the expense of publication, and, when good drill inspectors are procurable, can never be required. Another serious objection exists to the introduction of plates in these works, that it adds so much to the size of the volume. Had these plates been omitted, the whole form of this work might have been altered, and a cheap, portable, convenient, and useful manual formed instead of the present cumbrous oblong-shaped work now before us.

We wish well to the "Cornet's Assistant" and to all Officers who so creditably employ their time for the good of their Service.

The Bhagavat-Gíta, or Dialogues of Krishna and Arjún; in Sanskrit, Canarese, and English, &c. &c.

This is a work on the contents of which we would fain comment at some length. But it has reached us too late, to enable us to enter on the task at present. We are unwilling, however, to let another quarter transpire before noticing a volume which has so many claims on our attention; though we can do little else than simply advert to its existence.

The work has been edited by the Rev. J. Garrett, dedicated to General M. Cubbon, and published at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Bangalore The following extract from a note or advertisement by the editor, will best unfold its general character and design:—

"The English Translation of the Bhagavat-Gíta was first published in 1785, the advertisement to which thus introduced it: The following Work is published under the authority of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the particular desire and recommendation of the Governor General of India; whose letter to the Chairman of the Company will sufficiently explain the motives for its publication, and furnish the best testimony of the fidelity, accuracy, and merit of the Translator. The antiquity of the original, and the veneration in which it hath

been held for so many ages, by a very considerable portion of the human race, must render it one of the greatest curiosities ever presented to the literary world."

The reception in Europe of this singular exposition of the pantheism of the Hindus, has corresponded with the anticipations thus expressed. It was soon translated into the French, German, and Russian languages. A. W. Schlegel terms it "the most beautiful, and perhaps the only truly philosophical poem, that the whole range of literature known to us has produced." Mr. Milman says, that "it reads like a noble fragment of Empedocles or Lucretius, introduced into the midst of an Homeric epic." "In point of poetical conception," adds Mr. Talboys, "there is something singularly striking and magnificent, in the introduction of this solemn discussion on the nature of the godhead and the destiny of man, in the midst of the fury and tumult in which it occurs. This episode is said to be an interpolation of later date than the giant epic of which it forms a part; and if so, it is allied with great address to the main subject of the poem." "On the whole the Bhagavat-Gíta is certainly one of the most curious and the most characteristic works we have received from the East. As a record of religious and philosophic opinion it is invaluable; and if the progress of Sanskrit criticism should hereafter be able to fix, with any certainty the date of this episode, it would throw light on the whole history of India civilization."

While one object the editor has in view, in publishing this volume, is to make it more accessible to missionaries, he is not without hope that many intelligent natives who regard it as a divine work, will be induced to investigate the evidences on which such belief is founded, and compare them with the clear historic induction by which the divinity of Christianity is sustained; as well as to contrast the glimmerings of truth which the work is admitted to disclose, with the perfect brightness of that "life and immortality" which the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, reveals to us."

The original introduction from the pen of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India, is given at length; with the original translator's preface. Then follows the Gíta itself, in Sanskrit, Canarese, and English, in parallel columns—the Sanskrit being represented in the Canarese alphabetic character. Appended are the notes of Sir C. Wilkins, with important additions from Wilson and Milman. Next we have Baron Humboldt's essay on the Gíta, translated from the German by the Rev. Mr. Weigle. Then follows the Gíta, *in the Sanskrit and Devanagari character;* with Schlegel's Latin version of the same. And the whole concludes with an excellent essay on the Gíta by the Rev. Mr. Griffith—Mr. Nesbit's dissertation not being appended, as at first proposed, from want of space, within the limits assigned to the work.

Such are the diversified and inviting contents of this well-printed volume. Of the merit of the Canarese version we must leave Canarese scholars to judge. The Sanskrit text, in the Devanagari character, is given with remarkable accuracy. In glancing over it, we have been able to detect only a very few typographical mistakes—and these of no material consequence. The editor is entitled to our best thanks for the highly creditable manner in which his task has been executed. We only wish that he had, throughout the different Prefaces, Translations, Notes and Essays, rigidly adhered to Sir W. Jones' system of representing oriental terms in Roman character—the system, which, with very slight modifications, has been followed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and other learned Societies at home and abroad, as well as by the most distinguished orientalists on the Continent of Europe—the system, moreover, of which Schlegel's Latin version in the present volume, furnishes a very appropriate exemplification.

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